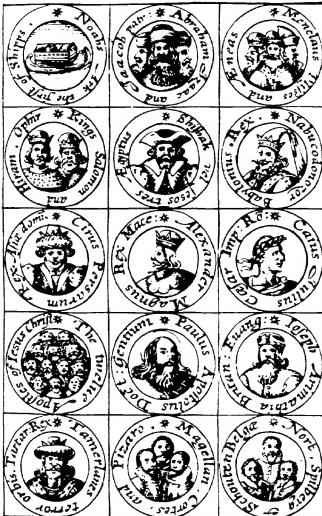




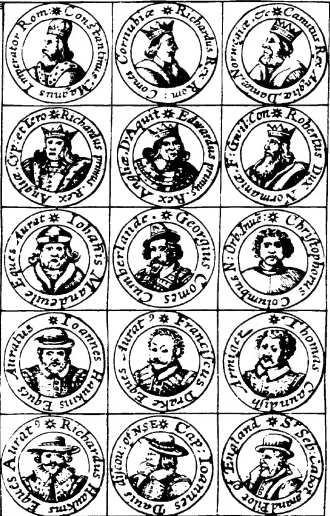
He shewed his word unto Jacob, and he hath not dealt so with any nation. Plal. 147.



HUNC TANTVM NOBIS FACTA OSTENDERE, NEC VITAE ESSE SERVNT.



HAKLVTVS POSTHVMVS
OF
PVRCHAS HIS PILGRIMES
Contayning a His tory of the
World, in Sea voyages, & lande
Trauells by Englishmen &
others.
Wherein
Gods Wonders in Nature & Pro-
vidence, The Artes, Arts, Varieties,
& Vanities of Men, wth a world
of the Worlds Rarities, are by a world
of Eminent Authors, Re-
lated to the World.
Some left written by Mr Hakluyt at his
death. More since added. This also perused,
& perfected. All examined, abridged, &
illustrated wth Notes, Enlarged & Dis-
coursed. Adorned wth pictures, and
Expressed in Maps. In four
Parts. Each containing five
Bookes.
By **SAMVEL PURCHAS B.D.**



Printed in LONDON for HENRY FETHERSTON at the signe of the royle in Pauls Churchward 1625.

PURCHAS

HIS

PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations made
by ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and
others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World:

*Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially of the
moderne diversified Professions of
CHRISTIANITIE.*

The second, *A Description of all the Circum-Navigations
of the GLOBE.*

The third, Navigations and Voyages of *English-men*, alongst the Coasts
of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea,
the Abassin, Arabian, Persian, Indian, Shoares,
Continents, and Ilands.

The fourth, *English Voyages beyond the East Indies, to the Ilands of Japan,*
China, Cochinchina, the Philippine with others, and the *Indian* Navigations
further prosecuted: Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish*
Treacherie, victoriously defended against *Portugall* Hostilitie;
gloriously advanced against Moorish and Ethiope Perfidie;
hopefully recouering from *Dutch* Maligencie; iustly maintayned
against ignorant and malicious Calumnies.

The fifth, Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, Discoueries, of the *English* Nation
in the *Easterne parts of the World*: continuing the *English-Indian* occurrences,
and contayning the *English* Affaires with the *Great Siam*, in the *Persian*
and *Arabian* Gulles, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and
beyond the *Indies*: the *Portugall* Attempts, and *Dutch* Disasters,
divers Sea-fights with both, and many other remarkable
RELATIONS.

The First Part.

Unus Deus, Una Veritas.

LONDON

Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in
Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.

1625.



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND EX-
CELLENT
PRINCE,
CHARLES,
PRINCE OF
WALES.

Most Excellent Prince,



*As a poore Pilgrime salute Your High-
ness in the words of a bitter Sinner
and Sinner, On whom is the desire of
all Israel: is it not on Thee and all thy
Fathers House? In this House we ad-
mire the innumerable Royall Ancestrie,
wee triumph in His Majesties present
light, wee praise God and pray for the two hopesfull Columnes,
that they may be Pillars of Stabilitie and Strength in the
Lords House, firmer then SALOMONS IACMIN and
BOAZ.*

1. Sam. 9. 20

1. Kin. 7. 2. 12

Apoc. 3. 12

*SIR, hauing out of a Chaos of confused intelligences fra-
med this Historicall World, by a New way of Eye-evidence;
Your Princely pietie, innate clemency, and the Time it selfe
(festiuall both in the ordinarie season and extraordinarie pre-
paration) emboldned my obtrusion on Your Highnesse. The
Magnificence of Your Princely Court hath entertayned Men of*

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

many Nations, yea hath admitted (in Parkes and Places fitting) Beasts, Fowles, Plants of remoter Regions: and now much more, in a World of acclamations to Your ioyfull designes, a world of Pilgrimes seemed futable; each of which presents one or other Countrey, and all, the rarities and varieties of all. Here also Your Highnesse may refresh Your wearinesse from State-affaires (if any of these Lines may at any time be ambitious of such lustre) in seeing at leisure and pleasure Your English Inheritance dispersed thorow the World, whereof these Twentie Bookes are the Evidence and Records: the English Martialist every where following armes, whiles his Countrey is blessed at home with BEATI PACIFICI; the Merchant coasting more Shoares and Flands for commerce, then his Progenitors bane heard off, or himselfe can number; the Mariner making other Seas a Ferry, and the widest Ocean a Strait, to his discovering attempts; wherein wee ioy to see Your Highnesse to succeed Your Heroike Brother, in making the furthest Indies by a New Passage neerer to Great Britaine. Englands out of England are here presented, yea Royall Scotland, Ireland, and Princely Wales, multiplying new Scepters to His Maiestie and His Heires in a New World. In all, the glorie of His Maiesties happy Raigne, and thereby of the English Name and Nation, by a poore Zealote of both, is truly and amply related, beyond the coniectures of the passed Ages, to the admiration of the present, and amusing (if not amazing) of the future. In which so long a Worke humbly craveth pardon for other errors, for this presumption.

Your Highnesse

most humbly

devoted

SAMUEL PURCHAS



To the Reader.



WISDOME is said to bee the Science of things *Diuine* and humane. Diuine things are either naturall or supernaturall: these (such, as the naturall *Wonders*) not, nor can know, because they are *secretly*; (with a figurall Eye) discerned; called *mysterious*: as *salvation*, the proper subject of Theologie; and not the peculiar argument of this Worke; which notwithstanding being the labour of a professed Diuine, doth not abhorre from the same; but occasionally sauey where by Annotations, and in some parts professedly by speciall Discourses, insinuateth both the Historie

The profits here
are by
this Worke.
1. Cor. 1. 14.
2. Tim. 3. 15.

and Mystry of Godlinesse, the right vie of History, and all other Learning.

1. *Naturall things* are the more proper Object, namely the ordinary Workes of God in the Creatures, preserving and, disposing by Providence that which his Goodnesse and Power had created, and dispersed in the diuers parts of the World, as to many members of this great Bodie. Such is the History of Men in their diuersified heues and colours, quantities and proportions; of Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Trees, Shrubs, Herbs; Minerals, Seas, Lands, Metors, Heauens, Starres, with their naturall affections: in which many both of the Antient and Moderne haue done worthily; but if needesse of the Object deceiue me not, this surmounteth them all in two Priuiledges, the veritie and varietie, especially of things in this kind remotest and rarest.

It is true, that as every member of the bodie hath somewhat eminent, whereby it is seruiceable to the whole, so every Region excelleth all others in some peculiar raritie, which may be termed extraordinary respectiue, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its owne place. So Our *England* in the naturall temper, accidental want of Volues, artificiall Rings of Bels, Sheepe not at all or seldom drinking, Lands and Waters turning Wood in some parts to Stone, Wonders of the *Foxe* and other parts, doth not degenerate from nature, but hath a peculiar nature, almost miraculous to other Countries, as the naturall Wonders of their Regions are to vs: so also *Ireland* want of venome in Creatures, fulnesse of it, and barbarousnesse in many of her wilder Natiues, after so long trauelling in Civilitie, and so ancient Renowme for Sanctitie: and so each part is to other part in some or other part, and particular respect admirable.

See of the
Wonders of
England Harri-
sons Description
of Brit. 2. c.
18. before Hist.
Chron.

What a World of Travellers haue by their owne eyes obserued in this kinde, is here (for the most part in their owne words transcribed or translated) deliuered, not by one professing Methodically to deliuer the Historie of Nature according to rules of Art, nor Philosophically to discusse and dispute; but as in way of Discourse, by each Traveller relating what in that kind he hath seene. And as *Dauid* prepared materials for *Salomons* Temple; or (if that be too arrogant) as *Alex.* furnished *Attalus* with Huntmen and Obseruers of Creatures, to acquaint him with their diuersified kinds and natures; or (if that also seeme too ambitious) as *Sense* by Induction of particulars yeeldeth the premisses to Reasons Syllogistickall arguing; or if we shall be yet more homely, as Pioners are employed by Engineers, and Labourers scue Maizons, and Bricklayers, and these the best Surveyors and Architects: so here *Purchas* and

his

his Pilgrimes minister individuall and sensible materials (as it were with Stones, Bricks and Mortar) to those vniuersall Speculators for their Theorickall Structures. And well may the Author be ranked with such *Labourers* (howsoever here a Master-builder also) for that he hath bene forced as much to the Hod, Barrow and Trowel, as to contemplative surveying: neither in so many Labyrinthian Perambulations thorow, and Circumnavigations about the World in this and his other Works, was euer enabled to maintaine a Vicarian or Subordinate Scribe, but his own hands to worke, as well as his head to contriue these voluminous Buildings, except in some few Transcriptions or Translations, the most also of them by his Sonne S. P. that one and the same name might both father and further the whole.

As for Master *Hakluyts* many yeeres Collections, and what stocke I receiued from him in written Papers, in the Table of Authours you shall find: whom I will thus farre honour, that though it be but Materials, and that many Bookes haue not one Chapter in that kind; yet that stocke encouraged me to vse my endeouours in and for the rest. I was therein a *Labourer* also, both to get them (not without hard conditions) and to forme and frame those Materials to their due place and order in this *Redifice*, the whole Artifice (such as it is) being mine owne. Traduce mee not, nor let any impute to boasting what I haue said of my sole working (I know there is a *va. sibi*) but I am compelled to do it: to prevent an Obiection of my promised *European* supply to my *Pilgrimage*. I confesse, I was too forward to promise, because others haue bene so backward to assist: which I haue in former Editions signified, but to blind Eyes and deafe Eares. Whose Librarie, whose Purse hath bene opened to me, let his mouth be opened against me also: *Europe* otherwise could not, nor now vpon any price (it is too late) can be *Purchased*. I would not be misconstrued to vngatitude. Many haue applauded my endeouours, but *probat laudatur & augeat*. If I had not liued in great part vpon Exhibition of charitable friends, and on extraordinary labours of Lecturing (as the terme is) the Pilgrime had bene a more agreeing name to me, then *Purchas*. Yet let my name be for euer forgotten, if I remember not his, which the Aduersaries haue (seeking to steale him from vs after his death) by their calumnie made more memorable; I meane, my deceased Patron Doctor *King*, late Lord Bishop of *London*, to whose bountie vnder God, I willingly ascribe my life, deliuered from a sickly Habitation, and consequently (as also by opportunities of a *London* Benefice) whatsoever additions in my later Editions of my *Pilgrimage*; these present *Pilgrimes* also with their peregrinations. Yet such is ordinarily the greatness of the *Ephs*, and smallness of the *Shekel*, in *London* Cures (especially within the walls) that wee are enabled thereby to disablings for workes of that kinde, whiles we must preach in season and out of season; (I say not out of reason) that wee may liue.

One wing that Reuerend and bountifull hand gaue in hope that some blessed hand would adde the other, to sitme for an *European* flight, wherein not finding his hopes seconded, he promised to *right me him selfe* (these were his syllables) but death righted him, and I am forced to wrong the World. I speake not to accuse any, for of whom, to whom can I complain, but to plaine and excuse my selfe, and withall to dedicate my thankfulness to the continuance of this Monument to that worthy Name.

But to returne to our Philosopher; I also haue bene an *Athenian* with these *Athenians*, one delighting to tell, the others to *bear some new thing*. I haue therefore either wholly omitted or passed dry foot things neere and common; *Far fetched and deare bought are the Lettice futable to our lips*. Common and ordinarie plants I remit to the Herbarists. *European* Rarities (except in the remoter Regions both from our habitation and knowledge, as *Island*, *Norway*, *Sueden*, *Constantinople*, the *Mediterranean* Ilands, &c.) to the Historians peculiar to each Countrey therein. My *Genius* delights rather in by-ways then high-ways, and hath therein by Traffes and Traffes of Travellers made Causes and High-ways, euery where disposing these Pilgrime-Guides, that men without feare may trauell to and ouer the most vncouth Countreies of the World: and there be shewed with others Eyes, the Rarities of Nature, and of such things also as are not against Nature, but either aboue it, as Miracles,

cles, or beside the ordinarie course of it, in the extraordinary Wonders, which Gods Providence hath therein effected according to his good and iust pleasure. And thus much for the workes of God.

Things *humane*, as such as Men are, or haue, or shapen or suffered in the World. Here therefore the various Nations, Persons, Shapes, Colours, Habits, Rites, Religions, Complexions, Conditions, Politike and Oeconomike Customes, Languages, Letters, Arts, Merchandises, Wares, and other remarkable Varieties of Men and humane Affaires are by Eye-witnesses related more amply and certainly then any Collector euer hath done, or perhaps without these helpes could doe. And thus we haue shewed the scope of the Author, and profitable vse of the Worke: which could not but be voluminous; hauing a World for the subiect, and a World of Witnesses for the Euidence: and yet (except where the Author or Worke it selfe permitted not) these vast Volumes are contracted, and Epitomized, that the nicet Reader might not be cloyed. Here also both Elephants may swimme in deepe voluminous Seas, and such as want either lust or leisure, may single out, as in a Library of Bookes, what Author or Voyage shall best fit to his profit or pleasure. I might adde that such a Worke may seeme necessarie to these times, wherein not many Scholars are so studious of Geographie, and of Natural and Vniuersall knowledge in the diuersified varieties which the various Seas and Lands in the World produce, seeming as exceptions to Generall Rules, which *Aristotle* the best Scholer in Natures Schoole and her principall Secretarie could not so punctually and indiuindually see in the Ocean, the Remoter Lands and *New Worlds*, none of which he euer saw, nor till this last Age were knowne. And for the most part, those which are studious know not either to get, or to read the Authors of this kinde, of which so few speake *Latine*.

As for Gentlemen, Trauell is accounted an excellent Ornament to them; and therefore many of them comming to their Lands sooner then to their Wits, aduenteure themselves to see the Fashions of other Countreies, where their soules and bodies find temptations to a twofold Whoredom, whence they see the World as *Adam* had knowledge of good and euill, with the losse or lessening of their estate in this *English* (and perhaps also in the heavenly Paradise) & bring home a few inmatter terms, flattering garbes, Apish cringes, foppish fancies, foolish guises and disguises, the vanities of Neighbour Nations (I name not *Naples*) without furthering of their knowledge of God, the World, or themselves. I speake not against Trauell, so vscfull to vscfull men, I honour the industrious of the liberal and ingenuious in arts, bloud, education: and to prevent exorbitancies of the other, which cannot trauell farre, or are in danger to trauell from God and themselves, at no great charge offer a World of Trauellers to their domestike entertainment, easie to be spared from their Smoke, Cup, or Butter-flie vanities and superfluities, and fit mutually to entertaine them in a better Schoole to better purposes. And for the price, as I cannot ferre, so I must acknowledge the aduenturous courage of the Stationer Master *Henry Fetherstone* (like *Hercules* helping *Atlas*) so long to beare this my heavy World at such expences.

NOW for the METHOD, I confesse, I could not be therein exact: first because I had such a confused Chaos of printed and written Bookes, which could not easily be ordered: partly because this Method by way of Voyages often repeats the same Countreies and (though I haue often pruned repetitions) yet, sometimes admitted for more full testimonie) the same things, by diuers of our Authors trauielling the same parts, obserued, in which my Method brings in ordinarily the Authours whole Voyage there, where that part or Countrey, in which and for which we entertaine him, principally occasioneth his memorie; and partly because in this long space of imprinting (from August 1621.) many things haue come to my hand by diligent enquiry, which were not enrolled, nor in possession to be multered in their due file and ranke; yea, diuers things haue bene done since our other passages of like nature were printed off: And thus diuers *Dutch* quarrels are related, which yet since the Impression of that part haue bene compoled. Yet are we not altogether without Order.

First,

The Method
and order of
this Worke.

TO THE READER.

The first Part. First, we haue diuided the World in our Method into the *Old* and *New*, allotting to each his owne *Ten* Books, the first *Ten* Books to the former, the later to the other. But the Worke growing more voluminous than was expected, we are forced to cut each of them asunder in the midst, the figures in the top and Alphabets in the bottome, and some marginal references and annotations intimating but two Tomes, which only the quantitie haue made Foure. Again in the Elder World, that is, *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, we obseue Antiquities and Generalities in the *First* Booke, one of the last printed, though first placed: vniuersall Circumnauigations (all knowne in that kind) in the *Second*; which though they containe many things of *America* and the South Continent, yet being from and for *Europe*, and spending most of their time on the *Asian* and *African* Coasts, are thither referred: in the *Third*, *Fourth*, and *Fifth*, are *Indian* Voyages and Affaires of the *English*, with *Portugall* and *Dutch* intercourse; in which is obserued a tolerable order of time from *Queene Elizabeths* Times to the present.

The Second Part.

In the *Second Part* you haue first *Africa* in *Two* Bookes (the East *Indie* ships but touched on the Coasts) the *Sixth* Booke handling the Northern parts, whationer of *Africa* is not termed *Aethiopia*, and the *Seuenth* the *Aethiopian* part. The *Eighth* Booke enters into the Continent of *Asia*; in the first Chapters relating the History of the *Franks* (as all *Asiatic*als the *Western* Christians) in the *Holy Land* Wars; in the later, some Pilgrimages thither and the parts adioyning, with diuers *Turkish* Observations. The *Ninth* proceedeth thorow the mayne Land of *Asia* into *Persia*, *Arabia*, *India*, taking large view of those and other *Asian* Regions, returning by *Africa* with late and larger intelligence of the Easterne, Western and Northern shores thereof; New view of the *Turkish* Dominion and *Seraglio*, as also of the *Maldina* Islands: which and the whole *Tenth* Booke came later to hand, and therefore is rather a Supply to all, than any well ordered part of the Worke, being therefore printed after the rest.

Now for the *New World*, we begin it at *China*, which the Ancients knew not, and take all the East and North parts of *Asia* from the *Caspian* Sea, the *Arctian* Regions, all *America* and *Terra Australis*, comprehending all in that *New Title*. The *First* of those Bookes beginning our *Third Part*, deliuereth especially the Authors of *Tartaria* in the succession of about three hundred yeeres, wherein the *Second* succeedeth, adding also *Iapan*, *Corea* and *China*, with the first Discoueries of the Northern and *Caspian* Seas by the *English*. This *Arctian* Region containyng *Russia*, *Nova Zembla*, the *Samojeds*, *Siberia*, *Island*, *Frisland*, *Norway*, with the Neighbour Regions, *Cherry Island*, *Greenland*, *Greenland*, &c. the *Third* Booke relateth, continued in the *Fourth* with further Discoueries intended for a North or North-west Passage. The *Fifth* Booke giueth generall Relations of *America*, in her *Mexican* or Northern, and *Peruan* or Southerly Moities (with what we could find of the South Continent) their Antiquities and state before, and since the *Spanish* Conquest. The *Sixth* (which begins the *Fourth Part*) containeth *English* Voyages to *America*, the *Great Bay* especially and the Southerne Moitie to the *Magellan* Straits; which in the *Seuenth* Booke are more amplified, and further enlarged with the Creatures, and Countries within Land, the *Peruan* Antiquities related by one of the *Inca* Linage, the *Spanish* Conquest, and other occurrents of the *Peruan* America, and *Terra Australis*. The *Eighth* Booke comes homeward thorow the *Mexican* America and *Florida* vnto *Canada*, relating the *French* Acts and *English* beginnings in those parts, touching in the way homeward at the *Asore*, *Virginia* is the Argument of the *Ninth* Booke, in the succession and successe thereof from the Plantation 1606. to 1624. whereto *Summers Islands* are added. The *English* Plantations in *New England* and *Newfoundland* follow in the *Tenth*, with diuers Fleets set forth by *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memory, with whose blessing continued and confirmed by His Maiestie, we commit you to God, and giue you leave to rest at home in peace, vnder the shadow of your owne vine and fig-tree, which God for his Christs sake continue and confirme to vs and our posteritie. Amen.

You haue here a long Preface to a long Work, and yet you haue a longer touching the

TO THE READER.

the vilitie thereof in the first Paragraphs of *Salomons Ophir*. It had not bene possible for me in *London* distractions to haue accomplished so great a Designe, but for the opportunities of His Maiesties Colledge at *Cheslie*, where these four last Summers I haue retired my selfe (without Pulpit Non-residence) to this Worke: which as it one way furthered, so another way it occasioned many Errata, by my absence from the Presse, as in the Bodie of the Worke, so especially in the Titles ouer each page; halfe of which I thinke, are mine owne, the other such as pleased the Corrector, needing correction enough, and sometimes not giuing sufficient direction to the Reader, whom I intreat to accept of his Day and Night, Summer and Winter together, pardoning the one for the others sake. A Table had bene necessary, if Time and assistance to a wearie hand had permitted; I adde, if some had not committed contrary to promise. It is time to make an end of Prefacing. The Authors follow; such as haue no letter annexed are Mine; such as haue *H.* added, I borrowed from *Malster Hakluyts* papers, and such as haue *H.* and *P.* pertaine to both, being otherwise printed or in my possession written, wherein yet I made vse of some labour of his. Let the name and glory be to any other, so as aboue all and in all it bee to God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ (who hath enabled my weakie bodie beyond hopes; to so great a Worke) and the profit to Thee Reader, whom in the Lord, I bid farewell.

A Note touching the Dutch.

The necessitie of a Historie is, as of a sworne Witnesse, to say the truth, all the truth (in iust discretion) and nothing but the truth. This I haue indouored in the whole Worke. But, *veritas odium parit*. Some perhaps will blame me for relating some Truths, specially the *Dutch* Zealots, in that I haue related such abuses of some of that Nation in the East *Indies* and *Greenland* to the *English* there, as if I sought like an vnreasonable and vcharitable Tale bearer to raise discord betwixt Neighbours. I answer, that no Nation is in this World so pure, but hath both officious members, and lewd bad members also as *Dutch* are, the rest which to impute to the whole, were as if a man should kill himselfe for a felon in his Thumbe, or Corne in his Toe: or as if he should therefore find fault with his own body because it hath not only a head, heart and hands, but also a fundament, and other parts for euacuation; with a Palace for houses of Office, and a Crie for common Sewers, with the World which hath Devils and Hell in it. I question not, but that the *English* haue also such, and such wee haue occasionally noted, Fugitiues, Apostataes, Theeues, Murderers, &c. which yet are not National faults, but person all, except the Nation doth iustifie such vniustice, as *Tyrus*, *the Rape of Helena*, and the *Beniamites* those Beasts of *Gibeah*, either by impunitie or defence. Nor needed wee good Lawes, but for bad Subiects. If the *Dutch* haue such also, in the History of both I must mention both, and yet protest before God (to whom I shall answer it with the burning of bodie and soule, not these Bookes alone, if I bee perfidious) that I am not guilty to my selfe of hatred to that Nation, yea in these Discourses I haue honoured it with and before others, following them round about the World to that purpose. And for this cause I haue omitted some odious *Greenland* Relations, haue altered and reprinted some more offensive generall speeches digorged by the passionate loofers, with Titles on the tops of pages, intended to Offenders, but in such vnuaire termes as might by ill willers be extended to the whole Nation: yea, I had purposed to omit many things printed already, rather leauing a *vacuum*, then causing a Chaos, but that since the fore hath broken out by that terrible Tragedie at *Ambony*. I could haue wished that such things had neuer bene told in *Gath*, nor published in the streets of *Askalon*, lest any enemy of our State and Religion should reioyce. But seeing the

TO THE READER,

the necessities of the *English East Indian* Societie haue forced such a publication, my sparing purpose had bene in vaine to concale the Shilling where the Pound was, made manifest. I might also haue bene accounted partiall against mine owne Nation. This I haue done; I for the most part, doe but publish others Relations, (and Losers perhaps will speake the most) and by Annotations dispersed intimate that these are personall faults of that *East India* Company, or some Commanders there, not of the whole Nation; and if any Marginall Notes with *Dutch*

Epithetes seeme to speake more, yet are they but directions to the

Reader to shew what in that page or place is handled

without further intenty so with my Prayers for

Peace on both sides I commend

both to the God of

Peace.

AMEN.



THE CONTENTS OF THE
CHAPTERS AND PARAGRAPHS
IN THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE FIRST
PART OF PVACHAS HIS
PILGRIMS.

CHAP. I.

A Large Treatise of King Salomons Na-
vie sent from Eziongeber to Ophir:
Wherein besides the Typicall Cityseries
briefly vnuited, and many Morall pecu-
lations obscured; the Voyage is largely discussed
out of Diuine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane Testimo-
nies: Intended as an historicall Preface to the Hi-
stories following.

§. 1. The Allegoricall and Analogicall sense
or application of Salomons Ophian Navigation.

§. 2. The Tropologicall vse of the Story; and
of Discoveries and negotiations by Sea.

§. 3. The Tropologicall or Morall vse enlar-
ged and amplified; and a view taken of Mans di-
uersified Dominion in Microcosmicall, Cosmopo-
liticall, and that Spirituall or Heavenly right, ouer
himselfe and all things, which the Christian bath
in and by Christ.

§. 4. The Christian and Philosopher com-
paration that challenge to be rich, free, a King; that
this hinders not but furthers Politicall subiection:
and of the happie combination of wisdom and roy-
altie in Salomon, as likewise in our dayes.

§. 5. Of the propriety which Infidels haue in
their lands and goods: of propriety in the Sea, and
of Salomons propriety of the Sea and Shore at
Ezion Geber.

§. 6. The commendations of Navigation, as
an Art worthe the care of the most Worthe; the
Necessitie, Commoditie, Dignitie thereof.

§. 7. Of Ezion Geber, Elloth, and the Red
Sea: that of Edom it receiued that name, and
communicated it to the Indian Ocean, by the
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THE VOYAGES AND PEREGRINATIONS MADE BY ANTIENT KINGS,

PATRIARKES, APOSTLES, PHILOSOPHERS, AND OTHERS, TO AND
THOROW THE REMOTER PARTS
of the knowne World:

*Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially
of the moderne diuersified Professions of
CHRISTIANITIE.*

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*A large Treatise of King SALOMONS Nauie sent from Eziongeber to
Ophir: wherein, besides the Typicall Mysteries briefly vnuailed, and many
Morall Speculations obserued; the voyage is largely discussed out of
Diuine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane Testimonies:
Intended as an historicall Preface to the
Histories following.*



*Intending to present the World to the World in the most
certaine view, I thought a world of Authors fitter for that
purpose, then any One Author writing of the World: whose
discourse might haply bee more euen, facile, methodicall,
and contracted to a more compendious forme; but could
not auoid to be dispendious (if I may so speake) in the mat-
ter, and so suspend the Readers iudgement for the authori-
tie. Oculatus testis vnus præstat auritis decem. I had ^{Plaut.}
rather heare the meanest of Vlysses his followers relating
his wanderings, then wander from the certaintie with Ho-
mer after all his readings and coniectures. Lo here then
60 (after my Pilgrimage of the former Nature, for such as better like that course) in open
Theatre presented a Shew of Discoueries on an English Stage, wherein the World is
both the Spectacle and Spectator; the Actors are the Authors themselves, each presen-
ting*

Tercet.

sing his owne actions and passions in that kind, kindly (in generous and genuine History) acting their acts not affectively straining, or sentic-all-y playing their part; the Arts indeed of the Poet, Maker, or Composer, aiming at delight more then truth (Populor vt placeat, quas fecit Fabulas) seeking to please the vulgar with fabulous wonders, and wonder-foole fables.

And for a Prologue, behold Salomons Ophirian Nauigation, that Worthye of Men, being most worthy to be Our Choragus, whose ayme is in this long Worke to fetch from Ophir Materials for the Temples structure, and to edifie Christs Church, with more full and euident knowledge of Gods Workes in the World, both of Creation and Providence, then any one Naturall or Humane Historian, yea (absit inuidia verbo) then all hitherto in this (perhaps in any) course haue done. I compare not with Aristotle, Plinie, and others in philosophicall and learned speculation of Reason, but in euident demonstration of Sense, and herein (not to vs Lord, not to vs, but to thy Name be giuen the glory) it exceedeth not modestly to speake thus much in behalfe of this cloud of witnessers which we bring, testifying what they haue seen, that these exceede the former in certainty (relating what they haue seene) and in fulnesse (by aduantage of New Worlds found in, and besides the World knowne to them) no lesse then they are exceeded in Amiquitie and learning.

Psalm 103.
14. K. 16. 5.

Gen. 14. 5.
Gen. 30. 12.

* See M. 24. 12.
S. 17. 1. 1. D. D.
S. 17.

Math. 6. 39.

Apo. 2.

Apo. 11. 30. 12.
18. 2. 23.

A. 27.

For mee, I say with Agur, surely I am more foolish then any man, and haue not the vnderstanding of a man in mee; Alas Master (I may proclaime to each Reader) all is borrowed: I neuer travelled out of this Kingdome (ingenuously I confesse, it is the total summe of all my Travell readings) the Centre of the Worlds good things; and Heart of her happinesse; and yet (yea thereby) haue, as thou seest, conceited (where Dinahs gadding gained only losse) and traueled of a Gad, a Troup of Travellers; So said Leah, A troupe cometh, and these call his name Gad. And seeing we haue stumbled on that Word, let it be ominous, so others read it Foeliciter, Bagad, being by the Hebrewes relected into Maazel, that is, Good fortune cometh. I am not Leah, I take no such authority on mee, but when these hath left bearing (when better lectures, quicker wits, sounder health, profounder learning, and a blabber meane looke on) let not Jacobs Bed, for the propagation and edification of the Church, be enuied to Zilpah, Leahs mayd; And let this my Service in conceiving and nursing up this Gad be accepted of all Jacobs Friends. And that it might be accepted, I haue begun (Dimidium facti qui bene cepit habet) with the most acceptable Voyages mentioned in the Old and New Testaments; the one a Type of the other, these of Solomon to Ophir, and of the Apostles about the World.

Salomon was first in time, and shall bee first here; the first in all things which usually are accounted first, Royaltie, Sanctitie, Wisdome, Wealth, Magnificence, Ostentation, Politie, Exultation, Renowne: Salomon in all his glory, is praeferential, and the first in these by the first and greatest of testimonies; the particulars of Salomons voyage are recorded in the first, best, and more then humane Histories; Yea the things recorded, are first indeed, before other things, yea before and greater then themselves, and that which the First and Last hath said, is true of them all in typical relation, A greater then Salomon is here. Let Salomon then, as elsewhere, so here also haue the preeminence; let Salomons name as the Character of peace and happinesse, good holy, happy, and peaceable successe to this Work and let Thy Name, O thou Greater then Salomon, grant protection, assistance, & some part of Salomons wisdome and prosperitie to our Ophirian voyage, that this holy Ierusalem, descending out of Heauen from God, having the Glory of Gods Lambe as the Temple, and the Glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lambe is the light thereof. Be thou, O Christ, in this our Nauigation both Load-starre and Sunne, for direction of our course, and knowledge of our true height and latitude: Let our Sables hoiled up in thy Name, be filled with inspiration of thy Spirit, and aspiration of thy fauour, till they arrive in the Fair-inauens of humane Pleasure and Profit, thy Churches service and edifying, Diuine acceptance and glory. Amen, O Amen.

Salomons the holy Scriptures are thus recorded, 1. Kings 9. 25. 27. 28. And King Solomon made a Name of Ships to Fethen Gebet, which is beside Elcho, on the seare of the Red Sea in the Land of E. I. 10. 1. And Hiram sent in the Sea his servants, Shipmen that had knowledge of the Sea with the servants

servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fere from thence Gold 420. Talents, and brought it to King Solomon. And Cap. 10. 11. The Name also of Hiram, that brought Gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of Almyne trees and precious stones: 12. And the King made of the Almyne trees, Pillars for the house of the Lord, for the Kings House, Harps also and Psalteries for Singers: there came no such Almyne Trees, nor were seene vnto this day. 13. Now the weight of Gold that came to Solomon in one yere was 666. Talents of Gold. 15. Besides that he had of the Merchants-men, and of the traffique of the Spice-Merchants, and of all the Kings of Arabia, and of the Governours of the Countrey. 21. And all King Solomons drinking Vessells were of Gold, and all the Vessells of the House of the Forrest of Lebanon were of pure Gold: none were of Silver, it was notuing accounted of in the 30. dayes of Solomon. For the Kings Ships (the cause added, c. 10. 21. 22.) went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram: every three yeres once leaue the Ships of Tarshish, bringing Gold and Silver; Ivory, and Peacockes: 23. And King Solomon passed all the Kings of the Earth in Riches and Wisdome. 26. And hee reigned over all the Kings from the River, even vnto the Land of the Philistines, and to the border of Egypt. 27. And the King made Silver in Ierusalem as Stones, and Cedar Trees made hee as the Sycomore Trees, that are in the Low Plaines in abundance.

§. I.

The Allegorical and Analogical sense or application of Solomon's Ophirian Nauigation.

This is an extract of Salomons Story, so much as concerns our present purpose, the authentic whereof is Sacred, a Diuine, infallible, inuiolable, and vnchangeable veritie; the fitter ground for many high and worthy consequences hereafter to be deliuered. I shall here leaue the Diuinitie Schooles, in more leisurely contemplation to behold the Allegorical sense (shall say, or application) wherein Salomon seemes to signify Christ, his Nauy the Church, (long before lively represented in that first of Ships the Ark of Noah) which in the Sea of this variable World seeks for the golden Treasures of Wildome and Knowledge, with (that plentiful riches) the rich plenty of good Workes. The Seruants of Hiram, the Doctors chosen out of the Gentiles, with the learned Christian Times (the servants of Salomon) employed ioyntly in this Ophirian Discovery, thence bring the rich materials (as the Israelites the Egyptians) for the building and adorning the Temple (the true Temple of Scripture) after long absence by a troublesome Nauigation (in the search of Authon Diuine, Ecclesiasticall and Humane, an Ocean of toyle) from their homes. For the naturall man, that abides at home in himselfe, and hath not travelled from his owne Wildome and Selfe-conceit, knowes not the things of God, nor the great Mysteries of Godlinesse; he must leaue the Land, his Earthly Wisdome (Tyranny, vices, pleasures) and launch into the deepe, there haung his sayles filled with the winde, the illumination of that Spirit, which leads vnto all truths; the Scriptures being their Card, the faithful heart the Load-stone, Christ himselfe the Load-starre and Sunne of Truth, as before is intimated. Thus shall the Temple, and Church of God be edified, enriched, adorned, after we haue arrived as Ophir, and haue leene our owne weakness, and taken paces in myning Gods Treasures, and vndermining our owne hearts, searching and trying our owne and Gods Workes; casting off and purging from vs all superfluous Earth, and detaining the Gold and rich Metall, which were maye eary and present, as the Talents gained by our Talents, in the best improvement of Gods graces, when wee shall returne to our Solomon, the Iulge of quicke and dead, after our Nauigation and earthly Pilgrimage ended. But also how many make shipwracke of Faith by the way, and either are split on the Rockes of enormous crying Sinnes, or sink in the smaller innumerable sands of habitual Lethy, couered with the shallowes (meete shadowes) of ciuill Righteousnesse.

Or if you had rather adioyne to the Allegory, the Analogical sense and life; this History will appeare also a Mystery and Type of Eternitie. Every Christian man is a ship, a fouke itself, in this Naue of Solomon, and dwelling in a mortall body, is within lesse then foure inches, then one inch of death. From Ierusalem the Word and Law of our Salomon first proceeded, by preaching of Salomons, and Hiram's seruants, the Pastors and Elcesse vessels to carry his Name, gathered out of Iewes and Gentiles, which guide these Ships through a stormy Sea, beginning at the Red Sea, Christs bloody Crosse, which yielded Water and Blood, till they arrive at Ophir, the communion of Saints in the holy Catholike Church. Thither by the water of Baptisme first, and by the waters of Repentance, drawn out of our hearts and eyes in manifold Mortifications after the sense of God beginning this Wisdome, the windy luts of concupiscence, and vnable waves of the world in vaine assailing they attaine in the certianne of Faith and assurance: where seeking for Knowledge as for Silver, and searching for her as for hidden Treasures, they doe as it were labour in the Mines for Gold, which they further purifie by experimental practise and studie of good Workes: yet not in such perfection, but that the true foundation, Gold, Silver, precious Stones, some Almyne trees are added for the Temples Pillars, oftentimes also of our owne, Hay and Stubble, as worke and more combustible matter ioynd; the Ivory, being a dead Bone may serue for a secular

secular Throne and worldly vie; but hee death is dead; the *Apes* and *Peacocks* lively expresse Hypocrites worldly pompe, which the best of Saints vially leave some tincture in their voyage for Heaven. In the returne to *Solomon*, there *shall be burnt* (as those were by *Nebuchadnezzar*) *but by him selfe* *bailees* *found*; and the former admitted by that Prince of Peace, the Heavens *Solomon* to the building of that Temple in the new *Jerusalem*. For charitable needs fallow away. This is that holy Cite figured by that of *Palestina*, where all is brought to *Solomon*, that God may bee all in all, as the *Alpha* which fet them forth, to the *Omega*, who hath made all things for himselfe, for whose will and glorie sake, all things are and were created: And the Kings of the Earth bring their glory and honour vnto this Cite. Not that hee needs any thing, but that wee need the man, who in *seeing him as hee is*, doe all partake of his glory. Happy are thy men (may more truly be said of this *Solomon* *Jerusalem*), happy are these thy *Jerusalems* which may stand in thy presence and heare thy wisdom: which may enjoy eternitie, signified by Gold, which alone of mettalls neither fire, nor rust, nor age consumeth (and this Cite is pure Gold) and that Inheritance of the Saints in light, figured by Silver, the most hightome and delightome of mettalls to the eye. As for precious Stones, the foundations of the Wall of the Cite are garnished with all manner of them. And touching the *Almuggin* Trees, whereof *Solomon* made Pillars for the Temple and *Plateries*, every Tree which here beareth good fruit, and *lee shall give no more out*. And they shall *fructum* *Day and Night* in his Temple, and hee that sitteth on the *Throne* shall dwell among them. There are also the *Harpes* of God, And they sing the Song of *Moses*, and the Song of the *Lamb*, may these are the *Plateries* and *Harpes*, which filled with all fulnesse of God, alway recount praises & thanks vnto the King of Saints, and with everlasting harmony in that Angelicall Quire, are tuned with *Alleluia*, and *Te Deum*, and *Holy, holy, holy*, in fulnesse of joy at his right hand, and pleasures for evermore. Thus in diuers respects are they both the Cite, and Temple, and Kings and Priests, and Instruments, and all these, and none of these: For I *see no Temple there*, saith that Seer, for the Lord God *Almighty*, and the *Lambe* are the Temple of it. *Euen God himselfe shall bee with them, and God shall bee all in all*: and as hee is incomprehensible, so Eye hath not seen, nor eare hath heard, nor can the heart of man conceive what God hath prepared for them that love him: *Calice lacrum Domini, terram dedit Filij Hominum*. And vnto it is for me to attempt so high climbing.

Not for the Topologie or Morall vie, nor for the History, for our learning wherein the time is written. And although the History in Nature should precede, yet because wee intend the Topologicall sense or application of this History, as a kind of Preface or preamble to the many Histories ensuing, wee have here given it the first place.

Þ. II.

The Topologicall use of the Story; and of the lawfulness of Discoveries and Negotiation by Sea.

Erin therefore *Solomon* may become a wise guide vnto vs, and first by his example teach vs the lawfulness of Navigation to remote Regions. His particular Dominion is *Palestina*, his subiect Provinces added, extend not beyond *Egypt* and the River *Euphrates*; as is before deliaied. But God which had enlarged *Solomon* heart with Wisdom, did not enlarge it to inuision by an overlarge conceit; and hee which requoted the price of a Dog and a Horse in his offerings, would not permit the Temple, which signifies the offering, to be built and adorned with robbery and spoyle. It remains then that *Solomon* had a right, not extraordinary as the *Israelites* to spoyl the *Egyptians*, by Diuine especiall Precept; but such a right wherein *Hiram* was interested also. The *Ebreues* might both at Gods command, who is Lord of all, and in Equitie demand wages of the *Egyptians* for so long and tedious tribute, which had not Diuine Precept and power interposed, the same tyranny which had imposed the one, would have denied the other. But what had the *Ophirians* wronged *Solomon*, of whom and whose Country they had not heard, that thus by a numerous and strong Fleet hee should enter on their Coasts? We must not thinke godly *Solomon* to be *Alexanders* predeceator, whom the Poet calls that *Terrarum faculo malum & fidiu iniquum Genitorem*: whom the Pirat accused as the greater; finding no other difference betwixt them, but a small Ship and a great Fleet. *Remota iustitia, quid sunt regna* saith *Augustine*, nisi magna latrocinia, quia & ipsa latrocinia quid sunt, nisi parua regna? And before him *Cyprian*, *Homicidium cum admittunt singuli, crimen est, sursum vocatur cum publico peritur. Impunitatem acquirunt sentie magnitudo*. Surely *Solomon* right was iust being a Man, which is a wife & a mightie King of Men, hee might the better exercise and execute. For howeouer God hath giuen to every man & to every Nation, a kind of proprietie in their peculiar possessions; yet there is an vniuersall tenure in the Vniuersity, by the Lawes of God and Nature, still remaining to each man as hee is a Man, and *acquiruntur*, as the common or Royall right of the King or State is neither confounded nor taken away by the priuate proprietie of the Subject.

Philo de vita
Mol. l. Aug.
quod. 3. in Ex.
ad de iudiciis
miserium
probatur.
Th. 2. 2. 2. 104.
104.

* Aug. de Civ.
D. 14. c. 4.
Cyp. Ep. ad
Donat. l. 2. Ep. ad
Mat. 26.

True it is that God, which hath made of one blood all Nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times appointed, hath also determined the bounds of their habitation. But not so strictly of Negotiation. In habitation proprietie is requisite, that every man may live by his own: *One*, and under his own *Eg* tree, and drinke the waters out of his own *Cistern* and running waters; one of his own Well, and that they be only his own, and not the strangers with him. But hee that hath made all Nations of one blood, would still they should bee as fellow members one of another (a shadow of which was in the Law, permitting to eat in the neighbours Vineyard, but not to carry forth;) and that there should still remaine mutual Necessitie, the Mother of mutuall Commerce, that one should not bee hungry, and another drunken, but the superfluitie of one Country, should supply the necessities of another, in exchange for such things, which are also necessary, and there abound; that thus the whole World might bee as one Body of mankind, the Nations as so many members, the superabundance in each, conceded, distributed, retained or expell'd by merchandising (as by the Naturall bodily Offices and Faculties in nourishment) whereby not without mutuall gaine One may releue others Wants. *Nec omnia possunt omnes* may bee said of Arts: *Nec vna terra ferre omnes omnia possunt*, may be said of Regions, each Country hauing her owne, both Artificiall and Naturall Commodities, whereby to enrich themselves with enriching of others. Thus in old times, *Tyrus* chief Staple of the worlds Merchandise, and consequently chiefe Store-houle of the worlds Treasures; (see the same elegantly & particularly discribed by the holy Ghost) as it received from all parts, so when her wares went forth out of the Seas, (see filled many people, and did enrich the Kings of the Earth, with the multitude of her riches and merchandise).

And because no one National Law could prescribe in that wherein all are interested, God himselfe is the Law giuer, and hath written by the title of Nature this Law in the hearts of men, called in regard of the efficient, the Law of Nature, in respect of the object, the Law of Nations, whereto all Men, Nations, Commonwealths, Kingdomes and Kings are subiect. And as he hath written this Equity in mans heart by Nature, so hath hee therefore encompassed the Earth with the Sea, adding for many inlets, bays, bayons and other naturall inducements and opportunities to inuice men to this mutuall commerce. Therefore hath hee also diversified the Windes, which in their shifting quarrels conspire to humane traffike. Therefore hath hee diuided the Earth with so many Riuer, and made the shoares conspicuously Capes and promontories; yea, hath admitted the Sunne and Sares in their direction and assistance vnto this Generall Councell, wherein Nature within vs and without vs, by euersialt Canons hath decreed Communitie of Trade the world thorow. And thus hath hee taught them who had no other instructor, with dislike and disdain to admire at such inhumanity & inhumanity, *Quod genus hoc hominum, quene tunc tam barbara more, Permittit patria? hostio prohibetur arena?* yea whereas by Nature the Earth was common Mother, and in equall communitie to be enioyed of all heres,

Nec propria soliorum herum Natura nos illam.

Nec me, nec quemquam statui: and howeouer this case is since altered in this element, lest the idle should lue on the sweate of others browes; yet the other and nobler elements still remaine in greatest part in their original communitie, and cannot so fully bee appropriated to priuate possession, since the supposed Golden age is vanished, and this Iron (or golden in another sense) hath succeeded. Yea, then also the house, wife, children, and such things as are wasted or growne waste in the vie, as meate, drinke, apparell, were appropriate and priuate chattels to the possessor, howeouer things immovable continued the freedom of euery man in the common tenure of common humanity, as still in the life of *Brasiliens* and other Sauiages in the following relations is to be seen. By humane consent and diuine dispensation the Earth was diuided among the Sonnes of Noeh.

Communeque prius cœn lumina solis & aere.

Contus bonum longo signant limite messor.

Thus some things became publicke, that is, proper to the Kingdome, State, or Nation: other things priuate, as each mans possession, and that also in differing degrees, as the Commons, and Champtaine Countries with vs in their differing tenure from ground inclosed, doe manifestly enough argue. But since that diuision of Languages and Lands; the Poet still proclaims Natures right,

Quid prohibetis aquas? vsus communis agrorum est.

Nec solum proprium Natura nec Aera fecit,

Nec tenues vndas. In publica mœnura veni, and another:

Cunctis undamque aëremque patemur.

These so farre as they have not by possession of other men before, or otherwise by their own Coppy-holders are appropriated, are Natures Commons, which both Free-holders as Men, and other Priuate-holders as Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, and creeping things according to their severall kinds do communicate in. If any quarrell this poeticall Proof; I answer that they were Natures Secretaries in the cause of Reason, and the Common Law of Humanity, which being not the Law, were a Law to themselves, and in like cases therefore produced as good evidence.

He which brought the Northerne people then *Pagan*, into the *Roman* Empire, to make them Lords of it and Subjects to him, can of Merchants allured with *Gold*, more, or at least feed with them, Preachers of his Sonne, And if the Devil hath sent the *Mages* with damnable *Mabommetisme* in their merchandizing quite thorow the East, to pervert lo many Nation: with the bloud of their states and persons, out of theirying panne of *Pagan* Rites, into the fire of *Mabometrie*: Shall not God be good to *Israel*, and gracious to the ends of the earth, lo long since given in inheritance to his Sonne?

*The Tropological or Morall use enlarged and amplified; and a view taken of
Mans diversified Dominion in Microcosmickall; Cosmopoliticall,
and that spirituall or heavenly right, over himselfe
and all things, which the Christian hath
in and by Christ.*

Man in his fall
was robbed of
supernaturall,
wounded in his
naturall gifts.
Supernaturall
we call those
gifts which
now are not
obtained but
by Gods free
gift, and called
the *gratia* *in
righteousness* &
humilis, Eph. 4.
Naturall, those
which remaine
to and in de-
cayed nature.

Hence ariseth to a man a *threefold tenure*, more and more excellent then any which *Lutetus* both relateth a *Microcosmical* in respect of our felices; a *Cosmopolitical* in regard of the World; a *Catholic*, *Spirituall*, and *Heavenly* in relation to Christ the *Head*, his *Body* the *Church*, and that *everlasting inheritance*; besides that (which is the least and least of all) in reference to *Political* Law

Law and Societie, The first original of all dominion and right is God, who is Lord of all, whose Image as [his] is imprinted on and in Man, as otherwise fo in this Lordship or right, which he hath first in and on himselfe. Afterwards in the members of his bodie as the Regions are in this selfe kingdom; where the continual Court of Conscience, the large jurisdiction of Re-
ascension (without which a man is, as suspended from the power of himselfe, termed *impos sui, besides himselfe*, as in Junkennefle and madly) the freedom of the Will (which is no longer will, then willing and cannot be constrained) the Natural, and Vitall actions wrought within vs, (and yet without vs, without our owne knowledge or direction, and much leffe subiect to the correction of others) the Animal also in external and internal senses, which cannot but exercise their faculties vpon their due objects: these all proclaim that the poorest Slave is Lord by diuine grant, euen since the fall, of no lesse then this little World; yea, while he obeyeth others, he commands himselfe to that obedience; *which selfe-command is the true exercise of vertue or vice.* This Inheritance and Dominion is so naturall that it cannot be alienated, without confiscation of the whole to the eternall iudger of whom he holds it. For euen in and by his eternall Law, is this made the rule of all righteousness, to doe as we would be done to, to loue our Neighbours as our selves; and if there were no power in and of our felues, there could neither be vertue nor vice in louing or hating our Neighbour : if no freedom of will and affections, no reward with God or man; if no government of manslife reformed, Martyrs of all men were the most monstrous, which for obeying God rather than men, are the most honoured and admired. Oncey subiection to God is absolute; to Princes as they are called Gods, and yet the likemen, with reuerence; for conscience of Gods Commandement, wherewith he would will to censure, and yet then the same men we multiply by flattery doing the will of superiors, thereby to shew our fidelity in keeping Gods Promise, though with loss of our Will where we loue, and our felues where wee feare; (hearing thus liberty of will and power in our felues. He that ruleth his owne mind, is better then he that serueth a Cite. This is the greatest conquest, the greatest perfection to be master of thy felde. Nor is this power absolute to our felues cur our felues : We are not our owne, wee are Gods who hath created vs; our Parents which haue procreated vs, our Countries which sustayneth vs, our Kings which mainteyneth vs; our Neighbours in common humanity : to neglect a Mans fate or life, (much more prodigally to rescue them) is to robbe all other of their due in vs,

See my Philo-
 sophy
 page.

Pro. 16. 33.

I Cor. 6. 39.

But in Christians it were a deeper Sacrilege: they are not their own, they are bought with a price (the greatest of prices, the Blood of God) they are gained by conquest, Christ having bound the strong, and spoiled his goods: they are given by the Father for the Sonnes Inheritance, and by Baptisme have by mutual Covenant, given our selves to his service. The freedom which Christ hath purchased for vs, with yield Liberte, not Licentiousness; frees not from duties, to doe what wee list, but makes vs have a lust to doe our duties; twelvly inclining the Will, and re-newing the Minde to effectue the Service of God, and of men for his sake, the greatest Freedom. Hee then that is Christs, is a new Creature, to which, bondage or freedom are neither words, are mere respects and circumstances. For hee that is bound, is the Lords freeman, and hee that is free, is the Lords Servant. 'Tis the Devils Sophistry, as to separate what hee hath joynd, fo to confound what hee hath distinguished; and it is observable, that the Pope and the Anabaptist, which are brethren in this Iniquity, have self denied their Baptisme, the Seal of their Christianitie. For these many rights doe not subiect vs to many Masters, but subordinate our subjection in the beaerie of order. Euen in Politicall or Civill right One may be Lord of the Fee; another of the Soile; a third of the way by ingress, egress, & regress; a fourth, hath right in the same ground, in time of Peace or Warke; the whole Vicinity in Commoning times; and others other wayes: all whole Rights, are subiect to the Right Royall, and Soveraigne.

And it in propriety of strictest Nature, there may be such communions of subordinate rights
50 Without tumultuous crossing or pernicious confusion, how much more in things more spiritual,
and more easily communicable. In this respect, the Philosophers, held themselves of them-
selves complete; and (in whatsoever state) *sepietern seipso contentum esse*, not dependent
(where he is properly a man) of other men of the World : not contrasting him *intra cutem*
60 (to vie *Seneca's* words) in this *Microcosmic* lippiness, but needing the *Caecopsmolus*
call helps *ad videntum*, not *ad abesse videntum*; to liue at least, howsoever to liue well, found
heart and good conscience are sufficient; to tie other lod and raiment are necessary, to this *ex*
se non habentibus the best society is of virtuous thoughts which make men, as *Scipio* said, *quoniam*
in seipso habent omnia bona, *non minus autem quidam cum suis suis*, but vicious company (as the
60 company of Vices) use the most horrid and defoliate of themselves. No exile can depute a
man of this Crime, no Prison of this Society, no Pillage of their Riches, no bondage
of this Libertie.

In this fence *Socrates* laid he was *καταστρέφας* all places his Countrey, all men his Countermen; in this, *Bias*, when he had lost all by fortune or warre, carried *all his* away with him: in this, *Zeno*,

² See my *Micro-*
cosm or *Pil-*
grimage.

I Cor. 6. 20, &
7. 23.
Lu. 11.
Psa. 2.
Christian li-
berty.

Gal. 5.
1 Cor. 7.
The Pope de-
nies his bap-
tismal name,
the other is re-
baptized.

* As is the use
of some Pa-
rishes after
Lamas, &c.

See Encl.

Ad viuendum
multis rebus opus
est, ad bene viu-
endum mi-
nus sane & cro-
do & despicien-
te fortuna.

Zoro, marvellous at nothing neither in Nature, whose depths cannot be fathomed nor in Fortune, whose pollution of most licentious effects, must be the glail to view our own fortune, and to make that light by long premeditation, which others do by long suffering: in this, *Senece*, *Ca. regis quod non habet oriam*: in this, another *Senece* teacher, *Com Orientem Occidentem, In-finitum aere*, *cum tot animalia, tantum capiam rerum quia Natura beatis fuisse fundit, affertur; miseret hanc Deum, deus in omnia mea, tantum* in this, *Digenes* when Pirates expelled him from his craft, professed his art was to rule men, and bad them tell him to *Xenodas* for he needed a Master; from whom when his friends would have redeemed him, he refused, saying, *Liberi meo Majores*, and not *mei*; in this, *Seneca*, *de ira*, when the *Stork* called their poorest *Wifeman*, rich, free, a King, in this, *Seneca*, with whom we have seen, that if his fortune would not fute and for him, he would make himself futable to his fortune.

So long as life itself and humanity continue, they are universal possessors of the Universe, in which kind, *Arcturion* is a high more memorable Monuments of Contemplation, then *Alexander of Conquest*: Nature's commons, the Sun, Stars, Heavens, Air, are common, at least to their minds in virtue of memories, and with internal plants they supply all external defects. In this *Microcosmic* and *Cosmopolitan* Walk, confined all the Philosophers effate and reneue, which they called *Vertue* and *Alacritie*: what made them *Masters* of themselves, and thereby of the World, the little Circle of the Centre of Humanity, for which it was created. These things (me thinks) I feel not without picture, nor can resemble them more fitly then to Horles of excellent courage but hood-winked lo, to some little transparency of light makes them see their immortality and their mischiefs, and their owne *præcepta* (wence Philosophers have been called: Patriarchs of Heaven) and see All, but can't sympathize with this Worlds Wheele the immovable Centre of Nature's Compass, to which they are bound, no less: censors which worke at a Distance, and stand supliant their Hand-mee by shadow.

which work at a *mill*, and hand-lit at their hand-mill, by a larger circumference always moving, *promouens nihil*, proceeding in true freedom nothing at all. If the *Sonne* make you free, *yoßall bi* be free indeed! There, to make the noblest companion may seem *starrs*, children of the night, which in their *Moralität* give rays of light that to the World made them eminent Ornament, and may make many of us of alamed, which in the *Teuer Sunne* of the Gospel *lose* and *lose da knoff*, and like Owles, Bats, and wild Beasts, hide our felus studiously from the Sun, the abroad and prey in the *darke*, *folßonning* our felus in this world, have our cogitations and 30

denunciations darkened. CHRIST is nevertheless to all that *base eyes* to *see*, the *light of Righteousness*, by whom we are by Regeneration *transfused from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the day*; that we may *know what we were woful*, and whom we *have released*, not to come again as walking, even in this bodily prison, *these liberties of the Gospel*, being truly (though yet in the imperfect growth of infancy) *reitored to our felues*; that wheras Man had to be a more glorious *flame*, wherof he could not be so much as *drum*; that wheras Man had to be the former by *lugeffion* of Euill. Deuils, Churil had exalted farre above all Heauns *loftle*, to fupplie the Thrones of Dominion; that wheras *Thrones and Dominions* loftle, the Euidence wherof we haue by Faith and Hope, our Head exalted hauing taken Luerie and Seifin, and from thence luing in vs, *afmuting* and *moouing vs* by his 40 Spirit, preparing vs in this fight of militant grace to that *light* of triumphant *glorie*.

Even these fruit fruits are sweet and folio; *I have learned* (with our Apostle) *in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content. And I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound, everywhere and in all things; I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, and to abound and have need, I am able to all things through Christ's strengthening me.* This was the true riches not in the Chist, but in the heart, which therefore neither men nor Devils could take away. And see his *Degree* in this *School*; first *years*, *I have learned this Discipline*, not in the School of Nature but of Grace, for we are *all things of God*: secondly, *in this Science*, I know: we *er*as the wisest of Philosophers professed to know but *this one thing that hee knew nothing*: thirdly *persequitur*, and without *all comparison* *this is a great mystery of godliness*, in which the natural man is not initiated, hee knows not the things of God, *nor can* *know* *them*, *for they are foolishness to him*; but the *wisdom* of the Spi-

It only enters in *these mysteries* (which the word *μυστήριον* after which follows in due order, *ταῖς μυστηρίοις*, I am able to all things, to do, to suffer all things, and therefore Lord of himselfe and of the World) but *ἐν τῷ ἐνδυνάμει με χριστῷ* in Christ enabling; without me faith Christ, *ye can doe nothing*; and not I, *faith Paul* but the *grace of God in me*: whereas those Philosophers having no stocke, but their own, were poore Pedlers, not Royall Merchants, which would seeme to flie but wanted wings. *ver. 14.*

And as for this CHRISTIAN *selfe* and *world*, and *Heaven-interest*, it troubles not, intermeddles not, disturbs not Earthly possessions and powers, for the greatest is a *servant of all*, and hee is often poore in secular sense which *makes many rich*, as having nothing, even then when he possesseth *60* *all things*. *Am I not free? have we not power?* saith Paul, *Who when he was free from all, made himselfe the servant of all that he might gaine the more;* not (as they) running *gall in uncertainty* and fighting *quasi neminem verberans*; but in this freedome and rule of the Spirit, *beating downe* and (subdu-

ing the bodie of flesh and mortifying his earthly members, not seeking his owne but the good of others:

9.

As I please all men in all things (I seek full, for of other things he faith, of I should please were, I should be full) 4:10-4:35
 contentment of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great (the contempt of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great) the contentment of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great (the contempt of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great) Galat. 6:12
 the contentment of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great (the contempt of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great) the contentment of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great (the contempt of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great) Eph. 5:10
 the contentment of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great (the contempt of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great) the contentment of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great (the contempt of riches man getteth is the most compendious way to be rich and great) Rom. 16:18

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

So with a spirituall and heauenly eye looke on earth, and not here and hience with a carnall and sensuall eye looke on Heauen (this makes the heauenly bodies little, the great light of Heauen eclipsed, not in it selfe, but to me by euery interposed Moone, and the Heauen of Heauens wholly inuifible) so shall it not annoy my sense; so shall not my sense of earth annoy my reason; so shall not my reason perplex my faith, but I shall see it as not being, as not abusing it, to helpe and not to hinder my present Pilgrimage.

And thinks not that we speake impossibilities : of every Christian its said, *concordantes & confederantes in castrobus in Christo fidei*; and we are *conspira*, planted together into the *fraternalitas* of *hereduation* by Baptisme, both in regard of the imputation and infusion. If this lighly Myctre be like, yet, when thou halt viewed the Sunne, it makes thee uncapable to seeing the earth, either at that time or for a piece afterwards : so the light of often Communion templatation is accustomed to view this Sunne, neither can thou qually, nor cares much to fixe his eyes on earthly delights after, but hauing drunk of these heavenly waters, is not very thirsty of thes earthlie Springs, and of croobled Ale after such generous Wines. These things are inwardly effected.

Sir F. Bacon
Advanc. of
Learn. I.

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39

[illegible]

gainfull labours, also in this peace, under Israels Salomon, can from the store behold with safety, with delight, in this glass let others see, the dangerous Navigations and Ophyrian expeditions of our Countrey men, view their warlike fights in the watery plains as from a fortified tower (so the Mogols did the battell of the English and Portugals) not only free from perill, but enjoying some the gaines of their paines, others the sweet contemplations of their laborious actions, all of us the fruites of our labours and negotiations, at home and abroad, which grow from that Jacobean tree: whose blossomes are inscribed Beati pacifici. This Worke is the fruit of that Peace, and my Song may be, Deus nobis haec otia fecit, that I may write with Ink at leisure, and (under the shadow of this tree) you read with pleasure, whas the Pilgrimes have written with blood, if not with blood in remote Sea and Lands.

I flatter not the present, I devote to future posterity, this monument of praise to the Almighty, who hath given to this Salomon, if not in all dimensions, (never was there, or shall be such) yet herein like, that we may under his wing (in the combinations of neighbour Countreies) this our peace, plenty, learning, justice, religion, the land, the (so converger to Ophir, the world, new worlds, and (if we have new hearts) the communion of Saints, guard of Angels, salutation of Christs, and God himselfe the portion of our Cup, and lot of our inheritance. Blessed are the people that be in such a case, yea blessed are the people that have the Lord for their God. This is the day that the Lord hath made, let vs rejoyce and be glad in it. And if our times yeilde some exceptions also, and the Traducer impute it to flattery that I bring not cuill on the stage: I say that blessed and loyal Shem and Iapheth had, from themselves & others that which cursed Chiam and Canaan quarrelled: Salomons times yeilded gronnes, and we live on earth, not in heaven: there is the perfection of wisdom, holynesse, happynesse, wherof Salomons times were a complicate type: we have the truth in part, but all Iulnesse is in him, in whom dwelleth all the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, which to expect here were Epicurisme and State-Paritisme. Quis me constituit iudicem vel indicem? Malecontent, I am no Lord of times, nor Prince of Princes (they are both Gods peculiar) I endeavour to keepe me in the offices of my calling, to choose the good part, and my confidence towards God to acknowledge Gods workes in all, and specially in those of whom he hath said, Yee are Gods: To be an accuser is the Devils office, and they which be cuill themselves will only see cuill in others.

§. V.

Of the proprietie which Infidels have in their Lands and Goods: of proprietie in the Sea, and of Salomons proprietie of the Sea and Shore at Ezion Geber.

Thus have we discoursed of the prerogative of Gods peculiar, the right which the true Children of the Church have in Christ and by him in all things: but what shall we say of propriety of property of Infidels? Christs Kingdom is not of this world, and properly neither gues nor takes away worldly proprietie, ciuill and politicall interresse; but adds to his subjects in these things more furnished, yea all things being pure to the pure, impure to the impure; for they are sanctified by the word and prayer, which Infidels know not. In that interior court of conscience (which in the wicked is defiled) the iust have before God a iust life, of the world as not abusing it, not being blissh minded, nor trusting in an uncertaine riches: not feeding their heart on them, though they increase, nor looking their hearts with them in their decrease or losse: not laying up to themselves treasures on earth where rust and moth and these things consume: not fingering a requiem soule take thine ease, thou hast laid up treasure for many yeeres, when this foolle itselfe is the worst thing it hath, and may be turned this night out of that feare body and secured state. But in the outward ciuill Court, and before Men, the Gospell alters not, removes not the land marke of the law, but as well bids Give to Caesar that which is Caesars, as to God that which is Gods. And therefore the rights of men by the royall or common lawes established (all derived from that of Nature, and consequently from God, who is Natura naturans, the creator of Nature) are in confidence of Gods commandment to be permitted to them. Neither without Gods speciall command might the Israelites spoile (as they did) the Egyptians, or invade the Canaanites. It is Saint Iudas note of filthy Sodomites, sleepers, ignorant, beasts, disciples of Cham, Balam, and Core, rocks, clouds without water, corrupt trees twigs dead, raging waues, wandering starres, to desire government: nature all bruis beasts (saith Saint Peter prophesying of hispretended successors) spots and blotts well without water, clouds carried about with a tempest, in whom the blacke darkness is reserved for euer: promising to others liberty, and are themselves the seruants of corruption (in this lence the seruants of seruants.) Neither could the Duell desire a greater scandall to the Gospell, then that it should rob Kings of their supremacy and prehemence, subjects of their lands and state, as if to conuert to Christ were to euer out of their possessions and subuersiue states: which is the cause of so few lawes conuerted, and so peruerse conuertions in America: I have elsewhere shewed. The Gospell is not a sword to take away earth, but to destroy hell, and addes the Keyes of the King-

CHAP. II. Christians bold in Capite, Eschicks in Villenage. Image of God.

dome of brauen, nota hammer to breake in peeces the doores of earthly Kingdomes: and least of all making instead of Keyes, Packkells (the note of a theefe, euen though he should enter as the doore and lawfully succeede lawfull Bishopps) which open and shut all at pleasure: against which there is but one word of force, and that is, force it selfe and power which their fiction cannot overthrow, the Romish conscience being Leishan and Iaden, or Iron and running compasse and variation, as the Needle of that See hath touched it to confesse the Pope as the magneticall Pole, which Philosophers say is not that of heauen but of the earth, God hath made vs men, his Sonne hath called vs to be Christians, and this opinion doth turne men into Beasts, yea Christian men into wilde Beasts without all propriety, or any thing proper to humanity, which with the rights thereof extends to Infidels.

This hold not Christ, nor hold of him, as isent beires: yet are they not without all rights, yea him also they hold in another tenure, not as fionnes, but as seruants (and the seruants abide not in the house for euer, but the Sonne abideth euer: but if the Sonne make them free they are free indeede.) These hold, in a tenure of villenage not in state of spiritual inheritance, which yet warrants a iust title for the time, contra omnes gentes, against all men (as seruants yet their Masters goods) but being called by death to give account to their Lord, are disposed of all and themselves also for euer: whereas the children here seeme in a state of free and eternal life) as at full age, enter into full possession of heauen and earth for euer. That tenure yet of godlike men (which are without hope,

without Christ, without God in the world) is a tenure from God, though as yet in a kind of villenage; and warrants against all men, as holden of and at the will of the Lord, Christ. As whom for whom all things were created, and he is before all things, and in him all things consist. And he is the Head of the Body the Church. This tenure in capite is the Churches iustitie: that of homine estate, from him whole all things are in re creation, remains to forreiners, which are strangers from the Common-wealth of Israel, and from the priuileges of the Holy Citty the New Ierusalem. For after the Image of God, by this Image of the invisible God were all Men created, which thought it in part by sinne defaced, yet through the mercy of God in part remaineth in the worke of men, which still retain an immortal reasonable spirit indued with vnderstanding, will, and memory (resembling the vnty and Trinity) animating and ruling (how imperfectly looser) the organicall body, and with it the interior creatures: which dominion ouer the creatures is by God himselfe reckoned to the Image of God; infected with sinne, and infected with a curse; but God euen in the sentencing that iudgement remembering mercy, added thornes, and thistles, and sorrow, and sweat, but took not away the vfe: yea he renewed the blessing to all the Sonnes of Noab, and enlarged their commission, indenting in mans heart this natural right, and in the Beasts this Generation.

Hee that then blessed them with, Replenish the earth, did confound their Babel building, and scatter them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, to put it in execution, and hath made of one blood all Nations of men (as it said before) to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation. Thus hee that gaue Canaan to the Israelites is land (in a proper sense though differing manner) to haue given Are unto the children of Lot for a possession, the land of the Emims, and the land of the Zamzanimms which bee Icthorus before them: as he did that of the Horims to the children of Esau, that as the former generations entered by the Law of Nature, as first finders, so the by the law of Warre, as conquerors of the former, and founders of a second state and succession, both guided by the hand of diuine providence. Salomon gaue Hiram twenty Cities in recompence of Cedars, and Firre-trees, and rule of Countreies and States haue bene made out to new Masters, or to the old in a new tenure, as asaph bought all Egypt, their lands and persons to Pharaoh. But in all these workes of Me, God is a coworker: the most high ruler in the Kingdome of Men, and giueth it to whom he will. Cyrus was verily both a conqueror and a pally in Nabuchadnezzars: Cyrus is called his seruant Pilates power is acknowledged by the Lord of power to be given from above, and to that Roman sovereignty (how vniuoluer their conquest was) hee submitted himselfe in his birth (called at Bethlehem by the decree and taxation of Augustus) in his life by payment of tribute, and in his death by a Roman both kinde and sentence. For me reseruent is his Proclamation, whether by diuine immediate vocation as in Moses, or mixed with Lot, or metre, or free choice, or inheritance, or conquest of warre, or exchange, or gift, or cession, or marriage, or purchase, or let begun in vniuolence, or fraud at first yet afterward acknowledged by diuine will, it is concerned, and approved by time, which in temporal things prolieth and prolieth by this King of Kings do Kings reign, and the powers that be are ordained of God, to which end, for soile must be subiect, euen for conscience sake, & proper Deum: Whoseuer therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.

This was written when all Kines were Idolaters and Infidels, nor the World many Ages after euer heard, that Infidels, Hereticks, or Idoliars were cast, sufficient for rebellion in Sub-

Infidels pro-
prietie.
L. B. I. 15

Esch. 1. 10.
Gen. 1. 10.

Esch. 1. 10.
Gen. 1. 10.

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597.1.6. Strabo called *Nina*, *Tophet* Edward, the *Latus Eodem*, and the Gulf *Bay* near to it is termed *Elatensis*. Or this place how it lieth, and how the Ancients were deceived, you have to see in the Relations of *Don John D'Acosta*, from his own eyes and learned judgement, supposed to be the fame with which is now called *El Tor*, or *Toro*. *Yea* the *Red Sea* is likeliest to have received that name from *Edom*; as the *Pamphilius*, *Ionius*, *Tyrrhenus*, *Bristoll*, and other Seas are ordinarily so named of the Principal Inhabitants they walk. *Cassius* hath better examined the reliefe than any man, and compared the Mederne and Ancients-opinions with hisowne eyes. And for a Book of it I must refer you to *Alister Fowler*, our Country-man, who in the last Chapter of the fourth Book of his *Apology* hath amplified the testimonies of the Ancients touching *Edom*, and alcribed the name of *Red Sea* to *Edom*, of whom *Isaac* did receive that name, and of him and it, this Sea. For *Ptolemy's* *Idumea* is farre thorow the ancient *Idumea* booke name, and of him and it, this *Citie Petra*, whence *Araba Petraea* received the name; *Ejafus Sward*, (of which his Father had prophesied) concurring to both Seas,

This *Edm* or *Ejaf* was that *Erythra*, which the *Grecians* once *Feirae*, which given name to that Sea, by translating *Edm* into *Erythra* or *Erythrae*, as *Cyprus* into *Cyprae*. *Puffelin* had fumbled on this Note, which *Ejaf* more fully and intricately hath opened, by reason of other things also pertaining to our purpose. That there is a reddefne in Lemports of that Sea, by reason of the use of the bottomes, and abundance of a kind of red Corral, branching it selfe on the transparent bottomes, *Cyffro* hath made cunctious; but that in a small part of that Sea, the like whereof happeneth in others. Seas of cleerest waters, which show white from landes, greene from weeds, particoulured with pleasant diversified hues, as *Pineda* citeth the testimony of *Fernandes* observed neere *Caribagua* in *America*, every Stone, Shell, or whatsoever else was in the bottom, in those liquid waters yielding to pleasant and various a tincture, as his many Navigations had no where else observed: I have added here *Serie* in this Sea, called also *Erythraean* (which name, besides the *Arabicke* and *Perzian* Gultes, the *Hebrews* call *Ejaf*, or, as it seemeth, from the frequent Navigations out of *Elath* and *Ejaf* Gader in *Edom* to *India*) was one night almost terrified with a glare yielding light to different Letters, suspected to be some brace, and proved nothing but Curle Fith in the bottom.

name of all other the Inhabitants thereof. For the *Tewl* yoke was soon shaken off by the *Edomites* themselves, after *Ishophaph* their death, *Aberam* recaptured against God; and the *Edomites* again returned to their former manner of life. After that *Azariah* recovered Elath and built it, it continued not long, but *Rezin* King of *Syria*, ravaged *Edath* to *Syria*, and drew the *Tewas* from *Edath*, and "the *Syrians* came to *Edath* and dwelt there to this day. Thus the *Tewas* which were the Lords, and recurred the *Cultumes*, were expelled; but the *Idumeans* in *Natiums* and *Phoenicians*, which might be veyful to the conqueror remained; the *Tyrans* being *Syrophonicians*; and speaking the *Syrian* language, and by their merchandising to profitable to their Kings.

This *Elath* was after called *Albu Pagu*, by *Sirako* called the Chief Mart of the *Nabatani*; whence the *Indian* and *Arabian* Merchandise was carried to *Petra*, thence to *Rhimesalax*, *Phoenicia* next *Egypt*, and thence dispersed to other places. Thus in the times before the *Pelemyes*. But in *Salomon*'s time, and whiles the *fewer* ruled there, they were brought to *Jerusalem* and to *Tyrus*; and after that to *Mys Hormis* and *Berenice*, *Egyptian* Ports on the other side of the Red Sea, to be thence conveyed to *Alexandria*. *Atrianus* in his time mentioneth the Garfio at *Albu Pagu* and Cufome there taken, the transporting of wares thence to *Petra*, notwithstanding the great difficulty. Since *Jerom* also placeth *Asie* in extreme *Persia* *Palatida*, adjoining to the *Wilderness*; and the Red Sea *Indus* and *Egyptus* *Indus* and *Inde* ad *Egyptum* navigant. Sed ut ante in *legis Romane cognomine Decima*, Et clim quidem *Asia* a *serenibus* dicebatur, non *per appellatione Asia*.

20 *Palmey* placeth *Phoenix* oppidum, not far from *Elanga*; the life *Ardea* is a *Phoenician* memorial also; *Phoebe* mentioneth *Gree Tyra*, and *Herodotus* the *Syrion* on the Red Sea fluore; that I pursue no other Antiquities. These *Tyrans* it seemeth first began the failing of the *Indus* Sea, and Habitation on the *Arabian* shores, instructed by the *Widowde*, and procured by the *Friendship* of *Salomon* with *Hiram*: which they continued vnder many State-changes, till the *Mohometan* times, the Staple of those *Indian* Merchandises being altered after the *Tenth* times, with the chief *Mocha*, *Arabia*, *Perfian*, *Arabian*, *Roman*, and *Inde*; this is the only *Phoenix*-nest made of *Waxen* Spices, in Nature, and the first made all *Rough* and *Irish*, and after brought, not out of the *Arke*, in both sexes, male and female; but true in this *Allegory*, that it is made up of all Nations known, being the only skillful *Mariners* in the *Arabian* and *Indus* Seas, and fringed on the one side by the other, bringing the *Spices* and *Riches* of the *East* into the *West*; that skill heims *myrrour*.

As for being in Saint Jerome's interpretation signifies *lygna viri*, aut *lygnationes viri*, aut *dolationes hominis*, *ζυγαριότητες*; whence some gather that much Timber grew there useful for building of Ships; perhaps, and I rather believe, for the Timbers brought thither as to some end, or for wayward that that purpose. For as Woods agree not with *Adphi*'s Wildernesse, so find little mention of Wood in all the *Arabick* thore; at leaft, later times have knowne none there. And *Salmas* the Great *Turke*, *A*. 1538. is said to have brought the materials of the great Fleet which hee built at *Smer* in the *Red Sea*, to invade *Diem* and expell the *Portugals* out of *India*, from remote Regions, *Materiae ex longinquis colligi iussit* (*Damiano* à *Gea* to our Author) *inquit*, *tempe*

Don Iohn di Castro speaks of this Fleet of *Salomon*, and sayth, the Timber whereof it was made was brought from *Libanon* and *Antilibanon* (so little signe saw hee, or heard of any Trees or Wood in these parts) and sayth, that from *Tore* all the Coast is West, and without any Port

2. *Thron* 21.8.
2 *Re* 14.22.

"The Edition of
Brixen hath
Idumea & Syri
venerunt &c.
in which

Manuscript of
M. Fuller a-
g:cah.
Sir. 4 16.

Adriani Periplasi

He which will

See more of
these antiqui-
ties let him
read *M. Fuller*.

**Mystery of the
Phoenix.**

Excl. 27.0 181
Original of

the tables of
Bacchus and
Hercules.
Take away
the Greek ver-

One makes it
57. & a halie,

Hieron. Epist. ad
Fabio!.

italian in
syphilis and
other (some

in *Chloris*.

HONDIVS *his Map of the Deserts and Israels Peregrination therein;*



but *Suez*, and that therefore *Cleopatra's Fleet* was brought by Land from *Nile*, to *Suez* over the *Isthmus*. This is in 29. degrees 45. minutes, fupp'd *Africus* of the Ancients, Some say, *Cassius Heron*; and said to be the *Turkey Africus* for his Armada, for those Seas, the Materials being brought from *Caramania*: which at *Cesir* before there, consist'd of one and forty great Gallies and nine great Ships. It cometh by Six *Hundred Addition* Story following, that their strength in those Seas is weak in later times. As that whole Wilderness yeelded nothing for mass life, but their food was Manna from Heauen, and their apparel was by heauenly power preferred, so here *Salamons* wisdom is freely giuen, and his Materials for an *Ophian Fleet*, and Temple structure must not be naturally there growing. His Mariners also must be borrowed, to those that *suffice* by faith, and in matters of grace, *wee haue nothing which wee haue not receeu'd*, not growing out of the natural powers of free will, but framed out of the will freed by diuine grace, agreeing to which Myrrour of the Temple standeth *Morians*, nor the nycture of the *Temple* itselfe, as the *Tabernacle* before built also of *Egyptian* iustices; if we considerd Cities which they builded not, and Vineyards plant'd by nature, and lastly, Chist himselfe consisted without the gate, that neither *Non iudaeum* may challenge either Monopoly or Merit, but all may be ascrib'd to meere mercy and free grace, *Non nobis domine, non uestro Lord,* not to vs but to thy Name be euery thing glory.

8. VIII.

of Ophir, dimers opinions weighed and censured; whether the Compasse was knowne to the old World; that the remote parts were lately inhabited, the New World but newly, and a great part thereof not yet.

[illegible][illegible]

Againe, the name *Pern* or *Pirra* is a vaine foundation, for diuers places (see *Ortelius his Theſaurus Geographicus*). True like or the lame names, neyther is any part of *America* by the Inhabitants called *Pern*. This name was accidentally by the *Spaniards* ascribed to both beginnings of their Discoveries on the South Sea, and continued to that great Kingdom of the *Inca* found by *Pizarro*. *Garcilasso de la Vega* of the *Inca*land Royall by his mother, sonne to one of the *Spanish* Conquerors, borne and brought up at *Cusco*, the chief City of *Pern*, sayth that they had no general name for the Kingdom, but *Tucuman* Say, that is, *The four parts of the World*; nor acknowledged the appellation of *Pern*: but the first *Discouersers* feeling on a fisherman in a Riuer, asked him of the Country, and he amazed and not vnderstanding them, answered *Bern*, and anon added *Pelu*, as if he should say, my name (if you aske me thereof) is *Bern*, and I was fishing in the Riuer, *Pelu* being the common name of a Riuer. The *Spaniards*, as if he had answered directly, corrupted a name of both those words, which they vnderstood not, and called the Region *Pern*, a name which the Natives had neuer heard. The like they did in another Province, where asking a Native what was the name of the Country, he answered, *Tellico*, *Tellico*, that is, *I vnderstand you not*, which they corruptly called *Incauan* and *Tucuan*, as if the *Indians* had affirmed that to be the name of the Region. The like althall names he obserueth of other *American* places,

50. The Ilefute *Blas Valera*, in his History of *Pernu* affirmeth the same, that *Pernu* is not the proper name but accidental, which the Natives know not. *Acosta* acknowledgeth it unknown to the Natives, and an occasioned name from a small River, which *Vega* faith was called to first by those *Spaniards*, which there tooke the fisherman. Thus the name which they would make as old as *Salomon*, began but Anno 1515. at the most, and that which is extended to *New Spain*, and *Pernu*, was knowne in neither, nor in any place else of the World.

Thirdly, I answer that *Peru* was not inhabited, nor yet *New Spaine*, one thousand yeares after *Salomons* time; of which I shall speake more anon, and in my following Discourse of the Apostolicall peregrinations.

60 Fourthly, neither could so long a Voyage then haue beene performed in three yeeres, being farre more then to haue compassed the Globe, which hath cost *Drake* and others three yeeres worke: where their worke was not in Mynes but in quicke fights.

Fiftly, this could not then be done without the Compaffe. *Pineda* may conceit himfelfe that thofe times knew it, but the *Phenicians* have in no Story left any fuch memoriall; nor others of
D them.

Gen. 10.26, 27,
28. 29 30;

Sepharuaim.
2.Reg. 17. is a
name as like,
and true, ad-
ding but a *Sa-*
mech to *Perna-*
im a name of a
place subdued
by the *Affryans*.
Vega.com, reads
1.1.6.4.5. See
his story *Tan*.
2.1.7.6.33.

Lopez de Gomara
ra Gen.bist.c.52

Elas Val. biß.
Pern.
Acoß. biß L. I.
cap. 13.

was more fortunate then learned. For out of a right rule that the World is round, and that therefore men might lye to the East by the West, Columbus first, and presently after him Sir Sebastian Cabot made their Discoveries, and stumbled on a New World by the way, whereof they had not dreamed.

Cabot's Voyage was to seeke *Cathay* or *China*. Columbus his intent was for the East Indies, and finding much Gold in *Hispánida*, without examining other difficulties, and falsly supposing himselfe to have attained the East Indies, he called that Island *Ophir*; which conceit *Francis Velezquez* rectified.

Now for *Sofala* or *Cafala*, many arguments are alleged by *Ortelius* (who here placeth *Salomon's Ophir*) and others. And indeed the abundance of Gold, and the excellencie thereof, as likewise of Silver, there taken out of the Mines; Peacocks, or Parots, whether you choote to interpret; Elephants, Apes, (Monkeys and Baboones) excellent Woods for such uses as the All-moggim Trees were applied; all these, together with the easie Navigation from the Red Sea thither along the *African* (shore; and lastly the name it selfe may seeme to plead for a *Sofala Ophir*, or *Sophira* (as *Isophu* call it) in this place. *Isaacs des Santos* lived eight yeares in those parts, and alleageth many things to this purpose. He saith that nere to *Mafapa*, is a great Hill called *Enra*, in the Kingdome of *Monomotapa*, to which he will not suffer the *Portugals* to passe lest the rich Mines should cause their too potent Neighbour-hood. On the top of that Hill are old ruinous walls of lime and stone. *Barrus* saith, they are also unknowne Letters over the gate: the people ignorant of such works, say they were built by Devils, thinking them impossible to men, judging others by themselves. They are five hundred and ten miles from *Sofala*, in one and twentie degrees of Southerly latitude. He counteth it to be *Pilemies Agimbe*, the buildings being till called *Simbamwa*. *Thomas Lopez* addes, that the *Moors* affirmed, that their Bookes and ancient Writings contayned, that King *Salomon* detched his Gold in his three yeares Voyage from thence.

At that time 1502. there were warres, but formerly the *Moors* of *Mozza* and *Bidem*, vied to carrie two Millions of *Mitigals* (which are about eight shillings a piece) yearly from thence. But to returne to *Sofala*, he alleageth a Tradition of the Natives, that these Mines and Buildings belonged to the Queen of *Saba*, and that others ascribe them to *Salomon*, making this *Fara* or *Afura* to be *Ophir*. See the place, * and his placing of this point, wherein I could be persuaded to be of his minde, if that *Moses* did not place *Ophir* Eastward, *Gen. 10. 30*. Who (if it likely) gave name to this golden Region.

There are that seeke for *Tarshish's Carthage*, and some I have knowne which place *Ophir* nere *Gambra*. Of this minde was *Captaine Infans*, which travelled vp that River, nine hundred and sixtie miles, and heard such golden reports of the In-land Countreys, as this Worke will from him deliver to you. And indeed I doe easily perswade my selfe, that the richest Mines of Gold in the World are in *Africa*, especially in the heart of the Land from the Line to the Tropicke of Capricorne. (See our Relations out of *Bermudes*, *Islands*, *Batavia* and others) and I cannot but wonder, that so many have sent so many, and spent so much in remoter Voyages to the East and West, and neglected *Africa* in the midst; which perhaps might prove as much richer as *40* neerer, then both the *Indies*. But *Rezum* of *Index sui obliquis* if we see *Ophir* to be in the East Indies, it cannot be in *America* or *Africa*, unless we be of *Acosus* opinion, who howsoever he thinketh that *Salomon's* Gold, &c. came from the East Indies, yet conceiveth that *Ophir* and *Tarshis* signifie no certayne Regions, but are taken in a generall sense, as the word *India* is with vs, applied to all remoter Countreys. *Ophir* might be any of the former, remote farre from the Red Sea.

But I can tell that *India* received his name from the River *Indus*, still called *Sinde*, (which hath also foisted all our Geographers hitherto, making it to passe throw *Cambaya*, which Sir *Thomas Roe's* Voyage will confute, that it is idle manrell. If *Ophir* trouble vs so much, and because the Countreys beyond *India*, were so mainly knowne by their true names, and *Indus* came from so remote Regions, they continued and extended that name to them: and (as even now you heare) by misprision called *America*, *India*, not dreaming of a Westerne, but supposing that by the West, he had arrived in the Eastern *India*. Now, why *Ophir* should be so dilated, I see no such reason. *Tarshis* we shall better examine after. And for others opinions of *Ophir* to be an Island in the Red Sea called *Ypso*, or *Ormus* in the *Persian*, they are not worth examining: being not able to yield Gold, and the other Commodities which *Salomon* sought.

The truth of *Ophir* must as a deepe Myne be drawne out of *Moses*, *Gen. 10*. Wherein although wee cannot approve the opinion of those which conceiue *Moses* in that Chapter, to have set downe the just number of Languages and Nations, as if there were fœuente two of each, and neither more nor fewer: yet it must needs be granted, and the Text plainly asseureth, *These 60* are the Families of the Sonnes of *Noah* after their generations, in their Nations, and by these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood: and particularly of the Sonnes of *Shem* (here questioned) *These are the sonnes of Shem, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their Nations*. So that wee gather that the first originals of Nations are there mentioned, such especially

ally as concerned his Ecclesiastical story, or was necessary for the Church to take knowledge of. For neither were they all differing Nations and Languages which he mentioneth, nor all Nations or Languages there mentioned. For eleven of them are the Sons of *Canaan*, which all people that little region, which *Israel* after by *Ismael* conduct possessed, in which all spake one language, or else *Abraham* & the Patriarks must have learned many tongues in their frequent perambulations; which some thinke the same which the *Israellites* spake, & judge it evident in the History of the first Spies, and of *Rahab's* entertaining of the later Spies; and that it is called by the Prophet, *The language of Canaan*, *Ez. 19. 18*, and carried thence into *Egypt* before the Patriarks, to whom *Israell* spake first by an Interpreter, but in revealing himselfe, he with his own mouth (that is, in their tongue) spake two times, when the Interpreter and all others were excluded. And in the whole title of the Old Testament, no difference of language is notified in all the commerce and cobitations of all sorts of both Nations. * *Priscian* saith, *Lingua Patrum Chaldaea vel Hebraea familia*: and *Saint Jerome*, *Puniqui Phoeni, quorum lingua Hebraea magna ex parte confusa est*. *Saint Augustine* often saith as much; and diuers wordes of the language confirme it. As for a *Shiboleth*, and *Siboleth*, or some difference of Dialect (which wee see with vs almost in every Shire) were make not that a difference of, but in the Language. And so it seemeth it was in the first Ages, before Conquest and Commerce brought in so many new wordes to the *Punick* language. The *Punick Scene* in *Plautus* his *Panulus*, by * *Scaliger*, *M. Sallus* and others is found a kind of *Hebrew*, after all those ages and changes. I will not herein contend with *M. Fuller* and others which have written contrary. But either they were the same, or not much differing: and (which I principally ayme at) all these eleven Nations had the same language at least in the Patriarks times, and not unlike the *Hebrew*, which was so little altered, after such alteration of time and place.

Now because that Countrey was knowne to *Abraham's* posteritie, *Moses* is more exact in bounding the places; & intimating the people, then in all *Israell's* posterity (which it seemeth peopled one hundred times so much Countrey) as not pertaining to *Israell's* Inheritance, and not much to their neighborhood or knowledge. And if *Salomon* employed about eight score thousand in continual workes so many yeeres for the Temple, how many shall we thinke employed themselves in that *Babylonian* structure, which occasioned that diversifying of languages; and which is therefore likely to have happened long after *Peleys* birth, by which time the world could not likely be peopled? Neither may wee deny more then ordinary multiplication in those first Ages after the Flood: though we grant a good space after *Peleys* birth, for how else could such a multitude have assembled to loose to such a purpose? Wee see the like admirable increase of the *Israellites* in *Egypt*, in despite of bloody butchery and slavery, which yet asked about two hundred yeeres, from fœuente persons. And can any man thinke that where a World was multiplied, that the Fathers had no more Sonnes than are there mentioned? especially seeing of *Semi* line, *Gen. 11. 12* said they begat other sonnes: and of them as were expected few generations, of the other but two or three, and most of them omitted, except such as most concerned *Israell* in neighbourhood or other affaires. How could *Israell* yield thirteene Nations then, when *Peleys* was none, till of *Abraham*, six generations after, some were deriued? I suppose therefore that *Abraham* fer there names not all Nations, as writing not a Story of the World, but those principally which by vicinitie or Inheritance, or future commerce (as this *Ophir* and his brethren) he bound the *Israellites* to take notice of; especially him, who was to alter *Moses* his Tabernacle into so glorious a Temple, and to be so liuely a figure of a greater then *Moses* and *Salomon* both. Nor is it likely but that there was a greater confusion of languages, then into so many as can be gathered in the tenth of *Genesis*; so that all there mentioned differed in tongue from each other; for to *Shem's* *Cham*, and *Japheth's* should neuer have understood each other, nor their posteritie. It is probable therefore, that God multiplying the World in so short a space (which, as I said, I rather thinke to have hapned some good while after *Peleys* death, as *Cromwell* diverseth out of them) most men of most families were there, and their languages also miraculously multiplied; (The *Israell* tradition is that it hapned a little before *Peleys* death, as *Cromwell* diverseth out of them) but being a conspiracy against God, many others were not there and retained their ancient *Ebrew*; especially the pious and religious Patriarks. Such perhaps was *Peleys* himselfe, then a man of yeeres, and therefore his name given him of that confusion in others. For if any thinke that *Peleys* name intimates the building of *Babel* at his birth, we thinke that *Abraham*, *Sarah*, and *Isaac* had their names changed in their ripper yeeres.

This diuision of languages caused that dispersion, therefore is the name of it called *Babel* (or Confusion) because the Lord did there confound the language of all the Earth: and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the Earth. Yet cannot we say that presently this was wholly executed; but even then so many as spake one language, dwelt together in one Region: other Persons and Families in other Regions, which then were thinly planted, and in proceesse of time more fully peopled, and Colonies also deriued to people remoter Regions. For although Man, (that is Mankind) hath a right to all the Earth, yet here there was a very great part of the Earth vntrooped in *Moses* time, yea to these dayes of Ours. And if we marke all the Heads

allowing twelfefold proportion, is 4500. li. According to which iust reckoning *Salomons* four hundred twenty Talents of Gold brought from *Ophir*, came to one million eight hundred ninety thousand pounds, *Davids* 3000. Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, 1. *Chron.* 29.4. afore said, was thirteen millions and five hundred thousand in *English* money. His Silver then offered (7000. Talents) is two millions 625000. li. The offering of the Princes (5000. Talents of Gold) was two and twenty millions five hundred and seven thousand & 500. pounds; and their tenth thousand Talents of Silver came to three millions and seven hundred fifty thousand pounds. *Salomon* had also given him by the *Queen of Sheba* 120. Talents, that is five hundred and forty thousand pounds. As much was lent him by *Hiram*. Now the whole Furniture of the Tabernacle was twenty nine Talents of Gold, and 720. Shekels; in our money, one hundred thirty and one thousand, five hundred ninety and five pounds; the silver was 100. talents, and 1777. shekels, that is, thirty seven thousand, seven hundred and twenty one pounds fourteen shillings six pence. Thus hath Master *Berevod* call'd up these summes. Now for this *Ophirian* Gold, *Salomon* is said, 2. *Chron.* 8. 18. to have had from *Ophir* four hundred and fifty talents, thirty more then 1. *Reg.* 9. are mentioned, which thirty Talents, it seemeth were spent in wages or other charges, and came not to the Kings Coffers.

But a great scruple remaineth about the 100000. talents of Gold, mentioned before out of 1. *Chron.* 22. 14. which amount to four hundred and fifty millions of pounds; summes stupendous and prodigious beyond all that the *Persians, Greeks, or Roman* Empires ever saw at one time, after greater and longer conquests then *Davids*; and such, as even *Salomons* wealth had been by much outstript by *Davids*; which agreeth not either to the History, or to the Mystery, that Heaven peep't & glory should be furnished by militant Faith and great *Alexander* the richest Conquerour. But but eighteen millions and seven hundred and 50000. pound of money at his death and in conquest of *Darius*, had gotten but thirty two millions 750000. pounds; and *Cyrus* out of the conquest of *Alexander* gathered but 125. millions, which yet is the greatest summe (except that of *Sardanapalus* mentioned by *Ctesias*, an Author not much to be credited) which any Ethnick story mentioneth. Wee must therefore find another acceptation of the word there translated *Talents*, which is taken sometimes for a lump of metall in forme of a Cake, or else that name *Talent* is sometimes taken for a small summe, as out of *Pollux* and *Homer*, M. *Berevod* paines have observed: who also having call'd up the particulars, findeth that such summes could not have been spent on the Temple, had the Walls and Pavements bene of massie Silver, the Roofs and all the Linings of the Walls and the Furniture of solid Gold.

Salomons yearly revenue (as some interpret, 2. *Chron.* 9. 13.) was five hundred sixty fixe talents of Gold, besides his Customes and the rich Presents of Gold and Silver sent him from the Kings of *Arabia* and the Gournours; that lukes but three pounds of three millions in our reckoning. Some would make up this great summe of the *Ophirian* Gold, and *Hiram*, and the *Queen of Sheba* gifts, which all luke but six talents; as if it were not an Annual, but Casual Revenue, which I cannot approve. Some interpret it of ordinary tributes leised of his Subjects; some of the posteritie of the *Chanaanites* (a thing vnklyly) and some of forraigne voyages, making him to send every yeere a Fleet, though none of those Fleets returned till the third yeere. *Villalpandus* makes it more by one returne from *Ophir*, the first of four hundred and twenty Talents, the second, of four hundred and fifty, the third, of five hundred sixty fixe of Gold, besides Silver and other goods. And, as for *Salomons* entire Revenues, he wixt great paines in the adding, raiseth them higher then the *Persians*, then *Alexanders*, then those of the *Roman* Empire arising from his Customes, his Gifts and Presents, Taxations, Tributes, piousness of Corne, &c. That of the King of *Tyrrus* he reckoneth a tribute, and out of *Eusebius* allegeth that the *Tyrrians* were tributaries. We may here also remember, that there is no mention of the summe of the Silver which they brought from *Ophir*, which is likely was far more then the Gold; inasmuch that it was reputed as *Stones*, and was of none account in the dayes of *Salomon*.

To mee it seemeth that the five hundred sixty fixe fixe Talents of Gold is spoken onely of forraigne Gold, partly by *Ophirian* and other merchandizing Trades, and partly by Presents; of which the two principall, *Hiram*, and the *Queen of the South* are exprest: but it is added of others, That all the Kings of the Earth sought the presence of *Salomon*, and brought every man his Presents, vessels of Silver, and vessels of Gold, and Raiment, Harness and Spices, and Horses and Mules, at a yeere by yeere. Grant then a Fleet yearly let forth, which came not home till the third yeere, one succeeding another (as in the Spanish Fleets to Peru, and ours to the *Indies*, of which is a yearly returne, yet not of the same) and these yearly Presents, there could not be left then six hundred sixty fixe Talents: besides pearls, tenge or twelve times as much in Silver, and all the Spices, Horses, Mules, Customes of Merchants, Tributes of the *Edomites, Moabites, and Yafaks*, Taxes on his *Israelitish* Subjects, Revenues out of his Pastures, and innumerable Cattell and husbandry of Crowne Lands (wee will not add, with some Chymistry that might have leaved his *Ophirian* paines) and all the riches left him by Inheritance from his Father. Now that the six hundred sixty fixe Talents is to be understood of Strangers, appeareth in that exception, *Vinf.* 14. where none

none but forraigne Incomes are mentioned. And hereby most liuely is both the calling of the Gentiles figured, of which the 72. Psalm was by the Spirit of God purposely indited in correspondence of this type, and the Christian Truth; as also the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem, which stretcheth not out of the works of righteousness which we have done, but of free gifts, of which it is said, They shall bring the glory and honour of the Nations into it. Res. 21. where in vision that glorious Citie is represented, and correspondent to *Salomons* type, The Citie was of pure Gold, and the Foundations and gates of precious Stones, but there is no mention at all of Silver.

Another question ariseth out of *Davids* 3000. Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, whether hee paid the *Ophirian* Voyage also; and some suppose that hee had made seven voyages thither, which reckoning 4200. Talents a time, makes much about that summe of three thousand Talents. For my part, I thinke *David* a greater Warrior then Merchant, allowing the greatest summes before questioned to be returned and consecrated out of the Spoils, as himselfe confesseth, In my trouble I have prepared for the house of the Lord 100000. Talents of Gold, &c. and more plainly, 1. *Chronicles* 18. 11. considering also that it was long before his State could be settled at home, and fitted abroad to attend such Navigations; which likewise have neither ground in the Sacred Story (for the Gold of *Ophir* is prouerbially, usually in Scripture for fine and pure Gold) nor agree with the type, *David* one way, *Salomon* another resembling Christ, and their times the state of the Church; likewise that *David* had much care of husbanding his estate to the best, shirring being the fewell of Magnificence, as appeareth in the particular enumeration of the Officers for his Kents, Store-houses, Husbandmen in the Field, Vineyards, Olive-presses, Sycamores and Oyle, Herds in *Chron.* and in the Valler, Camels, Ases, Flockes; it is no marvell if such industry acquired such substance in such continuance of time, and that hee said I have of mine own proper goods of Gold and Silver which I have given to the house of my God, and above all that I have prepared (to wit, in consecrated spoils) for the holy House three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, &c. This example of *David* sheweth that it is no impeachment, yea the true advancement of Honour for Princes to visit frugal husbandry and means of thriving at home; as that other of *Salomon*, to adde helpe of Discourtesy and Trade abroad (both in a Royall manner by their iust Officers) that Magnificence may stand firme on both legs: the want whereof hath denied that wealth (not to speake of power) the many Ages to many Kings out of farre farte greater meanes (besides other inconveniences to themselves and their Subjects) which *David, Salomon*, and other Kings in the old World had. Once these examples so moued that good King *Isabaphast*, that hee built Cities of store at home, and had many Flockes, and made Ships able to goe to Tarshish, and they made the Ships in Ezion-Geber, the same Port where *Salomon* made his Nauall provisions; but issuing thence with *Ahaziah* King of *Israel*, who did very wickedly (So much worse before God is an *Ahaziah* then a *Hiram*, the one an honest minded Gentle, the other a schismaticall Idolatrous Ifraite) that the Lord broke the morkes, and the Ships were not able to goe to Tarshish.

We have bene very long in this metall Discourse: yet how much longer was *Salomon* in his three yeeres Voyage, and how much longer the most of men, which make their whole life a voyage to *Ophir* for Gold and Silver, thorow to many diuerted Seas of Act, force, frauds to get those metalls which procreate neere Hell, carry their eager leekers thither altogether: That the Silver was more by farre then the Gold, was before proved; but the quantitie is not exprest, as not agreeing with *Salomons* either Litterall Story, or Mysticall Glory. Some thinke that there was in every voyage 24. times as much Silver as Gold; but because they conceive that Nature hath given us much more thereof in quantitie, as the qualitie and price is vnderstanded; and because all the Stories Ancient and Moderne magnifie *Indes* for Gold of Silver; and so prodigious prodigality, to give Silver in *Ten* *Salomon* as *Stones*, must haue a deep fountain for such a flowing stream, besides those other Silver Hooks and Brooks mentioned in *Salomons* History. But we will leaue these precious, specious opinions to take view of Gemmes.

And herein *American* Pearls, and *Sofals* are beggerly in comparison of those parts of *Indie*, where we have placed *Ophir*, as the former testimonies well weighed with whatsoever can be brought for the other, will easily and superabundantly conuince. In Northern *America* are some Turckesses, in the Southerly are laide to bee (which others question) *Emeralds*, in both Pearles, but not comparable to the Orientall: these Bezars are twice lo good; in Spices to make comparison hath no spice of knowledge. And first for the first of gemmes, *Diamonds*, *Flint* faith, *Salomon* in rebus *Salomon* non solum inter gemmas, primum habet *Adamans*, vnde modo in metallis reperitur. Some have conceived it to call the Loadstones attraction, and to resist all force of Hammer, which experience hath found contrary. The Kingdome of *Nersinga*, *Enaggar*, *Orissa*, *Malsipatan*, and all the Countreies on the *Cheromandel* Coast, are the most famous for Rocks of Diamonds, and now also *Succodana* (where they die: for them as true Pearles) *Decan*, *Delis*, and *Agra*, *Tarriam* also in the Trade of *Malacca*, and *Lana*. Here then is the Worlds Centre of Diamonds, both for the most and best. *Garcia ab Horto* writes, that he hath seene one of one hundredth and forty Mangils (that is seven hundred Graines) another of one hundredth and twenty,

Whether *Davids* lent these to *Ophir*.

1. *Chron.* 22. 14.
2. *Chron.* 18. 11.
D. Dec.

1. *Chron.* 27. 15.
2. *Chron.* 28. 17.
3. *Chron.* 29. 14.

Two remarkable pillars of Royall Magnificence, Husbandry on Land, and Navigation by Sea

1. *Chron.* 17. 14.
2. *Chron.* 28. 17.
3. *Chron.* 29. 14.

D. Dec.

1. *Chron.* 27. 15.

Gemmes

2. *Chron.* 27. 14.

Sec. C. Seru.
L. 1. c. 1.
T. 1. c. 1.

[illegible]

Strabo and Livy (before this greatness of *Alexandria*, as if they may) extoll *Dysporus* in the bottom of the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, where people of *twelve* languages, or as *Timotheus* affirmed, three hundred several Nations reformed; and after that the *Romans* won one hundred and thirty *Islands* in their bulwarks. In *Flower* time this *Babylon* was waste, I imagined that when the *Perseus* before possessed *India* and *Africke*, in this *Dysporus* was the Staple of *Indian Commodities*: might partly by the *Perseus* Galle as far as *Perseus* would permit, the rest by Land, which is most way. Or, as some thinke, and not without cause, that *Sea* being so many

See F&M Miscel.

Diễn văn.
Số 11.
Phần 1, 6, 7, 8.

60

60

618.10.4.

* 1615.11.

fame to *Ophir* and *Tharsh*; *Pineda* and *Goropius* bring vs to *Tartessus* in *Spain*. But I embrace the opinion of *Cornelius Cornelii*, *Udalaphandus* (and herein *Ribera* also agrees) which say that of *Tarshish* the Sonne of *Lauan*, *Cilicia* took name at first, still continued to *Tarsh* (where *Saint Paul* was borne, famous in old times by *Strabo* report for the *Vouiferitie* and other *Antiquities*) and the Inhabitants thereof, and the adjoining Regions being famous at *Tarsh*, might cause that *great Sea* (as the Scripture calls it) in comparison of the lesser *Sea* in *India* to be called *Tarshish*, name then easily by the *Iewes* derived to all great Seas, whether *Mediterranean* or *Ocean*.

Now that which makes Interpreters to question some place in *India*, or elsewhere, is the place of going to and coming from *Tarshish*, and bringing goods from thence, a kind of speech which to *Pineda* seemeth ridiculous, if thereby be not meant some certain place on Land. We see at this day the Hill *Atlas* in *Africke*, hath given name to that huge huge Ocean, extending euen to the New Worlds of the South and West. The Straits betwixt *Spain* and *Africke*, give name with our Mariners to all the Midland Sea within and beyond them. *Indus* gave name to *India*, and all the Ocean adjoining; and the South Sea (the greatest of knowne Seas) is so termed, because *Valques Balboa* first lay it lying to the South from him; neither can the *Westerne Scite*, take away that name *Del Sur* to this day. Is it then any marvell, that *Tarshish* the *Cilician* Sea, next adjoining to *Indus*, should give name to all the deeper and larger parts of the *Mediterranean*, which they had occasion after to take notice of, and to other Seas from the Red Sea toward more wide and spacious. *Pineda* himselfe confesseth, that *Tartessus* which hee would have to be *Tharsh*, gave name not only to *Babica*, but to all *Spain*. And is it any more ridiculous or absurd to say, the King had a Naute of *Tarshish* at Sea, then that which our vulgar Mariners say, the Straits fleet is now at Sea, or the Straits fleet is come from Sea, speaking of our Merchants ships, which keep company together in the Seas for teares of *Alger* Pirates? Do not they call them *Straits Merchants*? and say, that such & such goods are brought out of the Straits, or carried into the Straits; that are sent thorow those Seas, and brought by those Seas, to or from any Port therein? And as usually answer to Sea, or that Gold, Silver, Iuorie, Peacocks and Apes should be said to be brought from Sea: For our Mariners (which learne not their Idioms of Scholers) vs to say, when all their shortly they are to goe to Sea, or have lately come from Sea, without naming any Port; that such a man hath got all his goods by Sea, great wealth hath come to him by Sea; hee hath had great loss by Sea, and other like phrases of Sea-men (for so also are they called, in opposition to Land-men, in regard of their Trade and course of life, though the habitation of both be on Land). This then may be the sense: *SA. 10. 20. 10. had at Sea a Naute at Tarshish*, that is, ships built for long voyages at Sea: as we call men of Warre, or ships of Warre, which are built for that purpose. And howe as it is the contriution, Iehoshaphat made ships of *Tarshish* to goe to *Ophir*, in these words, *a Sea-naute, or ship of the Sea, to goe to Ophir*; that is, not such Fisher-boates, as they law in the Sea of *Galilee*, or such small Barks as they vied in *Palatima* to trade from Port to Port, but a Naute Royall of strong ships able to brooke long Voyages in the Ocean.

1284.1.

17. 72. 11.

By some va-

dictors and

vaine Cutters

or Printers

flawes, or ig-

norance, in in-

fidelity of di-

stinction, in

the trans-

formation of

a great Booke,

some words of

this Psalm

proper to

Chilfare ap-

plied to his

Maisties pi-

cture; Omnes

gentes serui-

ti, &c. which I

mention to

vindicate both

that Scripture

and his Mue-

sic from cal-

umnies.

* See Tems,

p. 19.

I also thinke that in regard of the length of those Voyages, in which they were two thirds of the time at Sea (after our account) and three whole yeeres in each Voyage from their Land home, in a kind of eminence, they were in these Voyages said to goe to *Tarshish* or to Sea. And so *Iouan* likewise minding to flee from that Land whither he was sent, was hurried in the strength of temptation, a quite contrary way, whether that ship intended *Tarsh* in *Cilicia* or whither-soeuer it went, he chusing rather a certaintie of flight then of scite, or letting himselfe in any where, *pergrei festinabat. Et magis hoc conuenit fugituro & timido, non lucum fuga otiosi elegit, sed primum oceanum arripere nauigare.* Likewise in that Psalm which mystically and fully is true of Christ in the calling of the *Gemites*; typically and in part verified in *Salomon* (wickedly and *Anus* the Second, and *Lee* the Tenth) it is said, *The Kings of Tarshish and of the Isles shall bring presents, the Kings of Sheba and Saba shall offer gifts*; it is plain by the Historie of *Salomon* in Scripture, and by royning of *Tarshish* and *Sheba* together, that no *Tartessus*, nor *Angola*, nor *Pori*, ruled in Lands (which is also added) or Coast; and *Tromellius* reads *Rogei Oceani accole* which and all remote Maritime Princes the Scripture calls Lands which vied also (as in those parts of the East *India*, almost all the Kings are at this day Merchants) trade by Sea, and perhaps enioyed the Title of the adjoining Seas (as his Maistie is King of the *British* Ocean, and anon *namus*, *Regnum*, *Insularum*, *Oceanus*, *Britanniam circumiacens*, *caucasicum*, *Nationum*, *que infra* 60 *oceanum* *incluuntur*, *Imperator & Dominus*. Such were the Kings of *Tarshish*, whose Customes from the Sea, and Trade by it, made them haue their ships of *Tarshish*, & wealth from *Tarshish*; as in later dayes, the Kings of *Aden*, *Ormus* and *Malacca*; and still of *Parague*, *Socatra*, *Calicut*, *Cocbin*, *Zelan*, *Achen*, and many others included in the circuit of our *Ophirian* Voyage are; and might there.

therefore iustly be called Kings of *Tarshish*: from all which no doubt either in the course of this *Ophirian* Voyage, and Trade, or otherwise sent by special Messengers, *Salomon* had preints, as in 1. Reg. 10. 2. 2. 5. is expressed.

Pineda himselfe citeth out of *Strabos* third Booke of the *Geudicus* (which is *Tartessus*, or with him *Tharshish*) *plerique mare incolunt, pauci domi desident*: and in this respect *Tyrus* may by the Prophet be called *filia Tharsh*, daughter of the Sea, as feated in it, ruling on it, and luning of it. The *Chaldee Paraphrase* hath the Kings of *Tharsh*, and the Lands of the great Ocean Sea; which may bee vnderstood of the Indian Sea: and not as *Goropius* and *Pineda* would vire vs, of *Spain*. *Pineda* citeth *Anasthys Sinaita*, that *Tharsh* is *Hispania Regionis Occidentalis*; and *Forerius* & *Engubinus* to assist *Goropius*: whose authoritie shall so farre moue as their reason is weightie.

As for *Goropius*, his fifth, sixth and seventh Bookes of his *Hispanica* are principally spent on *Tharshish* the Sonne of *Lauan*, which he writes *Tartessus*, as signifying in that which he makes the first of Languages (the Dutch Tongue mother of ours) one that dares adventure the Seas, or one that carries in the Sea: therefore also firnamed *Atlas* or *Atlant*, *quasi Hic Iam, or Hic Land*, Him he makes with his brother *Elishabath* the peoples of *Spain*, and iustly, that of his skill in *Affronomie* and inuention of the Sphære, he was fabled to beare the Heavens; and to haue named his daughters with names of Bounties; to haue failed allo to *Ophir*, to called as ouer the widest Sea, as *Perru* of a peere there built; to be contemptible as very ease to be confuted. *Pineda* pleaint, not solid enough to conuince, nor to be contemptible as very ease to be confuted. *Pineda* both written many sheets of paper to honour his *Spanish* home with *Salomon* Voyages for the Temples structure, wherein his error amoris and not amor erroris may plead his excuse, according to that of the Poet, *Nescio quia natale solum dulcedine cinctus Ducit, & memorem non sinit esse sui*. I cannot but marvell, that two learned men are so strongly carried by so weak reasons as the likelihood of words in *Tharsh* and *Tartessus*, when Geographers tell vs of, and themselves confesse, *Tarsh* in *Cilicia*, *Tarsh* in *Syria*, *Tarsh* in *Pannonia*, and a River of that name in *Troas*, which I know not how many others; and besides, *Tartessus* being a *Phœnician* Colonie might of *Tharshish* or the Ocean receive the name (whether we intend *Qadix* or *Cadix*, thereby, or the whole *Beitike* Province as feated in, or on the Sea or Coast, and luning by Maritime Arts.

But of names of places wee haue before spoken how casual and accidental they are. Euen *Tartarus* the name of Hell is neere the former, & *Strabo* sheweth that *Homer* called it so of this *Tartessus* in the remotest West; which *Hellish* kindred of termes, me thinks, should not be very grateful to *Spanish* eares. Etimologists may easily runne mad if they bee permitted libertie; neither is any argument found from the found of syllables within either credible Witnesse. Therefore *Pineda* addeeth the frequent Circumnavigation of *Africa* in those dayes; of which he citeth one out of *Hierodotus*, of the *Phœnicians* long after this sent by *Neco*, which makes againe him; for *Hierodotus* both doobed of it, as a matter seeming to him incredible, that they should faile beyond the Sunnes course, and therefore could not be frequent; for that Navigation would haue made both Tropicks familiar: he also faith in *hunc modum Africa primum esse agnita*: it were the first Voyage, *Salomon* were none, or at least his Title is false. *De frequentis & celeberrimi Arabico in Hispaniam nauigatione*.

They wintered also by the way, and stayed the growing and ripening of Corne, which argueth no people, at least no Trade in those parts. His next testimony is of *Setesius*, who haue de-flored the Daughter of *Zeyrrus* should therefore haue been crucified, but by his mothers intreatie *Xerxes* pardoned him upon condition of this *African* Circumnavigation; which argueth the rareness of the attempt, as did the sequel also: for haueing failed out of the Straits, and coasted some parts of *Africke*, he returned (in despair) and failed he could faile no further, his ship being detained that it could not goe forwards. As for *Darius* tending to *Indus*, it is not to this purpose. The fragments of *Spanish* ships in the *Arabick* Gulfe is mentioned by *Plinie*, as a wonder in 50 *Caesar* Cæsar times and that of *Hæmo* is greeth not writt the Historie which is extant of his Voyages, and more credit and of *Eudoxus* fleeing the tyranny of *Leulphus* and coming to *Gades*; by that Circumnavigation it was not far Trade, nor at a dead life, to faile his life. Another is said by *Antiquary* to haue failed from *Spaine* to *Leiphotis*, which might be to the next Blackes before he came to that which now is called *Ginnee*.

And these are all which are brought for the frequent & celeberrimi nauigatione, that of *Neco* and of *Eudoxus*, and a *Spanish* wracke, being all that Ages could yeeld vnto *Plinie* time; and all also failing round *Salomon*: and of these that of *Eudoxus* which is the most likely is another likewise told by *Strabo*, and at large referred. As for the long tale of *Semiramis* out of *Suidas*, it was to *India* by the Indian Ocean (it were at all) and not to *Spain*. And out of *Silins* his Verbe, *Et celeberrima Oceanus hæc æthiopia* Histall, to gather the *Beitike* Navigations to *India*, round about *Africa*, or to *Mexico* & *Perru*, argueth the Author to be *Hispanicus*; a *Beitike* wit, raiused with I know not what *Beitike* fancies: as that also that *Salomon* sailing from *Sea* to *Sea*, must be from the Red Sea to the *Gadrian*, as if from *Eflon* he were to *Toppe*, were not from *Sea* to *Sea*.

From hence he turneth to the *Phœnician* Navigations, which to mention here is more to our purpose.

Strab. 15.

Circumnaui-

gations of de-

fidee eares

Hærocl. 14.

Plin. 2. 6. 6.

quibus futuribus fabularum sub Apostolorum nomine Scriptas : and refuted the like testimonies of
m tier de scrip. Iohn and Andrew produced by the Marcionites. S. Hierom nameth five *Aperapha* Bookes falsly attributed to Peter, his *Acts*, his *Gospel*, his *Pradication*, his *Apocalypse*, his *Judgement*. Some also mention *Immerarum Petri*, which perhaps is the same with *Clements* Recognitions, another counterfeit. In *Pauls* name was published a *Gospel*, *Apocalypse*, his *Revelation*, his *Ascension* (which the *Gnosticks* vied as such *Epiphany*) his *Acts*, & third *Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, and to the *Thessalonians*, and one to the *Laudicans*. Iohn nameth a Father of other *Revelations*, and of the *Virginis Depositione*, Saint *Andrews Gospel*, Saint *Thomas* his *Gospel* and *Apocalypse*, Saint *Bartholomews Gospel*, Saint *Matthews* Booke of *Christs Infancy*, recited by the *Valentinians*, are condemned by *Gelasius*. Neither did *Matthias*, *Philip*, and *Thaddaeus* want their *Gospels*, heretical births inuiously laid at their doors: nor *Barnabas* also, nor *Mark*, nor *Iudas* the Traitor, which the *Cenari* acknowledged, as *Theodoret* and *Epiphanius* have written, letice futable to such polluted lips. We might adde the *Acts* (so inscribed) of *Andrew*, of *Thomas*, of *Philip*, of *Paul* and *Thelca Iohnis Circum*. Yea the Colledge Apostolicall was made to father like Bastards, as the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, the *Loss of the Apostles*, the *Praise of the Apostles*, besides other *Acts of the Apostles*, and the manglings of the truly Apostolicall Pages by Addition, or Substraction. What shall I say? Our Blessed Lord escaped not heretical Impostures in his Name, as the Booke *De magis ad Petrum & Paulum*. And I thinke him rather prodigall then liberal, or iust of his faith which subscribes to that story of *Abagarus*. But it were endlesse to leste then needlesse, to intangle our felues in this diabolicall Maze and heretical labyrinth of forged forgeries, in that and after Ages, the *Enimians mans* *hypocritism* to bewitch *unstable soules*, not contented with *Crabbe* *domes* and proudent allowance. If therefore of Saint *Matthews* *Ethiopian* peregrinations, if of Saint *Matthias* in *Ethiopia* also (for a great part of *Asia*, and the greatest of *Africa* were filled by that name) if of *Iudas Thaddaeus* his preaching in *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, *Idumaea*, and the Regions adiacent, we have so little recorded it is no great marvell. It may be possible to understanding Readers, that we have out of the best Authors extant, named the most Countries of the then knowne world. And if every Region and People bee not mentioned, impute it to the want of History of their feuerall *Acts*, which rather to write *Christs Passions* in the hearts, than their owne *Actions* in the bookes of Men; to produce deeds not wordes, and monuments of Diuine, not their owne glory. Few places can be named in *Asia* or *Africa*, which wee have not mentioned in their peregrination and preaching: and faire probability is for those not mentioned by consequence of reason, which as yet can proue nothing to the contrary; and more then probability is the Diuine testimony before obliuied.

§. VI.

Of Saint PAUL: of Apostolicall Assistants: some doubts discussed.

AS for Saint Paul, the Doctor of the Gentiles, he flew like a swift Fowle ouer the World: 40
wee haue his owne testimony of his Preaching in *Arabia*, his returne to *Damascus*, and journey after *three* yeeres to *Ierusalem*, thence to the Regions of *Syria* and *Cilicia*; yea that hee (not sprinkled but) filled *Ierusalem* to *Lyricum* with the *Gospel* of his preaching in *Italy* and *Rome*, of his purpose for *Spain*, which some may say hee fulfilled afterwards, adding thereto *Portugal*, *France*, *Britaine*, the *Orchades*, the *Islands* and Regions adjoining to the Sea, and his returne by *Germany* into *Italy*, where hee suffered Martyrdom, being by Nero beheaded. I force no mans credit, as neither to that of *Ioseph of Arimathea* his preaching to the *Brianni*, nor Saint *Denis* his Conuersion of the *Gallies*, at least in all things written of them. But for the *Acts of Paul*, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, the Scripture is more ample then of any the rest, the greater parts of Saint *Lukes* History, being of *Pauls Acts*.

What should wee adde the labours of Euangelists, Assistants, and Co-workmen with the Apostles in those first Plantations, sent by them in feuerall millions to diuers places? Such were *Barnabas*, *Aquila*, *Silas*, *Philip* the Deacon, *Siluanus*, *Timothee*, *Titus*, and others: some of which were after Bishops (as is anciently beleued) of particular Churches. *Ephesus*: Saint Pauls disciple is said to haue bene Bishop of *Carthage*; *Andronicus* another of them in *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*, *Amphyas* at *Obisla*, *Urbanus* in *Macedonia*, *Iason* at *Tarsus*, *Trophimus* at *Arles*, *Crescens* at *Vienna*, *Aristobulus* in *Britaine*, *Agnosticus* in *Hyrcania*, *Hermes* in *Dalmatia*, and others in other places, a Catalogue of whom in *Bernardinus* his *Theatre* you may see at leisure. Saint Markes disciple of Saint Peter hauing preached to *Lalys*, *Marmarica*, *Armenia*, *Pontapolo*, and *Egypt* ordained Bishops in the new planted Churches, *Entrapius* another of Saint *Peters* disciples, is said to haue preached in *France*: *Adelfianus* another of them, to some parts of *Germany*, as *Symon* of *Cyrene*, to other parts. But it were too tedious, to bring hither all that Authors haue written of the seventy disciples, and other Apostolicall Assistants, who spent and were spent, consumed and consummated their course in and for the Gospel.

But

HONDIVS his Map of Saint PAULS Peregrination.



40 But here some may say, that wee haue not named all Countries of the World, and of those named there is in Authors much varietie of report, in iudicious Readers much scruple to credit. I answere, that it were a faire harder taske to proue that any Country, not here mentioned, was neglected in this Ministry. Neither did the Geography of those times extend their survey much further, then that we haue here in their Journals expressed: although it much extended it selfe beyond the truth. Besides, who can wonder that the Apostles found not Pen-men, to record their Euangelicall conquests thorow the World, seeking to establish a Kingdome Spirituall and Internall, contemning the worlds glory, and of vaine-glorious worldlings contemned, when the great Conquerours, which sought to subdue the World by force, and plant Empires by Armes, haue left to obliuie notice of their exploits, though dedicated to humane applaus and admiration? On Of the Egyptian Conqueror *Sesoftris*, *Lucas* sings, *Petit ad occasum mundi, extrema Seseffris*, *Et Pharius cursum regum seruicibus equi*. Of *Nabuchodonosor* the Scripture witnesseth, that his greatness reached to *Heaues*, and his Dominion to the end of the Earth; Yet haue they neither Journalls nor Annals of their great Acts left to posterity, not to such as the names of their illustrious Prouinces, not to such as were haue here produced of the Apostles. Nay, what is left to memory of the long-lived *African* Monarchy, but shadowes, glimpses, fables? Who hath left in Register the names of the one hundred twenty feuen Prouinces, subiect to the Persian Monarchy from *India* to *Ethiopia*? Nay, how little and how vncertaine is remaining of the Greeke *Alexander* his Expedition, although then undertaken, when *Greece* had arrived at the height of humane learning, and by him that was himselfe a famous Scholler of the most famous of Philosophers? Did not hee deplore his owne vnhappy pinesse in this kind, treading on the Tombe of *Achilles*? And had not *Curtius* and *Arrianus* long long after his death, written of him (I quicquid uoce certainty) how little should wee haue of Great *Alexander*? Great in his *Acts* and *Arms*, greater in his Attempts, great in the vnbounden Ambition of Greatell Remembrance to latest posterity; yet how much more is left of the *Acts* of Humble Apostles, then of Ambitious *Alexander*.

Notes four
all

P. 13. a.

a Gen. 4. 27.
b Ex. 1. 27.
c Num. 1. 46.
d 2. 34.
e Num. 16. 15.
f 4.

e David, de
Europæis.
f 1. 27.
g 1. 27.
h 1. 27.
i 1. 27.
j 1. 27.
k 1. 27.
l 1. 27.
m 1. 27.
n 1. 27.
o 1. 27.
p 1. 27.
q 1. 27.
r 1. 27.
s 1. 27.
t 1. 27.
u 1. 27.
v 1. 27.
w 1. 27.
x 1. 27.
y 1. 27.
z 1. 27.

not beleue) yet are they rather to interpret it of the Apostles (& so further confirmeth our opinion) than of any other, seeing no such men could there haue accesse, and their speech be vnderstood, but by miraculous dispensation. As for the Rocks in *Brasil* called *Ence* (whence, as *Maister Knues* affirmeth, *Saint Thomas* preached) conuerted out of Wood into Stone, the Fishes being his auditors, who (seem not a Priests supereminence in the report) were made in *Theophrastus* or *Aristotle*, or whomever else be Author of that Booke *De Mirabilibus Auculatur*, of a fertile desert Island found by the *Carthaginians*, abounding with Woods and Rivers nauigable, and other bounities of Nature, distant many dayes sailing from the *African* Continent: some of the *Carthaginians* intended there to inhabit, but were repelled, and all men prohibited on paines of death, lest the Soueraine power and weale publike of *Carthage* might thence be endangered. This is by some interpreted of the *West-Indies*, or some Ilands thereof; which if it be so, confirms our opinion that those parts were not then inhabited. Nor did any ciuilitie appeare in *America* to argue ciuill Progenitors, but that which was of later memorie. *Plato's Atlantis* were haue elsewhere shew'd to be allegorick, at least no historical truth: nor any likelihood in other ancient Navigations mentioned in *Plutarch*, *Diodorus* and others to point at these parts.

If the multitudes of people found there by the first *Spaniards* seems to please for a longer habitation than that we allow; let it be observed that a thousand and four hundred yeeres (for the first *Discouerie* was 1492, after *Christ*) might well fill a world with people, especially considering their Polygamie, or many Women, their simple Diet, and that which attended the same, healthfull Constitution and long Life (in some places admirable) their easie course of life contented with a little, not fearing to exceed their means and maintenance by numerous issue; where Nature yielded home-spunne or rather womb-spunne attire, and the Mother Earth with little importunite or labour yielded food sufficient; where Plagues, Murraines, Famine, were scarce heard of; where Courtousness the root of all euill had so little worke; Ambition scarcely knew to diuert the titles of honor; and warre (the enchanted circle of death, *compensum* of misery, *Epitome* of mischiefe, a Hell vpon Earth) had not Iron, Steele, Lead, nor Engines, Stratagems, Or manes, nor any humane Arts of inhumane to fill those parts of the World with emptinesse, and there to erect Theaters of Delatation and Destruction. Nor did Nature yield many deuouring Beasts, but reserved all her laugenesse to the Men.

To let passe the peopling of the World before and after the Flood, in no great time, we see that in *Egypt* in the midst of heauy burthens, inhumane butcherie, and intolerable tyrannie, the *Israelites* were multiplied in the space of two hundred and ten yeeres, from twenty a person to about two millions, as may be guessed, in that there were 600000. men, besides children, and besides the females also as appeareth in the 6. second numbering by *Mose*, and 4. in the third by him and *Eleazar*, when all those but *Caleb* and *Iosue* were dead. Allowing therefore the male children not much lesse, as that third numbering euinceth, and the females in proportion as many as the males (the rather for that *Pharaoh* cruell Edict touch'd not them) you cannot but find about 2000000. Now this their encrease was by natural means though by singular providence, and therefore might as well happen in *America*, whose impediments removed, and many other turturances annex'd, in liberte, plenty, and largenesse of Territorie, all elements conspiring to multiplication. Neither can any thing but Diuine providence (which none can denie in *America*, and had many more easie and visible means, fewer lets than in *Egypt*) be alledged for the one more than the other. This I may say, that if any list to examine the proportion, and suppose like providence, in that time of 1400. yeeres may follow a more numerous inundation of people, then euer *America* (perhaps the whole World) may probably be supposed at once to haue numbered, although large deductions be allowed both for ordinary mortallity and some more dimial accidents. Neither is it likely that the first plantations were so few (if voluntarily seeking, & not by accident forced to those habitations) as 70. persons twice told nor that *America* at once or from one place receiued her first Colonies; as by the diuers languages, situres, habits of men may appeare, although time, culture, accident, be allowed no little power in these things. This we see among our selues, where one *Dutch* or *Teninkie* hath yielded not only a distinction of higher and lower, but the *English*, *Danish*, *Swedish*, *German*, *Spanish*, *Norwegian*, *Frisian* (besides the lubrisified dialects which each of these multiplicity) Languages, Peoples, Rites, somuch differing, and the elder both tongues and cultures (as in our *Savages*) by Variation and Inuention after a few Centuries in manner extinguished. So want a thing is *Man*. Let me conclude this discourse of multiplication in *America*, by an *American* example of cattell transported out of *Europe* thither, especially *Cow*, which as they beare no more as a burthen than a woman, nor offer, so are they shorter-lived usually by two third parts: yet haue they increased there, that 1. one man the Bishop of *Venezuela* had about 16000. yet they haue growne wilde, their numbers exceeding the care of owners, and every man at pleasure killing them for their hides. And one man, the 1. Deane of *Conception*, had one *Cow* liuing 26. yeeres, in her life time the increase of 800. See *causæ cattulæ similes* — These *Indians* which respected in generation little else but fecundity, and in manner of life resembled brute beasts rather than ciuill (that I say not Christian) Men, enjoying like priuileges of Nature in other things, might in this also.

¶ VIII.

¶ VIII.

The glorie of Apostolicall Conquests: the hopes of enlarging the Church in this last Age, by knowledge of Arts and Languages through the benefit of Printing and Navigation.

Ex me conclude this Discourse of Apostolicall Peregrinations with consideration, with collaudation, with admiration euen to extaie and astonishment, of Those (shall I say or Gods?) Exploits, and renowned Acts. Little are the Acts of Great *Alexander*, *Pompeius Magnus*, *Fabius Maximus*, and other Great and Grandaes of the World, who by Armes and Arts military, by Fire, Sword, Famine, Murraines forced the bodies (the least part) of Men to a compulsiue subjection, shaken off with the first opportunity. But how shall I ad once your noble Conquests, yee Diuine Apostolicall Worthies? who walking in the flesh, not war-ring after the flesh, without, yea, against the force of carnall weapons, pulled downe strong holds, cast downe imaginations, and every high thing that exalted it self against the knowledge of God, and brought into captiuitie every thought to the obedience of *Christ*? They where vied not alliance of other Nations by confederation, nor mustered multitudes in pressed and trained bands of their owne; nor receiued supportation by Subsidies, nor made inuasion by force, nor obtained an vnwilling conquest of Bodies (the shell without the kernel) nor entertained close intelligence, nor wrought by close Treasons, nor diuided to themselves the spoiles, nor erected Forts, established Garrisons, imposed taxations, transplanted inhabitants, depelled Nobles, shared new Frontiers into *Timars*, riched Children, planted Colonies; nor had their counsells of Warre at home, or warlike outcumes Abroad, Engines, Stratagems, Combats, Sieges, Skirmishes, pitched Fields, Sloops, Fortes, Chariots, Tents, Trumpets, Munitiion, nor that whole Baggage of Cruelties, as Crying, Spey Ing, Sackring, Wounding, Mayming, Killing, with Multitudes of Cruelties, as the nethermost *Indies* had mustered and expouated the most and worst of Her Fumes and Furies into Our world, which might therefore take, that they might destroy, the shapes of Men, by humane inhumane, but a few poore *Esquians*, and Tent-makers outthrow the Worlds *Wiemen*, in the most flourishing time of worldly learning, subdue the Scepters of greatest Kings and Monarchs, mine the gates of Hell, & vndermine the deepnesse of *Satan*, supplant the profoundest, subtlest, mightiest of *Satanicall* combinations with the whole World of Men against a handfull, and mauge their vntroied Forces, preaching a Crucified God, and teaching the Crosse as the first Principle of Christian Learning, to overcome the edge of the Sword with suffering it, to stop the mouthes of Lions with their flesh, to quench the violence of fire with their blood; to forsake all Goods, good Name, Wife, Life, Childe, to deny themselves, to plucke out their right eyes, to cut off their right hands, to pray for their persecutors, to recompence hatred with love, and overcome euill with goodnesse, looking for no other reward then what the World can neither looke on, nor forges they inuade with innocence, and with Saining overcome, the World; and whilst it most subtilty, persecuteth, ouercometh, and inuade it to willingnesse, calmenesse, subjection; write their conquests not in the blood of the Conquered but of the Conquerors; erect Triumphs, not in *Oleisks*, *Pyramides*, *Archies*, by others indulgy, but in their owne Funerals, Crucifixings, Stonings, *Martyrdomes*, iolemnize Triumphs not with their owne Armes, nor with captiue troups, attending in greatest pompe the *sublime Triumphall Chariot*, but by being led forth with out-cres, shoutes, clamours, to the basest and most ignominious death, Those of whom the world was not worthy, reputed unworthy of the World; haue the *Satanicall* of their prayles, written not by the pens of Parasites or Poets, nor in the lines, (as is said) but in the lines of men; the Christian World (as before is obserued) remaining not written, but reall Annals of the Apostles Acts, who being poore made many rich, and hauing nothing possessed all things. The *Solace* (saye) of *Fido* men of the *Syllogismes* of Philosophers, and where but a few of any Nation could be admired by the world, yet the World becomes Christian in despite of the *Wicced* cities and persecutions: not could the inmane cruelties of some, or superfluous subtilties of others, where they conuerted men to the Gospel; the seed, the fruit of the Church was the Blood of her flame *Martyrs* all ages, faces, sorts of men, euen women, euen children, euen women-children, out-braving the greatest, the fiercest, the wildest of *Satanicall* instruments, by suffering, conquering, and at once overcoming the Dauid, the World, themselves. Euen so *O Father*, because it pleased thee.

And be not angry Reader, if the pallid, present vpon my contemplation true things; and if the consideration of diuine assistance in Tongues, Reuelations, Miracles immediately vnterred for the first Plantation of *Christianitie*, occasion my my thoughts to a more serious survey of future hopes in the propagation and reformation thereof. In the first foundation of *Apostolicall* Rites, God rayed *Beacal*, and *Abeliah* with others, by diuine instinct imbued to curious workmanship, fitting that Oeconomie of the Tabernacle, whilst that *Israhel* Church was as it were rooted in the Cradle, and God vouchsafed to dwell among those Tent-dwellers in a Tent. But after that

Ex. 3. 1. 6.
35. 20.

d The greatest
and plausiblest
arguments of
Papists drawn
from the au-
thority, &c. of
the Church, &c.
they be with
faster then &
large ground
applied to the
Jewish Church,
which yet spo-
ritized.
e English and
Dutch.
Apoc. 17. 13. 16.
2. 25. 26. 34.
27. 28. 29.
30. 31. 32.
33. 34. 35.
36. 37. 38.
39. 40. 41.
42. 43. 44.
45. 46. 47.
48. 49. 50.

Apoc. 17. 13. 16.
2. 25. 26. 34.
27. 28. 29.
30. 31. 32.
33. 34. 35.
36. 37. 38.
39. 40. 41.
42. 43. 44.
45. 46. 47.
48. 49. 50.

Vid. Prefa. Mo-
nis. Regi. Lamb.

Prov. 31. 11.

Ec. 39. 19.

Ec. 37. 17. 18.

* So some in-
terpret. Gen. 3.
Moses.
Apoc. 20. 3. &
4. 9. 10.
* Acts 15.
Ep. ad Gal. Col.
Phil. 3. 16. 17.

and Friars in the Heathen Nations of the World, seems to present unto my minde that state of the dispeptic Jewes before Christs coming in the flesh. He came to his owne, and his owne received him not, which yet by their Scriptures, Synagogues, Rites, in their many many diffinitions, had unwittingly prepared a way unto him amongst the Gentiles. Let none contemne this figure of the Jewish Church (which yields 4 in most observations of Popery touching Visibility, Succession, Antiquity Venerability, Content, Pontificall Priviledges, and most of their vulgar and popular Anathemes, reall and experimental resolutions, by paralleling the Jew and Romanity, this being in-ferred in evidence, (superiour in arrogance) it herein also weite them like, and thofe later Papi-riens, compelling Sea and Land to make Prefigures, by preaching some Christian verities amongst their Traditionary chaffe, become Apparitors and Harbengers of a future purity, which yet them-elves crucifie as Heretical, Spaine hath as is said, in Navigation been defetured (in leading the way to others, some of which have since in the Art equalled, in attempts exceeded) her and by divine Providence hath been bountifully rewarded in the East and West, both ourfhalowed under her wings: is also one of the ten hornes (as the current of our Interpreters agree) which to-gether with the beast receive power as Kings, out of the ruins of the Roman Empire of which it is prophesied that the ten hornes shall hate the Whore, and shall make her desolate and naked and shall set her flesh and burne her with fire. For God hath put into their hearts to fulfill his will, &c. God put into their hearts to be true truly Catholic, and able to discern the difference and many misteriest of their mother lesabel, the mother of fornications of the Earth: enable them to see that Catholicism is the Language of Babel, where men but babble, and the word (Eke Euseb and Jacob) sitting in the wombe) supplants the next preceding: that the now-Roman is but new-Roman, and therefore Catholicke no more in time then place, no more in found apprehension of truth, then in round comprehension of the Vniuersel. And that God which hath giuen them to chafe the relics of the Moores out of Europe, to chastise them in Africk & Asia, to find that New World of America, with her two armies of Navigation from Lisbon and Seville yettely, to embrace the whole Globe, and to haue greater opportunities for so Catholicke a worke then yet is granted to any other Nations put into their hearts with other Princes and Christian Nations to fulfill this his will against that Whore, which the Prophecie enforceth to beleue shall bee done, and their King in our Fathers dayes gaue instance how easie. Inng not, found not an alarme, nor strike yet a march for warre, I determine not the particular way or instruments of that defoliation, I delight not in impetrat-ions, nor to that Whore drunken with the blood of Saints and Martyrs with any bloody reward of my selfe: but God himselfe hath forerold downing her selfe and burning her, and enjoyed also the cup which she hath filled, fill to her dole. Which howeuer it shall bee effected, I doe not prefer-ior, nor doe I lunge out that Nation to this purpose, but ioyne them with others in my Pray-ers for the execution of that Prophecie, both to goe out of Babylon, and to goe against it in iust reformation, that it may bee no more found at all: at least by making her naked of that protection which thence the recen:ell, and redemanding their owne, may detayne the ouer-flowings of EUPHRATES that the way of the Kings of the East may bee prepared to exterminate Babylon out of the World. And is it not better thus to pray for them that they may haue an honorable part in that Prophecie, that Babylon may further fall by their falling from them, then that they should fall with her: or to reckon yet the bloody effects of their In-quisition in Europe, and their inhumanity in America, and number them amongst the Kings of the Earth, who shall bewaile and lament Rumes ruines, and to those Ship-masters, Ship-owners, Saylers and Traders by Sea, and Merchants of the Earthe, praying for her destruction? Once, I say not that they of our men haue the most enisient opportunity to libertize Babylon by their Italian neigh-bourhood and Territories, I pray that they endeavour to conuert the Easterne and Westerne In-dians making that best view of their Navigations, giuing them Gold refined and truly spiritual for their temporall. And though they now of all Nations seeme most enamoured of that Roman (therein truly Catholicke, that is, common) Harlot, yet Hee which haile the heart of Kings in his hand as the rimers of water, can turne it, when and whither hee will: can effiect this also by o-thers, without, yea against them: can reward I say both those which at his command goe out of, or when his Providence shall dispose, against this Babylon (which for capturing the people of God is called Egypt, for richnesse Sodom, & for the Staple of Spiritual Merchandise, is also re:embled to Tyrrus) with the spoyle of the Spiritual Egyptians, with the Turke destruction (which literally possi-ble Egypt) with the riches of the Gentiles brought to the Church, besides their owne and the Churches liberty. And as Ierusalem to returne to our similitude being demolished by the Romans, the Church become truly Catholicke, not looking any more to walls of a Temple, to carnall Sacrifices, to the petty sinfold of one Nation, to one City, as the Mart & Mother of Christian Religion and disci-pline: how much had the Apostles to doe whiles Ierusalem stood, to withhold Christianians from Iudaizing? so is it to bee hoped and prayed, that this Mytical Babylon, which now by vici-ousness challengeeth to bee Mistresse and Mother of the Church, arriving at that prophesied irreco-uerable downefall, Catholicke-Rome (vniuersel-particular) may no more bee heard, but true Ca- tho-

tholicisme recouering her venerable and primary Antiquitie, may without distracted faction, in free and vniuersal content, extend her Demesnes of Vniuersalitie as farre as the Earth hath Men, and the light of her truth may shine together with the Sun-beames, round about the habi-table World: that as Salomon by Herams Mariners fetched materials, Gold, Gemmes, Almuiggum Trees, to the Temples structure, which by the other Herams Art were brought and wrought in-to to forme, so the Heuently Salomon, the LORD I E S U S, may by this his gift of Navigati-on to supply those remote fieldes, while vnto the Haruett, with plenty of labourers, to bring into the Societe of the True Church those rude Ethnicks, of them to frame pillars in the house of God, vnto the felle of Iustimony in the sanctuary finer then the Gold of Ophir, enligned with spiritual wildome and vnderstanding of holy things, richer then Rubies, and the most incomparable Jewells that these may be the are of Herams, the son of an Ispahel woman by a Tyrian father, that by the Mi-nistry of Pastors & Doctors, learned in diuine & humane Literature be instructed, baptised, edu-cated and disciplined: that in the places where yet is no Christian, may no Humane or Civil Dispo-sition, it may be said vnto them, we are the Sonnes of the living God; that there may be one Pastor and one shepheard, one Saluator, Redeemer and Advocate, to Jew and Gentile, I E S U S CH R I S T the light of the Gentiles and the glory of his people Israel: whom my Discourte hauing now obtained to em-brace, shall here confine it selfe with a Nunc Dimitte, and end with Amen, to that Amen, in whom all the promises of God are yea and Amen. Euen so, Amen LORD I E S U S.

HONDVS biu Map of the Christian World.



CHAP. III.

Of diuers other principall Voyages, and Peregrinations mentioned in holy
Scripture. Of the trauels and dispersions of the Iewes;
and of diuers other principall Voyages, and Peregrinations mentioned in holy
Scripture.

Paradise.

Ez. 57:31.

Babel.

Abraham and Lot.

Abraham and
Isaac.

Jacob & Joseph.

Moses & Aaron.
Isaiah peregrina-
tion in the
Desert. See it
before in Map.Tit. 1:5.
Eccl. 1:5.Matt. 7.
Matt. 16:34.

Babel. Daniel.

Ierobam.

Captivity.

Matt. 2.

Job. 1.
Job. 5.

Having premised the two former Trauells, as the two Eyes of Peregrinations
most faire Face, I shall be as briefe in the following as I haue in them be-
cause tedious and discursive. The first voyage of Mankind was out of Paradise into the
curled parts of the Earth, thence with sweat and labour to get his living, *Cains*
restless wanderings, and yet still dwelling in the Land of *Nod*, that is of agi-
tation and vexation, neuer being still (there is no peace faith my God, to the wicked)
and *Hemphs* contrary walking with God, I need not mention. And I haue already men-
tioned the first Stop and voyage by water, *Nahs* Ark, and the first earthly Peregrination after
the Plaine of *Shinar*, where *Babels* building was with mutual babbling or confusion of Languages
confounded: which gave occasion to the dispersion of Mankind ouer the Earth, that is, to
the planting and peopling of the World, of which I haue giuen account somewhat largely before, in
the first Booke of my Pilgrimage. *Abraham* is called out of *Ur*, of the *Chaldees*, and trauels with
Lot to *Haran* first, and after into *Canaan*: thence Famine forced him into *Egypt*; after hee sets
forth for the recovery of *Lot* in a Martiall Expedition against *Kings* returning by *Melchisedech*
King of *Salem*. *Abraham* after many tent-wanderings comes to *Gerar*, and after *Isaac* birth
and blessed hopes conceived of him, is sent on the most difficult journey to *Morab*: at *Hebron*
he burieh his Wife and fellow Traueller: sends his seruant to *Mejopotamia* for *Rebekah*: and ha-
ving sent his multiplied issue by *Rebekah* vnto the East Countrey (as before *Isaac*) be ended
his earthly Pilgrimage. *Isaac* inherits the promise, and yet trauelles of them by traouling, not
founding Cities but dwelling in Tabernacles, as did *Jacob* also, before and after his long seruice
in *Egypt*, till at last hee defended into *Egypt*, whither *God* had sent *Joseph* in a former Pe-
regrination. These both died in Faith, and gave charge, the one for his dead body, the other for his
bones to trauell to *Canaan* the type of their hopes.

One of *Egypt* *God* called his *Sonne*, now multiplied into an Armie as is before observed: which
yet are not presently in *Canaan* after the passage of the *Red Sea*, but are Pilgrims fortie yeeres in
the Wilderness. Wee also after wee haue escaped the bondage of hellish *Pharao*, and seeme him
vanquished in the *Red Sea* of *Christ* blood, *whereunto* we are baptised, mult hie the life of Faith,
passing thorough the wilderness of this World, haue no more sustenance to our soules
from more naturall powers, then their plowing and husbandry yielded their bodies:
but as their food and raiment, were the effects of *Gods* grace, and not humane labour; so not by
the *works* of righteousness, which wee haue done, but according to his mercy hee saueh vs; and by his
Word and Spirit as a pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night trauellet with vs, till *Iosaphat*, the
true *Isaiah* (for *Moses* brings not into *Canaan*, nor can the Law iustifie) let vs in possession of
the heavenly *Canaan*, where *Ierobam* is battered not by wicked Engines, but by the power of faith
in the Word and Command of *God*; and the *besiege* which our *works* builded up, and vineyards
which our merits planted out, euen the Throes which Angels loof, are made ours for euer by free
grace and mere mercy. This is that *rest*, into which none but *Trauelers* can enter, and that by
crouching lo hard into that narrow gate, that they must leaue themselves behind, nor take pos-
session of, but by losse of life it selfe, passing that *Iordan* which floweth the way of all flesh into the
Dead Sea, before they can liue with *God*.

Nor need men thinke much to trauell, where *God* himselfe was a *Mysticall Traueller* in the
Tabernacle, till *Salamon* built him an Houle adorned by *Opbirian* Nauigations. *Saul* before this had
trauelled to seeke Iott Affes, and stumbled on an earthly Kingdom: *Dauid* by keeping of Sheepe
and following the Ewes with yong was initiated, and after by many many trauels trained to the
Mytens of Royalty, which with diuersified trauels hee exercised all his dayes. *Ierobam* trauels
to *Egypt* taught him those calush deuotions, which made *Israhel* trauell into many *Assyrian*
Plantations; and *Iudas* also was carried captive to *Babylon*, reduced by a trauell from thence to
Ierusalem vnder *Zerobabel*, *Ezra*, and *Nehemiah*; a mystery of that mystic deputation of the
Christian Church, by ignorance and superstition, and her reformation by Godly Princes and Pa-
stors. *Hiram* Mission, the *Queen* of *Sheba* Visitation, *Iosaphat* Journey to *Nousne*, intimate the
calling of the Gentiles, whose Firrt-fruits were the *Israhelites* of the *East*, which came to farrate a voyage
to salute the New borne King of the Iewes.

The Deuill also is a Traueller, and continually compasseth the Earth to and fro, and gets about
as a *serpent* *Lyons* seeking whom to deuoure; traouling of mischief, and concealing lies. Such were
the *Assyrian*, *Syrian*, *Babylonian*, *Egyptian*, and other trauels of the Churches Enemies; theirs
also which in blind zeale compassed Sea and Land to make *Pharisaicall Prescriptions*. In *Mordecais* time
you

you see in the Booke of *Ezra* the *Iewish* dispersions thorow all the one hundred and twenty fe-
uen *Perjan* Provinces, euen from *India* to *Ethiopia*, long after the returne vnder *Zerobabel*, which
multiplied no doubt in Ages following accordingly.

But why looke I for Trauellers and Voyages there, where the Church was tied to one place,
the trauell either three times a yeere, and therefore ordinarily not to bee farr from thence? *where*
Babylonian and *Alexandrian* dispersions, after the Captivity we haue already mentioned; *where*
by the World was strewed with Iewes (not to mention the *Israhelites*) as Apperitues to the *Me*-
fi, and prepares thereof to *Christians* in the *Apollis* preaching. Then indeed the Iewes were
Trauellers from all parts to *Ierusalem*, as men were more religiously affected. There dwelled at
Ierusalem Iewes, deuout men out of every Nation vnder Heauen, which being of *Iewish* Parentage, were
by the place of their birth, *Parthians*, *Medes*, and *Eliamites*, *Mejopotamians*, *Cappadocians*, of *Pon-*
tos and *Asia*, *Phrygia* and *Pamphilia*, *Egypt*, and of the parts of *Lilya* about *Cyrene*, *Strangers* of
Rome, *Iewes* and *Profelytes*, *Cretes* and *Arabians*.

This was after their imprecation of theirs, His blood bee on vs and on our children: so did *God*
seek to overcome them their impietie with his goodnesse: but when they had before persecuted the
seruants, and crucified the Lord of glory himselfe, now refitted the holy Ghost, being vncon-
fessant in hearts and eares, and iudged themselves vnworthy of eternal life: *God* let on his
Vengeance to other Husbandmen, and the fall of the Iewes became the riches of the World. Then came
the wrath of *God* on them to the utmost, and they became a traouling Nation indeed, traouling

now about 1500. yeeres from being a Nation; and *Moses* his prophetic was verified in their
scattering from one end of the World to the other. Eleuen hundred thousand are said to haue perished
in *Ierusalem* alone (where *Christ* had been crucified) besides all other slaughter in all other parts
of *India*, in that fatall warre vnder *Uespasian* and *Titus* 67000. were sold to be distracted slaues
thorow the world, *Galatians* saith 200000. thirty of them for one piece of Silver, which had gi-
uen thirty pieces for him which came to make them free. Yet had not the Lord speed out all her
Inhabitants, but grew to quicke and full of quakes, that the remainders in *Adrian* time enter-
tained *Benechath* for their *Messias*, who with 200000. Iewes in his Army, is said to haue rebelled
and bred such combustions, that this *Sonne of the Starre* (so his name foundeth) was after called
and bred such combustions, that this *Sonne of the Starre* (so his name foundeth) was after called
and bred such combustions, that this *Sonne of the Starre* (so his name foundeth) was after called

30 tell of their following laughters: 700000. liane in *Egypt*, and in *India*, so many as passeth all mo-
delly to relate after them. *Dion Nysian* tells of fifty Cattles and nine hundred and eighty of
their best Townes rased, 80000. liane, besides innumerable multitudes which perished by
famine, fire, diseases, and other Baggage of Inuading Campes.

Adrian banished the Iewes from *Cyprus* and *Indes*, erected a new City instead of *Ierusalem*,
called of his owne name *Elia*, and set Images of Swine out the Gates as Porters to keepe
out the Iewes, yet prohibited by *Edict* the Iewes to looke toward it from any high place. *Traian*
before was intigated by their rebellion, to destroy many thousands of them in *Egypt*, *Cyrene*, and
Mejopotamia. And euen since, those which are contrary to all men, haue found all men contrary to
them; and haue lused (if such slavery and balence be a life) like *Cain*, wandering ouer the World;
branded with Shame and Scorne. *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Italy*, *Turkie*, all the
branded with Shame and Scorne. *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Italy*, *Turkie*, all the
branded with Shame and Scorne. *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, *Italy*, *Turkie*, all the

40 as farre as *China* haue had their Inhabitants; haue had indeed, for many haue giuen them
visible expulsions, the rest viuing cruell and vnkind hospitalitie, so that they are strangers where
they dwell, and Trauellers where they reside, still continuing in the throes of trauell both of
misery and mischefe. But I haue handled this matter more fully in my Pilgrimage, and both
Beniamin Tudeles is a Traouling Iew, and other Trauellers in the following Relations, will see
you strange trauels of theirs thorow *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*; in all their dispersions to this day
which retaining their blood, name, rites, as disposed by a higher and most mercifull prouidence,
in his time will shew mercy on them, to see him by the eye of Faith, whom by the hand of *Cru-*
elty they had crucified, and all *Israhel* shall be saved, and as their resurrection hath proved the reconciling of the World,
so the receiving of them shall be life from the dead.

All times are in *Gods* hand, but hee which hath promised is able to performe: and perhaps if
Rome the *Spiritual Babylon* bee captiued and ruined, which hath cbruded so long on them the
monsters of Image worship, Transubstantiation, worshipping of so many Saints, with other te-
diousness of refined Ethnicisme, and impositions on Conuers the losse of all their substance; the way
shall bee made more plaine for them: which wee hope is growing to some ripeness in this Age,
when about so many yeeres haue passed since the calling of the Gentiles, as from *Jacob* Family in
Egypt, growing to the face and proportion of a People and Nation, vnto their destruction: and
fall out as many as were from *Moses* death in *Egypt*, to the destruction of the Temple vnder *Adria-*
nus, and more then from *Moses* his *Exodus*, to that other *Exodus* and extermination vnder *Adria-*
nus. We are no Prophets, and must learne by euent the certainty of *Gods* (before secret) vs tell-
ing. In meane while let vs pray, *Hauiuee* be thy Name, thy Kingdom come, that this traouling Nation
may one day trauell in birth of *Christ* till hee be formed in them, and with the prodigall Sonne, may
all trauell from their wanderings, and at once retorne to their Father and to themselves, that we may all
trauell from their wanderings, and at once retorne to their Father and to themselves, that we may all

See my Pilg.
2. c. 31.
Rom. 11: 26.
Rom. 11: 25.Gal. 3: 29.
Luce 14: 35.

meet in the unity of Faith, and Gods will may bee done in Earth, as it is done in Heaven, there being but one Shepherd and one Steepfold, Amen. As the Jewish Nation hath been literally Travellers, so the Christian Church is alway travelling spiritually to her home, and from her selfe; and the Jewish deportation to Babylon, was a figure of the Antichristian Captivity in Rome and Popish superstition, of which we have taken occasion to speake more fully elsewhere*.

* Top. 1.3.4.6.

As at the World was peopled by peregrination successfully from *Noah's Ark*, and *Babel's Tower*: so in the worldly vicissitude of all things, a world of peregrinations have happened in the World, and that of worlds of men together, in National invasions, plantings, supplantings, Colonies and new alterations of the face of the world in each part thereof. Thus the *Israelites* sup-

Def. 2.9.12.10

planted the *Canaanites* to dwell in their rooms; add the *Moabites* to the giantly *Emms*, the *Edomites* to the *Horims*, the *Ammonites* to the *Zuzimamims*, and other Nations to others. To recite these were to recite all Stories in manner of the World: *Latus de Migratione Gentium*, and others have in part undertaken it. For even in *Palestina* alone how many Successions have scene, of *Canaanites*, *Amorites*, *Phoenicians*, *Chaldeans*, *Assyrians* & lesser kindreds: Of those of *Assyria*, *Chaldeans* and permitted of *Sarracens* & *Arabs* have been slain, and yet millions at two hundred years space sent out of *Chirifendina* chieftier, of *Draceni*, *Syrjani*, & a variety of *Babylon* of Nations (none and all) euer since! This *Babylon* of ours, besides those which first gave it name (whose Remains still flout *Wales*) hath admitted *Romane* sprinklings and Colonies; and after that a general deluge of *Saxons*, *Latins*, and *Angles*: tempests and storms out of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and lastly the *Norman* mixture and combination. Neither is there any Region of ancient *Nor*, which hath not suffr'd change or change in this kind. But we mind not find fault with the *Geographers* for their *Errata*, *Voyages* and remoter Travells. And such also we have already mentioned in *Scyffage the Egyptian*, *Arabian*, *Indiann*, *Chinese*, and under *Semiramis* to *India*, besides *Eudoxus* and other prouder persons; and such are the *Fables* or outworne Stories of *Ethiopia* Antiently, touching the *Atlantides*, *Ophir*, *Baccho*, *Hercules*, *Perseus*, *Dadania*; and those which remaine more home true, though obscure enough, of the *Argonauts*, *Ulysses*, *Meneclaus*, *Aeneas*, *Hannus*, *Himlico*, *Iambulus*, and others some of which shall follow in the following Relations. That of *Alexander* is more renowned, and first opened the East to the West, and to *Europe* gave the Eyes of *Geography* and *History*, to take view of *India* and *Arabia* as they were, and from hence first laid foot-steps of *History* in this kind, though hereafter *Trauersers* have been and were from the truth, as from their thomes, and have too often travelled of Vainities and Lies.

Vasto distinguished Relations of times into *αἰώων μυθικὸν* & *ὑποκριτικὸν*: that is, fabulous, Obscure, and Historicall.

CHAP. III.

*Fabulous Antiquities of the Peregrinations and Navigations of BACCHVS,
OSIRIS, HERCULES, the Argonauts, Cadmus, the Græcian
Naue to Troy, MENELAUS, VLYSSES,
ÆNEAS and others.*

In the case of *W. J. & C. v. W. J. & C.*, the court held that the partnership was not a partnership for the purpose of the partnership law, but a partnership for the purpose of the partnership law.

THUS not the false or fallacious which were wreke in fabulous Antiquities; but that truth which lieth buried vnder poetical rubbish. For nothing, but nothing can rise of nothing. Some truth therefore gave occasion to those fables, as *Thamars* and *Dinabys* beautie occasioned their punishment; the Decull (a Lie from the beginning) lustful to deflower that beautie, and then like *Adams* adding a second force, in hatred turning her as much as he may out of the World. Hence the fables of Poets, Idolatries of Ethnikes, doges of Rabbins, preserues of Heretics, phancies and Lygenges of Papists: to all which, when Historiess cannot make them good, Myticles are sought to count their badnesse, and balle nakednesse; and were they neuer to be bad before (like the hearing of a Friar, or vailing of a Nuncio Nuncio) suddenly they are hereby become errant honest persons, may venerable and religious. And thus hath that Impollutor, not only infinitely and procured admission and credit to lies, but thence hath raised the very Faith of Infidels, who *know not what*; and obtruded I know not what *Pseudoes*, and religious *Lies*, forsooth, vpon vnchristian and Anti-christian *Christians*; to whom becauie they *received not the lawe of truth to be fained, God hath giuen the efficacy of error, that they might beleue a Lie*. This the Decull, *Thamars*, and *Mans* madnesse: out of which confusion, if we cannot try out the pure truth, yet those Diuine Relations and Reuelations premised, will appeare more louely and admirable from these Ethnike Fables.

1968.

2. *Thell.* 2.

Travells of
Bacchus.

I may here mention *Saturnus* Travells into *Latium*, being elected Heaven: *Jones* fabled five encompassings of the World; *Apollo's* daily circuit; *Mercurius* frequent Messages to all parts, who was also the Travellers God, and had his Statues in High-ways; *Jones* zealous wanderings; *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were renowned by the Poets for their Pereginations, perhaps (as before is observed) no other but *Salomon* and *Hiram* Orbital Voyage. *Bacchus* (they tell) was the sonne

[illegible]

Hygin. Fab. 167.
Eurip. in Bac.

Prof. L. E. J.

Her. Euterpe
Diod. Sic. l. 1.
Fab. l. 3.

*Temmerant Gange, totoq^{ue} Oriente subactis
Premiis magno seposuisse Ioui.*

*Cinnama in primis captinaq; thura deo
Deq; triumphato viscera tosta bone.*

His journey they describe first thorow *Ethiopia*, and then *Arabia*, and so to *Persia*, *Media*, *Sabae*, *Bactria*, and *India*: after his returne, to *Hellas*, *Lidia*, *Phrygia*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, and whither tra- uelling witts please. Wee shall lose our selues to follow him further; as they doe which with useth prophesies celebrate his drunken Holies daily.

[illegible]

The Arguments

40 Hylas had registered their names: *Iafon* a Thelgian, *Aurion* a Thuracian, *Aetion* of Pelus, *Polyphemon* of Larifia, *Iphidast*, *Admetos*, *Eurytos* & *Echios*, *Ethalides*, *Ceanos*; *Majus* the Soothsayer, *Peribatos*, *Menaetos*, *Terydamnos*, *Aspetos*, *Eriotes*, *Ankleon*, *Eurytion*, *Isktion*, *Oileus*, *Cyrtis* and *Chlitas*, *Peleus* and *Evellamon*. *Butes*, *Phaleris*, *Tes*: The Master of the Ship, *Agor* the Ship-maker, *Phobias*, *Hercules* and *Hylas* his companion, *Nausipus*, *Idmon*, *Kalpor* and *Pollax*, *Lynceus* (which could see things hidden underground, and in the dark) and *Lide*, *Periclemus*, *Amphiadamus* and *Cephess*, *Anceus*, *Lycorgus*, *Augeus*, *Affion* and *Ampibion*, *Cerberus* (which could rummage fire-foot on the water) *Anceus Nepiumi*, *Ergimus*, *Melaenger*, *Arcton*, *Iphitos*, *Theclis*, *Iphitus*, *Nausipon* the Harzets and *Cladius* (sonnes of *Aquius* with winged henns feet), *Theriodon*, *Hippalcimon*, *Alciphous*, *Focus* and *Frinias*, *Eurydemus*, *Palamonus*, *Altor*, *Theriodon*, *Hippalcimon*, *Alciphous*,
 41 *Atirach*, *Melenus*, *Idamus*, *Dicomedon*, *Solidates*, *Ceneus* sonne of *Cronos*, *Ancalus*, voluntary came to *Iafon*. These twelve were Countries and Parentage *Hylas* hath recorded. Their Voyage was tedious, but many of them came not thither. *Hylas* was stollen by the Nymphs in *Malta*, whom *Hercules* and *Polephemus* seeking, were left behind. *Theriodon* by the way, & *Anceus* sonn of *Nepaneus* succeeded in his Masters place, *Idmon* was slain by a Bore; *Butes* threw himle into the Sea, allured by the Syrens Mufick. In their return alio *Euribates* was slain in *Labye*, *Majus* died in Affliction of a Serpents biting.

F. Hyein Feb

Now for the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, they say that *Pelias Iason* Vncle was commanded by Oracle to sacrifice to *Neptune*, to which if any came with one horse on, the other off, then Iust Death should not be farr off; *Iason* came thither, and wading chorow the River *Euboea*, left one of his horses in the mire, which he stayed not to take out, for feare of coming late to the Holies. *Pelias* seeing this, asked *Iason* what he would doe, if hee had a prophete that any man should kill him. I would fend him, said hee, *To fetch the Golden Fleece*. This was the Fleece of the *Ram*, which some say was the agment of a Ship wading a Ram on the Beake, that had carried

Phryxas

Phryxians to *Celebes*; who sacrificed the Ram to *Jupiter*, and hanged up the Fleece in the Grove of *Mars*; and thus *Pelias* out of his ownne mouth begot his own. *Argus* made the ship which of him was called *Pelias* out of his owne mouth begot his own. The first firm came to *Lemnos*, where they were to be kindly entertained, that *Iphigeneia* the Queen had two sons, who she feared till *Heracles* chose them away. Next they came to *Cyzicus*, in *Propontis*, which liberally feasted them; and being gone thence, by foul weather they were put back in the night, where *Cyzicus* mistaking them for enemies was slain in fight. Thence they failed to *Perfela*, where *Argus* the King challenged them to a single encounter at whorlberats, in which *Pelias* slew him. A neighbour King was glad hereof and gave the *Argonauts* entertainment, where *Iphigeneia* or *Tiphis* died, and *Lamion* was slain.

in their return for breaking the law of the gods. *Phemeus* the son of *Agenor* a *Thracian* was blinded by *Apollor* for retelling the gods secrets, and the *Harpies* set to take the meat from his mouth. The *Argonauts* consulting with him of their future success, must first free him of this punishment, which *Zetes* and *Bellophes* did, by chasing the *Harpies* to the island of *Phrygia* where the *Syrphs* stole the food from the way, which was the cause of the ship's wreck. Thence they came to the *Isle* where the *Birds* *Phaenax* and *Phaenice* shot quills which killed men, whom by *Phemeus*'s precepts they feared away with louds (such as the *Coruetes* make) and vied thereunto *Phaenax* also and *Ipharus*. Thus being entered into the *Exrine Sea* to *Dia*, they found *pore*, naked, lipwrecked, the sons of *Phlorus*, *Argus*, *Phrynotides*, *Mela* and *Cylindrus*, which travelling to their Grandfather *Atibamus* there encountered that *Phrygian* *Phrynos*. *Phrynos* entertained them, and they brought him to *Colobos* by the River *Thermodon* and coming there *Colobos* was glad to see his sons, and he hid them from the *Maenades* but *Phrynos* filled of *Atibad*, to whom he related *Iafus* kindness, and the cause of his coming. *Atibad* being full of *Atibad*, to *Iafus*, who as once he saw him, knew that it was the same whom in his dream he had seen a *joyed*, and promiteth him all furtherance.

24 *Estes* had learned by Oracle that he should go to long reign as the Fleece which *Phrixos* had
 consecrated, remained in *Mari's* Temple. He therefore implored on *Jafon* to yoke a braf-footed
 freshbreathing bul to the plow, and to low the Dragons teeth out of the Helmet, whence armed
 men should suddenly be produced and kill each other. This he did by *Medea* help, and likewise
 cast the Dragon into a leep which guarded the Fleece, and too took it away. *Estes* hearing
 that *Jafon* and his Daughter *Medea* were gone, sent his son *Alphrus* in a ship with cooliers after them,
 who, who pursued him to *Istria* in the Asiatick Sea, where *Alcemon* compounded their quarrel
 to little *Alphrus* his kinsling, that following him to *Monerula* he flew him home, and his followers
 followed behind a Cete called of his name *Alphrus*. Some tell of the Syrix which the *Argonauts*
 sailing carried their ship on their shoulders twice daies. But the varieties are inextricable
 and innumerable. After his return by *Medea* help he made away his Vnckle *Pelon* (to whom
 he had promised to refoir his youth) and gave his Kingdome to *Aeschyl* his kinsling, which had
 accompanied him to *Colchos*. The exile of *Medea* and the rest of the tale you may have among the
 Poets. Tam more then wexie with relating so much. This voyage was so admired of Antiquity

that this *Argo* which *Homer* calleth *καλὴν ἄρκον*, was not only praised to the stars by the Poets but placed amongst the stars by their Mincrus, and the constellation famous to these times. The *Argonauts* after this inflicited the *Olympian games*. The Poets are full of such *Clymæas*, mixed with-truths, but sparing any of their Gods or Heroes. *Agæus* having killed *Æolus* transformed into a Bull, or as some say in a ship of that name, or having a bull in the Beke, *Cadmus* and *Thetis* have brethren were fore by *Agæus* their father to seek her. The *Pericæian Naue* is doubted because that name *Thetis* haung longt in vaine, returned nor home, and was not the wife of *Agæus* but his name *Cadmus* had *Thetis*, and she was his wife, and why she was not while you in these vncertaines? *Thetis* was not I could not see a little of his name who is famed their *coager* of the *Græcian Loos*, nor any of *Hæmus*. But we will turne your eyes to the most fabled of all Poetical fables, and the story of *Alphæus* with a *Swiftness* will daylight ten yeres work with *coopers*.

feruice & com-
 muneuere / laun-
 Com bella
 confectis quatuor
 western names
 of Isafem. C
 1590
 Great North
 against Trg.

in a peece or an vlvle vnder the
 The Princess then the sieges and their ships are thence *Agamenon* brought from *Micene*
 one hundred ships. *Meneas* his brother from thence also *Phobus* of *Argo* *50. Achilles* of
Syros *60. Antenor* his Chariot driver *10. Patroclus* of *Phibia* *10. Ajax* of *Sulenne* *12. These*
Evander was many, *Vijiles* of *Iliaca* *12. Damede* of *Argo* *30. Stenelus* of *Argos* *25. Ajax* the
brother *20. Nestor* the *Pylas* *90. Thoymede* his brother *15. Antichus* lonne of *Nestor* *30. Tho-*
ryphus of *Orchomea* *40. Meacus* of *Attica* *20. Podarhis* his brother *9. Tiphonus* of *Mycene* *5.*
Demetrius of *Crete* *40. Menestes* from thence as many, *Emelius* of *Perthosia* *8. Pholodites*
Admetus *7. Proteus* of *Boetia* *11. Phibura* *Boetian* also as many, and his brother *Chromus* *9. Arceus*
10. Prothesus *8. Idemene* of *Argo* *30. Ascalaphus* *30. Schidrus* *30. and Epitrophus* his brother
 ther *10. Eleutherus*, *Calchodatus* and *Imenestes* (all likewise of *Argos*) *30. the sonne of Menas*
 from *Atheni* *50. Agapenor* from *Arcaida* *60. Amphimachus* of *Elaioti* *50. Emphylos* of *Argos* *15. Am-*
eratus of *Mycene* *19. Polyphus* from *Atelida* *40. Mezes* the *Dulichias* *60. Thous* *15. Podarhis* *5.*
 other *10. Prothous* the *Magnesian* *40. Cynus* the *Argive* *12. Nireus* from thence *16. Antiphobus*
 the *Thessalian* *20. Polybotes* the *Argive* *20. Leaphis* of *Sicion* *19.* You see the particulars amount
 farre above the thousand vually named. The Voyage was too short and the Siege too long for the
 place.

CHAP. 4. *The Travels of Menelaus, Ulysses, Dædalus, Æneas.* 71

Menelaus having recovered his eye-faire *Helena*, is said to have beene eight yeeres wandering the world, and *Ulysses* longer. *Menelaus* his error was about *Cyprus*, *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, and the neighbouring *Ethiopia* and *Arabians* (to *Strabo* expoundeth *Homer*s *Emblem* in his first Booke, and in his sixteenth, yet there adde also the *Troglodytes*) he produceth forme which place *Sodanians* in the *Persian* Gulfe, I know not how iustly. *Homer*s Verities, where *Menelaus* recleareth his travels to *Telemachus* are :

Κίπρος, Βουλγαρία, & Αργεντινή, Ιαπωνία
Αιθιοπία & Ινδία, & Σαβανός & Ερριγκό, Κελ Αζόλο.
Cypre, Phénicie, & Egypt having pity,
TINETHOPS, Sodom, & Erembs, I went at last. And Libya —
Companion, & after him Euphrates, interpret it of failing round about Traulus
off.

[illegible][illegible]

I might adde *Dædalus* his flight from *Athens*, his sleight for *Pasiphaë* in *Crete*, his acts in *Sicilia*, his arts every where in his travels. As for his, and his sonne *Icarus* his flying, the truth is found

HONDIVS *his Map of the Navigation of Æneas the Trojan.*



HONDLYS his Map of the Roman Empire.



world in travell 200. years together, the *Mahometans* of the South and East and the *Christians* of the North and West making *Palestina* the stage of fury & slaughter. After these the *Tartars* filled 40 the world with innumerable armies & mischiefes, especially all *Asia* & one halfe of *Europe*. But these are later things, and some of them follow in our Relations. For the *Parthians* and later *Persian* Dynasty, and *Saracemal* travellours over, and both spiritual and temporal conquests throw the world, and the *Ottoman*, *Sepahan*, *Mogoll*, and other branches from that root, I have bin a large relater in my Pilgrimage.

CHAP. VI.

The travells of the antient Philosophers and learned men briefly mentioned.

*Least Travellers may be greatest Writters. Euro I which have writ so much of travellers & travellours, were travellours 200. miles from Thraisted in Egypt, where I was borne: herein like a whee.

One which were caught in a Casleth & holding in my Candle, with-out which it selfe is vntire in the dark; and is the Compass in of little compass; and motion, yet traceth to compasse the World as the Pole-star is led most of all, & most of all showing & guiding the Traveller. Envy not a marginall roome to him, who hath vied Volumes so spacious to thee, in which how idle is the travell of the greatest Traveller; or how could a great Traveller have travell'd of so much.

Thus have you one testimony of two Grandees, *Thales* and *Solon*. Thus later, in his return from *Egypt* visited *Cyprus*, and after went to *Croesus*, who adorning himselfe in greatest glory & pompe, asked *Solon* if ever he had seene goodlier spectacle? Yes, said he, *Cockes*, *Phelants*, and *Peacocks*. *Croesus* being after by *Cyprus* sentenced to the fire, cried, O *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon*, and being demanded the reason answered, That *Solon* had told him, that no man might be accounted happy before his death: wherein *Cyprus* reading the mutability of his owne fortunes, gave him his life and a content estate. Thence *Solon* went into *Greece*, and built *Solus*.

To *Croesus* is an Epistle also of *Anacharsis*, another travelling Philosopher, borne in *Scythia*, and brother to the *Scythian* King, making some mention of his Travells in these words: I, O King of *Lydians*, came into *Greece* to learne their Manners, Studies, and Instructions; and need not 10 Gold, esteeming it enough to receive the *Scythians* a better man, and more learned. Tet I welcome thee to *Sardis*, much esteeming thy friendship and familiaritie. Hee was *Solons* guest at *Athens*, whither he came in the fortie seventh *Olympiad*. *Socrates* the first bringer in of *Ethikes* or Morall Philosophy, was a Traveller also, and followed the warres by Land and Sea. *Xenophon* his Scholler, was both in *Artes*, and *Armes*, and Travells famous, and built Monument, thereof himselfe, His Voyage to *Daphnia*, and thence to *Cyprus*, and after his *Persian* journey to *Agellaw* King of *Sparta*, and with him against the *Thebans*, and after that to *Helis* and *Cormis*, are recorded by *Laertius*. In his daies *Croesus* a Traveller and Historian lived, which writ the *Persian*, *African*, and *Indian* Stories, but often travellours with truth.

Arissippus was a *Cyrenian* by birth, by studies an *Athenian*, as were many others of his Countrymen, by base flattery a trencher-worme to *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant, *Ptolemus* an *Aegyptian* was his Scholler, and *Antipater* a *Cyrenian*. *Epimenides*, *Parabates*, *Hegesias*, *Anaxeris* were also *Cyrenikes*, holding voluptuous opinions, as also *Theodorus* and another *Arissippus*, magnifying sensual pleasures. The Ecclesiastike Histories of *Socrates* and *Socronem* mention the travell of *Empedocles*, which threw himselfe into the *Sicilian* Craters, and of *Democritus* *Cyren* which spent eightie yeeres in travelling thorough divers Countreies. *Menesippus* also, a *Macedonian* which spent eightie yeeres in travelling thorough divers Countreies. *Plato* is famous both for Philosophy and Travelling. Hee travell'd to *Enchela* at *Caligera*, to *Thibodus* the Mathematician, into *Italy* to the *Pythagorians*, *Philolaus* and *Eurytus*, thence to *Egypt* to the Priests (and with him *Eurytus* also) and intended to visit the *Persian* Magi; but was prohibited by the *Athenians* from so doing. Returning to *Athens* hee set up the *Academie*. Thrice hee travell'd in warlike to *Tamagras*, to *Cormis*, to *Delos*. Thrice also hee sayled into *Sicilia*. First to see it, at which time *Dionysius* the Tyrant displeased with his free speech, caused him to be sold in *Aegina*; but being freed, *Dionysius* writ to him not to reproach him. *Plato* answered, Hee had not so much leisure as to thinke on *Dionysius*. Hee failed thither to the younger *Dionysius* twice. His Disciples were *Speusippus* the *Athenian*, *Xenocrates* of *Chalcidion*, *Arissoteles* the *Stagiritis*, *Dion* of *Syracusa*, *Ammilius* of *Heraclea*, *Timolaus* of *Cyaxus*, *Heracles* of *Pontus*, and others of other Countreies, his Schoole yielding a prettie Geographical Map of Countreies. *Bion* was borne neere *Bonifantus*, but added honor to his Country by his studies. Hee was sold for a Slave, and bought by an Orator which made him his hire the sold al & went to *Athens*. After his studies there, hee lived at *Rhodes*, *Carneades* was the chief of the *New Academie*, was a *Cyrenian*. *Carnades* was also of the same nation. *Cleomachus* was a *Carthaginian*, & his true name was *Astrabal*. He went to *Athens*, & there became the Scholler of *Carnades* & his successor, *Memiphrusus* a *Phenician* by birth, a *Silied* a *Cynik* at *Thebes*. *Arissoteles* was borne the first yeere of the 99. *Olympiad*: at seuteneete yeeres he became *Platoes* Scholler, and so continued twentie yeeres, after that hee went to *Mytilene*, and when *Alexander* was fiftene yeeres old to King *Philip*, in the second yeere of the 109. *Olympiad*, and having commended the care of young *Alexander* to his Cousin *Callisthenes*, in the second of the 111. returned to *Athens*, and taught in *Lycos* thirtee yeeres; and then went to *Chalcis* and there died. *Callisthenes* travell'd with *Alexander*, till the *Persian* Conquest had made him swell beyond the measure of a man, and some *Greek* Foolosophers (Philosophers I dare not call them; but amongst the Muses some have a way beene Hedge-whores, and the learning of some in all Ages hath liked the trenchers, and fly-blows) the forces of great men, with the haile of vices, Flattery, kiled the hinder parts, sucking * the Empties, feeding on their excrements, themselves the excrements of Mankind: but whether hath passion transported me? *Agis* an *Argive*, and *Cleas* a *Sicilian* home aide *Anaxarchus* also, *Esti* a *tribum* *saarum* *Purgamentis* (saith *Carinus*) would needs open Heaven to *Alexander*, and proffer him to *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Castor* and *Pellex*: *Alexander* stood behind the hangings, whilst *Cleas* made a speech to perfwade the *Persian* Rites, and with them to desire and incense their Kings. Which being grauntly refused by *Callisthenes* (for to him especially was the speech directed, thence they which went before others in learning, should in this innovation also) that it was not for him and *Cleas* to make Gods; for the King, honor to be beholten to them for his Diuinitie, which could not give a King, nor on Earth to him, and much less Heaven: *Alexander* cancelled his malice, till upon occasion of torturing home, which had conspired his death, hee tortured also euen to death *Callisthenes*, giving him that recompence for saving his life, when having laide *Cyrus* in a drunken rage, hee would haue added

tion of Countries and dangers of passages, and power of the King of *Persia*. He did seeme to bee angry at his Fathers victories; What said he, will my Father leaue for me to doe, if hee atchieue all noble exploits?

Bacchulus. About those times, *Philip* bought *Bacchulus* for thirrie three Talents a very fierce Horse; stomackfull, ravenous, and abiding no Rider. Now when hee would suffer none to backe him, *Alexander* was angry with them, who could not through feare or ignorance tame the Horse, and offered him selfe to bracke him. To whom his Father, if thou dost not, for thy boasting, what punishment wilt thou have? then he answered, I will pay for the Horse! *Philip* smiling let the price: He seeing him moued with his shadow, turned his head to the Sunnes then letting goe his Cloke, laying hold with his hands upon his mane, mounted him, still bounding and trampling the fands under his feet. Letting goe the reins, and crying out as hee plured him thus, O my horse, I am now thy master, and thou art mine! What's the matter?

Hisara, and that old waning, sicken'd, and the enterprise sick'ning youth. When he was thus meditated, his Father weeping for joy, kissed him when he alighted, saying my Sonne, *Macdonald* cannot containe thee, thou must leake a Kingdome competent. Afterward *Philo* noting the disposition of *Alexander*, that hee would rather be induced to vertue by gentleness then rigorous dealing committed him to *Aristotle* to be instructed in the precepts of Philosophie. Wherein and in *Physicke* hee profited, that sometimes hee helped his kinske friends. Hee learned *Homer's Iliads* of *Aristotle*: calling it the Soldiers Knap-Sacke, laying it with his Dagger alwayes vnder his Pillow.

When he was seuenteeen yeeres old, his Father warring against the *Byzantines*, hee swayd the Scepter of *Macedon*. And when the *Megarians* rebelled, hee discomfited them in battell, and expelling the *Barbarians*, called their Citie *Alexandropole*. Hee first also broke through against the sacred band of the *Thebans*. Wherefore the *Macedonians* called him *King*; and *Philip Emperour*.

Not long after Philip being aine, *Alexander* being twentie yeeres old beganne to reigne, the *Barbarians* reuolting, many supposed that they were to bee appeaced with clemencie and mildne-
 lte. Then *Alexander*, we mult not (saith he) maintayne our Dominions with gentlenesse, but
 force and magnanimitie, lest if we seeme to abate of our loftie courage, we bee scorned of other
 And gathering, his troups together, he repressed the mutinie of the *Barbarians*, chased away the King
 of the *Truball*, overthrow the *Zebians*, chaſed the *Citie*; and leuelled it to the ground. He sold
 thirte thousand of the *Citizens*: uxe thousand that remained kild themſelues. In the meane

Alpham mace while, the *Gracians* hearing that the *Perfians* would shortly invade them, elected *Alexander* to
Coratio. be their Leader. Who although as he came to *Libanos*, where their General Parliament was as-
sembled, went to *Diogenes*, whom he found fighting in the Sunne. Then courteously saluting
him, he demanded if he wanted any thing? But he answered only this, stand aside of the Sunne.
Alexander admiring the constance of the man, departing said, if I were not *Alexander*,
I would be *Diogenes*. Thence he went to *Delphos*, to consult with the Oracle about his expedi-
tion. It was an *unlawful* day where he was not lawfull to give Oracles. *Alexander* notwithstanding
was so bold, that he came to the temple, began almost by force to open the Priest of the Oracle
saying with him, My Son, for thy sake thou art unconquerable. He being very angry, said, 40
thou wouldst, I have no need of any other Oracle. And returning to the Campe, where abode the
Army of thirtie thousand foot-men, and five thousand horsemen, he did not go aboard the ship
before he had distributed all his Chariet, Lands, and Lordships amongst his friends. He to *Perdic-
cas* asking, what will you leave for your selfe? answered, only *Hope*.

His expedition
against the
Persians.

In the mean while, the Chieftaines of *Arvus*, the King of *Perthia* having to passe over *Gravemus* with a great power, *Alex*, met them at the banks of the lake *Ruendur* getting the higher ground, as loone as he had marshalled his bands, joynt battle with the *Barbarians*. The fight waxing not on both fides, *Rufaces* & *Spiritusdorus*, *Arvus* his Captains, onewhile a Spear, the other with a Lance encountered encounter, *Rufaces* being a little more valiant, was overcome by reason of his Target, and the Plume on his Helmet, being a great bulk of white feathers. A voyding nimbly the one, he strooke *Rufaces* with his Spear and with his Sword maled at the other, who without delay,ooke away his Helmet, with his Battle-axe to his haire, but while he lifted up his hand for another blow, he was strooke through with a Lance by *Clytus*. *Alexander* having vanquished the Commanders, put the rest to flight. In which fight twentie thousand of the *Barbarians* (two thousand *Horfemen*) were flaine, but *Alexander* lacked not about thirtie fives Soules.

Having gotten this victory, he tooke the strong Citie *Sardis*, with other Townes, *Admetus* and *Halicarnassus*. Having determined to try the vsphat with King *Darius*, if he would ioyne battle with him, he tooke *Phoenicia* and *Cilicia*. From thence marching to *Famphilia*, he subdued the *Pisidians* and *Phrygians*. After taking *Gordium*, where had bene of old King *Midas* his Pallace, he overcame the *Paphlagonians*, and *Cappadocians*. But King *Darius* relying on the number of his forces

CHAP. 9. *Alexanders fiekueffe, batels with Darius, Ammon-voyage.*

[illegible][illegible]

Having divided the spoiles, hincast Exploit was the dominion of the Sea, and overcoming
Cyprus, he subdued all Phœnicia, crept to Tyre, which he besieged seven months with Mounts,
Engines, and two hundred Ships; and at length after tedious skirmishes took it by assault. But
when he had added Egypt to his Conquests, he refused to visit the Temple of Jupiter
Ammôn. A very difficult journey and dreadful, by reason of the want of water, and store of
snakes, made it so difficult to undertake, that he thought himself unworthy to go thither.
But yet his good fortune prevailed, though making the Gods firmer, and Crows guiding
him; he got his good fortune without any harm; whereas *Cambyses*'s Armie had been buried in the
sand, he entering the Temple he saluted the chief of them, who answered, All hail, O Sonne of
Jupiter, who he received so joyfully, that ever after he carried himself more haughtily. In E-
gypt he founded all Alexandria a Greek Colonie.

Cyprius.
Ammôniodotus.
Alexandria
embased.
Embassèe.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

thote that refused thene that craued. About this time *Darius* had now the third time gathered an Army. *Alexander* in eleven dayes passed with great Iournies 300. furlongs, conducting his Armie through rough places, that wanted water, so that the whole Armie well nere languished with thirst a certaine common Souldier brought a Helmet full of water to *Alexander*: who looking vpon all of them panting for leete and thirst, gaue it him againe: vouching that being vnfitting that he alone should thirst himselfe, and the others faint: whose conscience the Souldiers admiring, refused to vndergoe any trouble, as long as they followed such a Leader. Then after a few dayes, the Armie of King *Darius* being gathered together, did seee asfoone as they came in sight of the *Macedonians*. The *Persians* being thus discomfited, the *Macedonians* pursuing them, found King *Darius* in his Chariot stricken through with many wounds, and almost dead, speaking few few things. But when *Alexander* came thither by chance, heooke very bitterly his ignoble death, and calling his coate vpon his carcasse, and adding the Royall Ensignes, he gaue charge to carrie it honourably to his Mother. *Bessus* the Murderer, *Alexander* caused to be tied to two trees brought by force together, which rent him in tunder.

Darius flaine by
descent of his
owne.

Hircania sub-
dued.

Seythian ex-
pedition.

Amazonian tale.

Philetas and
Cleus flaine.

Darius being ouerthrowne, he brought into his subiection *Hircania*, and all the Cities adioyning to the *Calpian* Sea. After going into *Parthia*, hee stired himselfe in a habit, being a meane betwene a *Persian* and a *Chalde*, that he might accoutme the *Macedonians* the more willingly to adore him.

Passing ouer the River *Oreaxes*, which he thought to be *Tanis*, hee warred on the *Seythians*, and chaied them one hundred furlongs. Thither *Cleusarchus*, *Polystratus*, *Onciferus*, *Epistepus* and *Hailas* say, the *Amazon* came to him; which *Chares*, *Yangelus*, *Piselmans*, *Andriscus*, *Philon*, *Philippus*, *Hecatus*, *Philippus* *Chalcidensis*, and *Darus* the *Saman*, say was a deusd Fable: and this appeareth to be true by *Alexander* himselfe, who writing to *Antipater* an exact Relation of all things, mentions the *Seythian* Kings offer of his Daughter in marriage, but hath nothing at all of the *Amazon*. It is said that *Lyfmacus*, when hee heard *Onciferus* reading that Relation, smiled and said, *where was I then?*

At length beholding the beaute and noble demeanour of *Roxanes*, *Darius* his Daughter, hee married her, that he might perpetually tie the *Barbarians* to him; whom hee did also forreuerne, that he did not solemely enter in to her. But when hee proceeded to bring the Rite of *Asia* to his obedience, hee caused *Philetas* *Parmanus* his sonne a man of eminent place to be flaine. Also a little while after being drunke, hee stricke *Cleus* through with a Lance, a man of a noble courage, which had freed him from *Spyridates* Battle-axe: yee hee presently repented, and snatching the Lance out of *Cleus* his wound, would haue turned it into himselfe; but was restrained by the flanders by, and had died with griefe, but that *Aristander* the Diuiner, and the *Philosophers* *Callisthenes* and *Anaxarchus* perswaded him to patience. *Callisthenes* was as ill repaid as *Cleus*, which before we haue mentioned.

After this, *Alexander* sets forth towards *India*, and there perceiving his Army by reason of the greatnesse of pillage to bee slow and dull, hee burned vp the baggage of the *Macedonian* Campe. After which he became an inexorable and seuerer penisher of faults, and a terror to his owne. Hee kille *Menderon*, one of his greatest Familiars for neglecting his charge: And due *Ordesabes* haue rebelled with his owne hands. Hee carried *Babylonians* (or *Chaldeans*) with him, whom hee yfed in superstitious expiations.

Nere the River *Oxus*, *Proxenus* found a Fountayne of Oyle and fat liquor, resembling Oyle in colour and taste, where that Region knoweth not Oyle. This *Alexander* tooke as a diuine Miracle in his favour. The Diuiners tooke it for a token of a difficult but glorious Warre. Hee tooke two strong Rocks in his way, which seemed impregnable. When the *Macedonians* refused to passe thowre the River to lay siege to *Nysa*, hee tooke his shield and was ready to swimme ouer himselfe. But their Embassage for peace staid him. To *Taxiles* an *Indian* King, hee gaue a thousand Talents of siluer.

After that he warred vpon *Porus* King of a great part of *India* (some thinke *Rahamani* to be his Successour, and those parts which the *Kashgats* now hold in the parts, which whiles they please, acknowledge the *Mogols* to haue subiect to him.) *Hydaspes* ranne betwix both their Tentes, and *Porus* by his Elephants (furnished also with twentie thousand foot, and two thousand horse) hindered the passage of *Alexander*, who therefore raised continuall alarmes, noyes and tumults in his Tents, and got ouer the River with great difficultie, tooke the *Indian* Charets, and foure hundred of their Horfemen. In eight houres fight *Porus* left the field and himselfe. Hee was foure Cobits and a handbreadth high, and rode vpon an Elephant, which fought valiantly for his Riders: and finding himselfe faint, knelled downe gently to preuene his fall. *Alexander* asked his Captiue *Porus* what he would haue done if he had taken him and *Porus* answered that hee would haue done that which should haue befetmed the Maiestie of either of them: because this hee feared of no barbarousnesse, hee restored him to his Kingdome, adding a Region of a free State there subdud, in which were fifteene Nations and 5000. Cities, besides Villages. In this battle with *Porus*, or soone after it *Eucabulus* died, being thurtie yeeres old: for whole death *Alexander* did so grieue, that hee built a Citie vpon *Hydaspes*, calling it by his name, as another also to his

Porus flaine.

2.

Dogge

Dogge Peritus. The Souldiers now being wearie of the trouble of daily warre, when they vnderstood that he determined to goe to the most parts of *India*, refused to passe ouer *Ganges*. For they heard that *Ganges* was thurtie two furlongs broad and a hundred twelveome deepe, and the banks covered with troops of Horfemen, Elephants and Footmen; 80000. Horfemen, 200000. Footmen, 8000. Charets, and 6000. Elephants trained to the warres, by the *Gardians* and *Persian* Kings. Wherefore *Alexander* seeing his desires could not obtaine their wished end, kept himselfe very sorrowfull in his Tent; and threatened that they should receiue no recompense for that they had done, vnlesse they would passe ouer *Ganges*: at length they came to see entreaties and teares of his Souldiers; hee desisted from his intended Iourney. But long to see the Ocean, gathering ships together hee came thither by the Ruers. Where taking many Cities hee was almost flaine by the *Malis*, valiant men of *India*. For when hee had leapt into the *Barbarians* from the wall (which hee first ascended) hee was oppressed with foule grievously wounded with an Arrow and a blow with a Club vpon the necke, here hee had in his rashnesse finished his dayes: But being freed from the perill of death, hee crept out of his wounds, and finished his dayes; being so spent. At last hee came to the Ocean with his Armie. Then contemplating the shoures; and finishing his holies, hee intreated the Gods that no man euer after should goe beyond his bounds: hee also had *Nearchus* tarrie about *India*, with a Nauy. He went on foot to *Ormus*. But hee was so distressed with the barrennesse of the Countrey, heate and diseases, that of a 120000. Footmen, and 15000. Horfemen, scarcely the fourth part liued. After sixte dayes hee came to *Gadesira*, where being honourably entertained by the Kings and Officers which had prepared against his coming, hee forgot all his passed troubles: so that hee spent his time day and night

HONDIVS his Map of Alexanders Expedition.



it is certaine, that the difference is become lo great, betwixt the present and the ancient Greeke that their Lyturgie, which is yet read in the ancient Greeke Tongue, namely that of Basil, on the Sabbath and Solemn dayes, and that of Chrysostome on common dayes, is not understood (or but little of it) by the vulgar people, as learned men that have bene in those parts, have related to others, and to my selfe: which may be also more evidently proved to be true by this, because the skillfull in the learned Greeke cannot understand the vulgar.

The ordinary bounds of the *Romane Empire* were on the East part *Exoporetas*, and sometimes *Tigris*: On the North the Ruers of *Rhene* and of *Danubius*, and the *Enxene Sea*: On the West the Ocean: On the South the *Catarrhis* of *Nilus* in the south border of *Aegypt*, and in *Africke* the Mountain *Atlas*. Which, beginning in the West, on the shore of the Ocean, over against the *Canarie* Islands, runneth Eastward almost to *Aegypt*, being in few places distant from against the *Mediterrane Sea*, more then two hundred miles. These I say, were the ordinary bounds of that *Empire* in the Continent: for although the *Romans* passed their bounds sometimes, specially toward the East and North, yet they kept little of what they wanne, but within those bounds mentioned, the *Empire* was firmly established. But here, in our great Ile of *Britaine*, the *Pill wall* was the limit of it, passing by *New-castle* and *Carlisle* from *Timmouth* on the East Sea, to *Solway Frith* on the West, being at first begun by the Emperour *Adrian*, and after finished or rather repaired, by *Septimius Severus*.

To this greatness of Dominion *Rome* at last arrived from her small beginnings. And smaller beginnings were indeed, considering the huge Dominion to which she attained. For first, the Circuit of the Citie wall, at the first building of it, by *Romulus* in Mount *Palatine*, could not be more then half a mile: for the Hill it self, as is observed by *Andreas Palatinus*, a Citizen and Antiquaire of *Rome*, hath no more in circuit: And, that *Romulus* bounded the *Pantheon* of the Citie (which extended himself beyond the wall with the foot of that Hill in compass *Goliath* hath left regretted. Secondly, the Territories and Liberties of *Rome*, as *Strabo* hath remembered, extended at the first, where it stretched farthest scarce six miles from the Citie. And thirdly, the first Inhabitants of *Rome*, as I find recorded in *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, were not in number above 3000, at the most. Yet, with Time, and fortunate success, *Rome* lo increased, that in *Aurelianus* his time, the circuit of the Citie wall, was fiftie miles, as *Yopisus* hath recorded: And the Dominion, grew to the largeness above mentioned, containing about 3000. miles in length, and about 1200. in breadth: and lastly the number of free Citizens, even in the time of *Marius*, that is, long before foreigne Cities and Countries, began to be received into participation of that freedom, was found to be 465000, as *Ensebius* hath remembered: of free Citizens I say (for they onely came into *Censu*) but if I should adde, their wives, and children, and servants, that is, generally all the Inhabitants, a learned man hath esteemed them, and not without great likelihood of truth, to have bene no lesse, then three or foure Millions.

Beyond these bounds therefore of the *Roman Empire* (to speake to the point in hand) the *Roman* tongue could not bee in any common use, as neither, to speake of our Kings Dominions in *Ireland*, *Scotland*, nor *Northernland*, as being no subjects of the *Roman Empire*. And that within these bounds stretched farre and wide (in such manner as I will afterward declare) two principall causes there were. One was the multitude of Colonies, which partly to repress rebellion in the subdied Provinces, partly to resist foreigne Invasions partly to reward the ancient Soldiers, partly to abate the redundancy of the Citie, and relieve the poorer sort, were sent forth to inhabit all the Provinces of the Empire: Another was the Donation of *Romans* freedoms, or Communication of the right and benefit of *Romane* Citizens, to very many of the Principall, both Cities and Regions. For first, all *Italie* obtained that freedoms in the time of *Sylla* and *Marius*, at the compounding of the *Italian Wars*, as *Aspion* hath recorded: All *Italia* I say, as then it was called, and bounded, with the Ruers of *Rodanus* and *Arno*, that is, the narrow part of *Italie* lying betwixt the *Adriatique* and the *Tyrrhene Seas*. Secondly, *Iulius Caesar* in like sort intranched the rest of *Italie*, that is the border part, named then *Gallia Cisalpina*, as it is remembered by *Dion*. But not long after, the foreigne Provinces also, began to be enfranchised, *France* being indued with the liberty of *Romane* Citizens by *Galba*, as I find in *Tacitus*: *Spain* by *Vespasian*, as it is in *Plinius*. And at last, by *Antonino Pius*, all without exception, that were subject to the Empire of *Rome*, as appeareth by the testimony of *Vipian* in the *Digests*. The benefit of which *Romane* freedoms, they that would use, could not with honestie doe it, remaining ignorant of the *Romane* Tongue.

These two as I have said, were the principall causes of enlarging that Language: yet other there were also of great importance, to further it. For first, concerning Ambassadors, Suites, Appelles, or whatsoever other business of the Provinces, or Foreigners, nothing was allowed to be handled, or spoken in the Senate at *Rome*, but in the *Latine* Tongue. Secondly, the Lawes whereby the Private notes were governed, were all written in that Language, as being in all the times, excepting onely Municipall Cities, the ordinary *Roman* Law. Thirdly, the *Prætors* of the Provinces, were not allowed to deliuer their Judgements in that Language: and were read

read in *Dion Cassius*, of a principall man of Greece, that by *Claudius* was put from the order of Judges, for being ignorant of the *Latine* Tongue: and to the same effect in *Valerius Maximus*, that the *Romane* Magistrates would not give audience to the *Grecians*, (desire therefore I take it to the Barbarous Nations) in the *Latine* Tongue. Fourthly, the generall Schooles, erected in sundry Cities of the Provinces, whereof wee finde mention in *Tacitus*, *Herodian*, and others (in which the *Roman* Tongue was the ordinary and allowed speech, as is visible in *Venerificius* till this day) was no small furtherance to that Language. And, to conclude that the *Romans* had generally (at least in the after-times, when *Rome* was become a Monarchie, and in the flourish of the Empire) great care to enlarge their Tongue, together with their Dominion, is by *Augustine* in his Booke de *Civitate Dei*, specially remembered. If it was so in after times, for certainly, that the *Romans* were not very anciently polidified with that humour of spreading their Language, appeareth by *Lucretius*, for they might publicly use the *Roman* Tongue, not fully one hundred and forty years before the beginning of the Emperours: And yet was *Cæsar* but about one hundred miles distant from *Rome*, and at that time the *Romans* had conquered all *Italie*, *Sicilie*, *Sardinia*, and a great part of *Spain*.

But yet in all the Provinces of the Empire, the *Romane* Tongue found not alike acceptance, and successe, but most enlarged and spread it self toward the North and West, and South bounds: for first, that in all the Regions of *Pannonia*, it was knowne, *Velleius* is mine Author: Secondly, that it was spoken in *France* and *Spain*, *Strabo*: Thirdly, that in *Africke*, *Apuleius*: And it is item the Sermons of *Cyprian* and *Augustine*, yet extant (of *Augustine* it is manifest) that they preached to the people in *Latine*. But in the East parts of the Empire, as in Greece, and *Asie*, and so likewise in *Africke*, from the greater *Syria* Eastward, I cannot in my reading find the *Roman* tongue ever grew into any common use. And the reason of it seemes to be, for that in those parts of the Empire it became most frequent, where the most, and greatest *Romane* Colonies, were planted. And therefore over all *Italy*, it became in a manner vulgar, wherein I have observed in Histories, and in Registers of ancient Inscriptions, to have beene planted by the *Romans* at (severall times above one hundred and fiftie Colonies: as in *Africke* also neere fiftie (namely fiftie fives) in *Spain* nine and twentie, in *France*, as it stretched to *Rhone* twentie fixe, and so in *Lyricum*, and other North parts of the Empire, betweene the *Adriatique Sea*, and *Danubius* verie many. And yet I doubt not, but in all these parts, more there were, then any Historie or ancient Inscription that now remaines hath remembered.

And contrariwise in those Countries, where twelf Colonies were planted, the *Latine* Tongue grew nothing lo common: as for example here in *Britaine*, there were but foure: 1. *York*, 2. *Chester*, 3. *Carmarke* in *Monmouth-shire*, and 4. *Mallow* in *Essex* (for *London*, although recorded for one by *Onuphrius*, was none, as is manifest by his owne Auctor, in the place that he himselfe alleadgeth) and therefore we finde in the *British* Tongue which yet remaineth in *Wales*, but little residue (so account of) or reliques of the *Latine*. And, for this cause also partly the East Provinces of the Empire, laoured little or nothing of the *Roman* Tongue. For first in *Africke* beyond the greater *Syria*, I find neuer a *Romane* Colonie: for *Onuphrius*, that hath recorded 1. *Indicia* *Cyrenesium* for one, alleadgeth *Vipian* for Author, was deceived by some faultie Copie of the *Digests*. For the corrected Copies have *Zarnesium*, and for *Indicia*, is to be read *Indicia*, as is rightly observed (for in it the Citie of *Zerna* was) by *Pancratius*. Secondly in *Egypt*, there were but two: and to be briefe, *Syria* onely excepted, which had about twentie *Romane* Colonies, but most of them late planted, especially by *Septimius Severus*, and his Sonne *Bassianus*, to strengthen that side of the Empire against the *Parthians* (and yet I finde not that in *Syria*, the *Roman* Tongue, ever obtained any vulgar vie) the rest, had but verie few, in proportion to the largeness of those Regions.

Of which little estimation, and vie of the *Roman* Tongue, in the East parts, besides the want of Colonies fore-mentioned, and to omit their low to their owne Languages, which they held to be more civil then the *Romane*, another great cause was the *Greeke*, which they had in farre greater account: both for Learning sake (inasmuch that *Cicero* confesseth, *Grecia* (saith he) *legatur in omnibus fore gentibus*, *Latina suis finibus, exigua sine continentur*) and for Traffike, to both which, the *Grecians*, above all Nations of the World were anciently given: to omit, both the excellencie of the Tongue it selfe, for found and copiousnesse, and that it had fortailed the *Romane* in those parts. And certainly, in how little regard the *Romane* Tongue was had in respect of the *Greeke* in the Eastern Countries, may appeare by this, that all the learned men of those parts, whereof most lived in the flourish of the *Romane* Empire, have written in *Greeke*, and not in *Latine*: as *Philo*, *Iosephus*, *Ignatius*, *Iulius* *Martyr*, *Clement* *Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, *Basil*, *Gregorio Nyssene*, and *Nazanzene*, *Cirill* of *Alexandria*, and of *Constantinople*, *Ephraim*, *Symeon*, *Pysleme* *Strabo*, *Porphyrie*, and verie many others, to that all the Writers that lived in *Asia*, or in *Africke*, beyond the greater *Syria*, I thinke wee have not our Author in the *Latine* Tongue: and yet more evidently may it appeare by another instance, that I finde in the third Generall Council held at *Ephesus*, where the Letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, having bene

Dion 19. 1. 1. 1.

Max. 1. 1. 1.

Tact. 1. 1. 1.

Hieron. in Ep. ad

Aug. de ci. Dei

Lia. 1. 1. 1.

Pict. 1. 1. 1.

Strabo 1. 1. 1.

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border of the Empire, along the River *Danubius*) and some part of *Thrace*, was spoiled and possessed by the *Hunnes*, who yet principally planted themselves in the lower *Pannonia*, whence it obtained the name of *Hungarie*.

Out of which discourse you may observe these two points. First, what the Countries were, in which those wandering and warlike Nations after many transigrations from place to place, fixed at last their final residence and habitation. Namely the *Hunnes* in *Pannonia*, the *Scandales* in *Affrike*, the *East Goths* and *Lungards* in *Italy*, the *West Goths* in *Spain*, and the *Wandales*, which being both originally but one Nation, gained their names of *East* and *West Goths*, from the position where they dwelt. Secondly, the Countries which they conquered and inhabited, the other barbarous Nations from the position where they dwelt. And both these things may be observed in the more famous invasions and Conquests. And Secondly, you may observe, that the main dissolution of the Empire, especially in *Europe* and *Affrike*, fell in the time of *Valentinian* the third, about the year 450, being caused by the barbarous Nations of the North (as after did the like dissolution of the same Empire in *Asia*, by the *Arabians* in the time of *Heraclius*, about the year 640,) and together with the ruine of the Empire in the West by the inundation of the foreaid barbarous Nations, the Latine tongue in all the Countries where it was vulgarly spoken (if it were rightly spoken any where in the West) became corrupted.

[illegible]

THese reasons perhaps (joyned with the other above alleadged, whereby I endeavoured to proue that the Latine tongue perfectly spoken, was neuer the vulgar language of the *Romans*

main Provinces) may perfwade you as they have done mee, that the barbarous Nations of the North, were not the firft corrupters of the Latine tongue; in the Provinces fubjeft to Rome, nor the beginners of the *Italian, French and Spanifh* tongues: yet ſome difficulties I finde (I confefle) in writers touching theſe points, which when I have reſolved my opinion will appeare the more credible.

One is out of *Plutarch* in his Platonique questions, affirming that in his time all men in a manner spoke the Latine tongue.

Another before touched that *Sirabo* recordeth the *Roman* tongue to haue bene spoken in *Spain* and *France*, and *Apuleius* in *Africke*, which alio may appeare by sundry places in *Augu-
stine*, whose Sermons seeme (as *Cyprian* alio) to haue bin made to the people in that
language.

A third, how it falleth if these vulgar tongues of adulterate Latin be to instruct, and to
 consist in any of them of any great antiquity?

A fourth, how in *Rome* and *Latium*, where the *Latine* tongue was out of question, native, the *Latine* could so degenerate, as at this day is found in the *Italian* tongue, except by some toraine corruption

To the first of these I answer, either, that as Divines are wont to interpret many general propositions; *Plutarch* is to be understood of *generibus singularum*, not of *singulis generum*: So that the Latine tongue was spoken almost in every Nation, but not of every one in any forraine Nation: Or else, that they spake the Latine indeed, but yet vnderfully and corruptly, as their enemies would frame to utter it.

[illegible]

which speech notwithstanding was named *Latine*, partly for the reason that their language *Romaine*; because they learned it from the Romans or Latines, as the right Roman Tongue; and as *Nithur-till* this day, which yet we know to differ much from the state of the Jullienment of the sonnes of *Ludouick* den (*Nephew* to *Charles* the Great) in his first state of the Jullienment of the sonnes of *Romaine* Tongue, *Pier* called the French then viuall (whereas the French now are called by the name of the *Romane* Tongue), which yet hath no more agreement with the Latine than the French hath that is now in vogue. Thirdly, to the objection of *Cyprian* and *Augustinus* preaching in Latine, I answereth that both a *Hippo*, whereof *Cyprian* was Bishop, and *Carthage*, whercof *Cyprian* was Archbishop, were Roman Colonies, constituting for the most part of the progenie of Romans, for which reason the Latine was special reference. Although neither in the Colonies themselves (as it is manifestly the case) nor in the Colonies themselves, did the Latine ever take place, so that the *Spartians* of Rome were never altogether vnaccept; both for that it allegeded before us that the *Spartians* of Rome were never altogether vnaccept; both for that it allegeded before us that the *Spartians* of Rome were never altogether vnaccept; both for that it allegeded before us that the *Spartians* of Rome were never altogether vnaccept.

40 Roman tongue was altogether vncpurpur; both for that I already wrote
Semeris his sister dwelling at *Leptis*, and for that which I remembered out of *Anquiline* for *Hippo*,
 where they spake *e Offium* and *4 Fiorist*, and *4 Dolist*, for *Os* and *Floren* and *dolor* (and yet were
 both *Leptis* and *Hippo* Roman Colonies :) And yet it appeareth further by *Anquiline*, that in
 their translations of the Scriptures, and in the Psalmes lung in their Churches, they had these cor-
 ruptions, where yet (as it is like) their most corrupt and vulgar Latine had not place.

To the third I answer, that two reasons of it may be assigned: One, that learned men would rather write, in the learned and grammatical, then in the vulgar and provincial Latin. Another, that the works of unlearned men would hardly continue till our times, seeing even of the learned ancient writings, but few of infinite, have remained. Furthermore it is observed of the *German* tongue, by *Tibullus* and of the *French* by *Genetard*, that it is very little above 400. years, since books began to be written in both those languages; and yet it is out of all doubt, that the

To the fourth I say that there is no language, which of ordinary course is not fubject to change, although there were no fortune occasion at all, which the very fancies of men, weary of old words (as I said) find able enough to worke, which may be well proved by observations and the *testimonies of former changes*, in this very tongue (the Latine) where I now dispute. For *Quintilian* recordeth, that the *Verbes of the Sallij* which were said to be composed by *Numerius* *Illud* hardly be understood of their Priefts, in the latter time of the Common-wealth, who lived in *Augustus* the first time, both late in observation, that the Latine speech, which (at this) is so named of *Latium*, was then in such manner changed. And the *Decemviri*, (called the Lawes of the twelve) the Lawes still so called and published in their owne words by *Fabius* *Ursinus* are so little like to the testimonies, if they be compared with the latter Latine, of the great alteration of that language.

Further,

Isid. Origin.
l. 9 c. 1.
Tertulin Apo-
log. adu. Gen:
Cap. 6.

Cicero, l. 3, de Oratore.

* *Irenic.* Evæg.
Germ. 4. 1. 31
Lazus. 1. 10. d.
Migration. Ge
Gorop. Origin
Antwerp. 1. 7.
Gefner, in Mi
thridate. Rhen
lib. 2. Rer. Ger.
Leucclau. in
Pandr. Tur
§ 71. & Alij
multi.

Objections
touching the
extent of the
Latin tongue
and the be-
ginning of the
mentioned
Languages
with their
divisions, &c.

Plutar. In quest.
p'atonic. quest. 5.

Strab. 1.3. & 4.
and in Flor. d. 1.

Nitba.de diff.
filiot. Ludow.
Pū 1.3.

Antonin. in
nario. Plin.
in Egi. l. 8. ad
nimum.
a Plin. Sec. E
na. l. 5. c. 4.
Velleius l. x.

Tschud. Desc.
A pine cap-
Gencor. I. 4.
Secul. II.

Quintil. 12

Left in D:
Lining log

Fala Vefina
 ad Anton
 de Lugh
 natus confu

Galil. de fin.
Ling. pag. 98.
Göcher in Mi-
chradate in
Ling. Afric. &
Arab.
Roccha de dis-
tict. in Ling.
Arabica.
Poßell. de Ling.
12 in Ling. Arab.
Mörsin Gram.
Syriac. prop.
Intr. Bisländ.
de ration. Lin-
guar.
Schilder.
in Lex. Penta-
glotto in roce
הק
Masi.

de colore
doli pomferva.
c.6. *Asini multu*
* *Leo affluat*.
De *scrip. Affi*.
esp. de *Mag*.
Africa.
Finis Epitom.
Lud. 151.
Scrib. 1.17.
Plin. 1.15. c. 18.
Scrib. citato.
Mela. 1.6.7.
Linn. 1.32. Plin.
1.5. 1.19. Appi.
Id. de Bel. Punicis
in principio.
Curtius. 1.4. &
Alti clures.
* **עֲרִיבִים**.
Arias Mont. lib.
Chamaen. c.8.
Poffel. in de-
scrip. Syrae c. de
Syriae Nominib.
Matth. 15. 22.
Mark. 7. 26.
Iof. 5. 1.
* Gen. 10. 19.

Strab. l. 16. non
long. ante med.
Plin. l. 5. c. 12.
Ptolem. Tab. 4.
Asie. Dionys. A-
lex in Periegesi

Aug. expof. in
rhoan. epif. ad
Roman. in med

Now lastly, touching the Punike tongue, as I am not of *Galatien* his opinion, that it was vttremely extinguisht by the Romanes: So neither can I bee of the phantasie (for it is not better) that many other learned men are: namely, that it was the *Arabike*, that is to say the same language, that is vulgar in *Africke* at this day. For it is well knowne to the skilfull in *Histories*, that the *Puniques* were of another off-spring (not of *Arabian* race) and that is not yet a thousand yeeres, since that tongue was by the *Arabians*, together with their victories brought into *Africke*. And as certa nello it is, that the remnants of the *Africans* progeny, as *Leo Africanus* hath recorded, had a different language from the *Arabike*. But the *Punike* tongue seemeth to me out of question, to haue bin the *Chananishe* or old *Hebrew* language, though I doubt not somewhat altered from the original pronuntiation, as is wont in tract of time to befall *Colons*, planted among strangers farre from home. For first *Carthage* it selfe, the Queene of the Cities of *Africke* (and well might be termed so), that contained in circuit 24. miles, as *Plorus* in his abridgement of *Linnæ* hath recorded, and by the vtter wall 360. furlongs (that is 45. miles) as it is in *Strabo*: And held out in emulation with *Rome*, as is noted by *Pliny*, 120. yeares, and to conclude (before the second *Punike* warre) had in subiection all the Coast of the *Mediterranean* Sea, from the bottomme of the greater *Syrie* in *Africke*, to the River *Eghre* (*Iherus*) in *Spain*, which is about 400. miles of length, that the name *Carthage* it selfe, was doubtlesse of the same language, of which *Pliny* maketh mention, and *Lepsius* and *Stephanus* in their *Geographical* Diccionaries: were *Colons* of the *Phoenicians*, and namely of the *Tyrrhenians*, and *Leptinians*, as *Strabo*, *Meles*, *Linnæ*, *Plinius*, *Apian*, and many other certaine Authors, acknowledge, and by none denied, but also the very names of *Pezis* and *Punics*, being but variations or mutations of the name *Phoenici* import so much, and lastly their language suffreth it. For *Hieronymus* writing that their language was growne somewhat different from the *Phoenician* tongue, such manifestly in these words imply, it had bene the same.

And what were the *Phœnicians* but *Chanaanites*? The *Phœnicians* I say, of whose exceeding merchandizing wee read so much in ancient Histories, what were they but *Chanaanites*, whose very name * signifieth Merchants? for, the very same Nation, that the *Grecians* called *Phœnicians*

Phoenicia and the Romans in imitation of that name (*Phoenice* & *Phœnicie*), for the exceeding flow of good Palme, wherewith that Country abounded: In former times that in Monuments of Antiquitie, the Palme Tree is observed for the Emblème of *Phœnicia*: the fame Nation I say, called themselves, and by the *Isralites* their next neighbours, were called *Chananites*. And that they were indeed no other,

lan able to prove. For first, the name was made called a *Syrophian*.² Where mention is made in *Ishn*, of the King of Cawwan, they are in the Syroptun translation named *Allat's* Coi.³ To put it out of question *Allat's* Coi, from *Siddow's Achah* (*Misw*) we have to return to *Gera*, registered by *Misw*, as *Wab* being the

[illegible]

Certain therefore it is, that the native *Pumke* language was the *Canaanitish* tongue: but that I added for explication this clause (or the old *Hebrew*, meaning by the old *Hebrew*, that which was vulgarly spoken among the *Lewes* before the captivity) you will perhaps suspect my credit,

and be offended, for I am not ignorant how superlatively *Divines* for the most part are affected toward the *Hebrew* tongue; when I had let down the *African* language to have been the *Canaanitic* tongue, I thought good to add for plainness sake (or the old *Hebrew*) because I take them indeed to be the very first language, and that *Abraham* and his posterity brought it not out of *Chaldas*, but learned it in the Land of *Canaan*. Neither is this opinion of mine, a mere paradox and fantastic, but I have "three or four" of the best skilled in the language and antiquities of that Nation, that the later times could afford of the same kind: And certainly by *Isaiah* it is called in direct terms, the language of *Canaan*: And it is moreover manifest; that the names of the places and Cities of *Canaan* (the old names I mean) by which they were called before the *Israelites* dwelt in them, as to be seen in the whole course of the *Bookes of Moses* and of *Isaiah* were *Hebrew* names: touching which point, although I could produce other forcible reasons, such as might (except my fantastic delude-me) vexe the best wit in the world to give them into full solution, yet I will add no more, both to avoid prolixity, and because I shall have in another place fitter occasion.

But to speake particularly of the *Pauke* tongue, which hath brought vs into this discourse, and which I proued before to bee the *Canaanitish* language: it is not onely * in one place pronounced by *Augustine* (who knew it well, no man better)

[illegible]

is remembered in the holy Histories, and for that the *Punke* Colonies, are especially mentioned to have been deduced from *Tyre*, which never came from the *Phoenicians*, but from the *Canaanites*, whose off-spring they are, and the *Phoenicians* followeth thereupon that the language of the *Canaanites*, was either *Hebrew*, or exceeding near the *Hebrew*. And certainly, touching the difference that was betwixt them, the *Hebrew* and the *Punike*, I make no doubt, but the great distance from their primitive habitation, and their conversation with strangers among whom they were planted, and together with both the length of time, which is wont to bring alterations in all the Languages in the World, were the causes of it. And although that *Punike*

French in *Plautus*, which is the only continued speech of that language, due to my knowledge remain extant in any Author, have no such great convenience with the *Hebræi* tongue; yet I assure my selfe the faults and corruptions that have crept into it by many transcriptions, have beene the cause of so great difference, by reason whereof it is much changed from what at first it was when *Plautus* writ it, about one thousand eight hundred yeeres agoe: And specially because in transcribing thereof there would be so much the less care taken, as the language was lesse understood by the Writers, and by the Readers, and so the escapes life subiect to persequition and confolment.

[illegible]

Μαζαρεν, namely all the Nations of the Eastern parts, which celebrate their divine feasts after the Greeke Ceremony, and professe Ecclesiastical obedience to the Patriarch^l. of *Constantinople*, write in a diuers sort of Character from that of the *Dalmatians, Croatians, Illyrians, Polonians, Bohemians, Sijians* and other Nations of the Northern parts, who are called *Slaves* by the *Original* languages) of which, this last is called the *Dalmatian or Illyrian* Character, and was ot^o *Hieronymus* dwelling, that other bearing for the most part some resemblance with the Greeke is termed the *Serbian* Character, and was ot^o *Cyrillus* invention: for which cause, as *Rocceha* hath remembered, they terme the language written in that Character *Slavonicke*, But the *Polonian* and *Bohemian* Languages are written in a Character quite otherwise, the use of most (if not the difference of almost every letter) is the same beinging

But yet is not the *Slavonike* tongue (to answer your question) for all this large extens, the vulgar language of the *Turks* Empire. For of the *Turks* Dominion onely *Esquie*, the West part

* *Poſſet lib. de
Pharmac. l. 1. c. 2.
§. 1. Arius Mon-
ta. L. Chamae. c.
Genebrard. l. 1.
Chron. an. Dila-
mij 131. Scilicet
ad feſt. indiſt.
Sarra. & in ep.
ad Vbert. &
ad Tomſon.
* 1/a. 19 18.
* *Auguſt (ſer. 3
de verb. Dom.
Eugene (ſer. Luc**

* Aug 12 sent
letter Petliani
cap. 104a

Plut. in P. 6.
14. 14. 6.

Of the 'largest
ness of the
Slavonish, Tur-
kish, & Arabic
languages. C.

Gefner. in Mi-
t. in Ling.
Illyrica. Bocch
in Ap. end de d
alcet. in Illyrica

* Pašić, de: Dalmat. Recchi, in: Bibl. con. Dalmat. Recchi, in: Bibl. con. Dalmat. Recchi, in: Bibl. con.

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of *Macedon, Bafina, Servia, Bulgaria, Ruffia*, and part of *Thrace*, and that he hath in *Dalmatia* and *Croacia* (beside the *Mongrelli in Asia*) speake vulgarly the *Slavonian* tongue. But no where for the more precise limitation, neither in *Asia* nor in *Europe* is that language spoken more Southward, then the North Parallel of forty degrees: some part of *Epirus* only excepted: I mean it is not spoken as the vulgar language of any Nation more Southward. For else, being acceptable and usual, as it is in the Great *Turkey* *Serrail* at *Constantinople*, and familiar with most of the Turkish Souldiers, by reason of their Garrisons and other great employment in those parts toward the confines of Christian Princes, all which parts as before I said (*Hungarie* and *Wallachia* excepted) speake that language: for these reasons I say, it is spoken by diuers particular men in many places of the Turkish Dominion, and the *Leuantes* and Officers for the most part can speake it, and many others also of the better sort, but yet the generall and vulgar language of his Dominion (excepting those places afore mentioned) it is not.

But in *Anatolia*, although the old languages still remaine, being for the most part corrupt *Greeke*, as also in *Armenia* they haue their peculiar language, yet is the Turkish tongue very frequent & preuaileth in them both: which being originally none other then the *Tartarian* tongue, as *Michow* L. L. de *Sarmatice* 15. *Turchi de dialecto* 14 ling. *Turica*. by reason of the *Turke* long continuance in both those Regions, before they settled the Seat of their Dominion, and themselves among the *Grecians*, for which cause it is not without mixture of *Greeke* also, but chiefly and above all other of the *Arabike*, both by reason of their Religion written in that language, and their training vp in Schooles vnto it, as their learned tongue. And yet although the Turkish bee well vnderstood both in *Natolia* and *Armenia*, yet hath it neither extinguished the vulgar languages of those parts, neither obtained to be so much the more eudently reading find; any peculiar Province at all, wherein it is become the sole native and vulgar language, but is only a common scattered tongue, which appeareth to be so much the more eudently true, because the very Cities that haue beene successfull the Seats of the *Ottoman Sultans*; namely, *Iscion* (now *Cypris*) in *Lycaonia*, then *Persia* in *Bithynia*; thirdly, *Adrianople* in *Thrace*; and lastly, *Constantinople*, are yet knowne to retain the old native language, the *Greeke* tongue: Although the Turkish tongue also bee common in them all, as it is likewise in all other *Greeke* Cities both of *Greece* and *Asia*.

But in the East part of *Alcie* beyond the River *Pyramus*, as in all *Syria* also, and *Mesopotamia* and *Palestina*, and *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and thence Westward in all the long tract of *Africke*, that extendeth from *Aegypt* to the Strait of *Gibraltar*, I say, in all that lieth betwixt the Mountaine *Atlas*, and the Mediterranean Sea (now termed *Barbary*) excepting *Marocco*, and here and there some scattered remnants of the old *Africaine* in the inland parts, the *Arabike* tongue is become the vulgar language, although somewhat corrupted and varied in dialect, as among many seuerall Nations it is vnpossible but it should bee. And although I bee farre from " their opinion, which write (too ouerthighly) that the *Arabian* tongue is in use in two third parts of the inhabited world, or in more, yet I finde that it extendeth very farre, and specially where the Religion of *Mahomet* is professed. For which cause (out and besides the parts about mentioned, in which it is, as I said, become the native language) in all the Northern part of the Turkish Empire also, I mean that part that lyeth on the North side of the Mediterranean Sea, as likewise among the *Mahometan Tartars*, it is thought not the *Vulgar* tongue, yet familiar with very many, both because all their Religion is written in that language, and for that " every boy that goeth to schoole is taught it, as in our Schooles they are taught *Latine* and *Greeke*: Insomuch, that all the *Turke* write their owne language in *Arabike* Characters. So that you see the common languages of the Turkish Empire, to be the *Slauonic*, the *Greeke*, the *Turkish*, and *Arabike* tongues, serving seuerally for the parts that I mentioned before.

The *Syriack* tongue is certainly " thought to haue had beginning, in the time of the Captiuitie of the *Iewes* in *Babylon*, while they were mingled among the *Chaldeans*. In which long resolution of *seuenty yeeres*, the vulgar sort of the *Iewes* forgot their owne language, and began to speake the *Chaldean*: But yet pronouncing it amisse, and framing it somewhat to their owne Countrey fashion, in notation of Points, Affixes, Coniugations, and some other properties of their ancient speech, it became a mixt language of *Hebrew* and *Chaldean*: a great part *Chaldean* for the substance of the wordes, but more *Hebrew* for the fashion, and so degenerating much from both: The old and right *Hebrew* remaining after that time onely among the learned men, and being taught in Schooles, as among vs the learned tongues are accustomed to bee. And yet, after the time of our Saviour, this language began much more to alter and to depart further, both from the *Chaldean* and *Hebrew*, as receiving much mixture of *Greeke*, some of *Romane* and *Arabike* wordes, as in the *Talmud* (named of *Ierusalem*) gathered by R. *Iacobson*, about three hundred yeeres after Christ, is apparent, being farre fuller of them, then those parts of the *Chaldean* paraphrase on the holy Scriptures, which were made by R. *le-*

R. *Ionathan*, a little before Christ, and by R. *Aquila*, whom they call *Onkelos* not long after.

But yet certaine it is, both for the great difference of the wordes themselves, which are in the *Syriack* tongue for the most part *Chaldean*, and for the diueritie of sole adherents of wordes, which they call *prefixa*, and *suffixa*, as also for the differing sound of some vowels, and finally other considerations: Certaine it is I say that the vnclearned *Iewes*, whose vulgar speech the *Syriack* then was, could not vnderstand their *ספר* and *תורה*, that is their lectures of *Moses* and the Prophets, vied in their Synagogues in the *Hebrew* tongue. And that seemeth to haue bene the originall reason, both of the publike speeches and declarations of learned men to the people, viall in their Synagogues on the Sabbaths, after the readings of the Law and of the Prophets, whereof in the " New Testament wee finde some mention, and also of the translation of *Ionathan* and *Onkelos*, and others made into their vulgar language, for that the difference betwixt the *Hebrew* and the *Chaldean* was so great, that the tongue of one Nation could not bee vnderstood by the other. First, the tongues themselves, which yet remaine vs vs may bee euident demonstrations, of which wee see that one may bee skilfull in the *Hebrew*, and yet not vnderstand the *Chaldean*, and therefore neither could they, while speech the *Chaldean* then was (although much degenerated) vnderstand the *Hebrew*. Secondly, wee find that when " *Esaia*, at the returne from the Captiuitie, read the Booke of the Law before the people, others were faine to interpret that which was read vnto them. And 2. r. 8. 9. 20. thirdly, the answer made to *Rabshakeb*, by the Officers of King *Heczekiah* may put it out of question, willing him q. to speake vnto them in the *Chaldean* tongue, that the common people of *Ierusalem* (in whose hearing it was) might not vnderstand what was spoken. But yet it might bee, that as at this day the *Iewes* vie to doe, so also in Christs time of conuersion on the Earth, they might also read the *Chaldean Targumim* (and certainly some " learned menets firme they did so) together with the *Hebrew* lectures of *Moses* and the Prophets; for certaine it is, that *Ionathan Ben Uziel*, had before the birth of our Saviour translated, not the Pentateuch onely into *Chaldean*, for it is his Paraphrase that wee haue at this day on the Prophets, and the Language which wee now call the *Syriack*, was but the *Iewish* *Chaldean*, although in the after times, by the mixture of *Greeke*, and many other forraigne wordes it became 30 somewhat changed, from what in the times afore, and about our Saviours Incarnation it had bene: but the *Pentateuch* also: at least, if it bee true which *Sextus* hath recorded, namely, that such is the Tradition among the *Iewes*, and which *Galatine* writeth, that himselte hath seene that translation of *Iona-*

for of that part of the *Chaldean* Paraphrase, which wee haue in the *Complutense*, and King *Philip* Bibles, on the Bookes of *Moses*, *Onkelos* is the Author: of that on *Ishai*, the *Iulij*, the Booke of the Kings and of the Prophets, *Ionathan*. Of that on *Math*, *Heber*, *Iob*, and the *Psalms*, and the Booke of *Salomon*, R. *Ioseph* Ceca.

40 dwelling in *Alexandria* and others parts of *Egypt*, in *Asia* also, and other *Greeke* Provinces abroad, vied publickly in stead of the *Hebrew*, which now they vnderstood not the *Septuaginta Greeke* translation, as is euident in *Tertullian*: And of some others of them in the Constitutions of " *Iustinian*, which *Iewes* for that very cause, are funny times in the " *Acts* of the Apostles termed *Exlanguai*. For by that name, in the iudgement of learned men, the natural *Grecians* are not meant, which are alwayes named *Exlous*, not *Exlanguai*. But, the *Iewes* dispersed among the *Gentiles*, that vied to read the *Greeke* Scriptures in their Synagogues.

And here shall be the period of my first Enquiry touching the Languages, and beginning of the second, concerning the sorts of Religions abroad in the World. In discoursing whereof you must be content to accept of Moderne Authors, because I am to intreat of Moderne Matters: And I hap to heare away where I see no path, and can discourse but few steps afore mee, you must pardon it. And yet this one thing I will promise you, that if either they that should direct mee, mislead mee not, or (where my reason suspects that my guides wander, and I am misled) if I am circumfpect observing, or diligent inquiring, may presterue mee from error, I will not depart a haire from the way of Truth.

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Paul Venet.
L.S.G.B.

Scaliger de
Emendat.
semper L7. A
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Exil: 80.

2 *Utriac. Hi-*
flor Orient c. 78
Cyho. Phrysa-
gen. f. 4. 7. c. 33. 5
Ali.
b *L. i. c. 44.*
c *L. i. c. 47.*
d *L. i. c. 43.*
e *L. 2. c. 39.*
f *L. i. c. 38.*
g *L. i. c. 40.*
h *L. i. c. 62.*
i *L. i. c. 61.*
k *L. 2. c. 61.*
l *L. 2. c. 60.*

part and Syria were in the hands of *Christians* hath left required, that the *Christians* of the Baïterre parts of *Africa*, exceeded in multitude the *Christians* of the Isles Greece and Lesser Chacities; y^e in his time (for he writ almost four hundred years ago) the *Christians* began to decline, and inoe by his time, it hath proceeded infinitely further, so that all those parts were: first, but, and afterwards of the Molassar *Tartars*, who subdued all those Regions, and after by the intertwinery of Mahometanite in many of them. The time was indeede, (and but about four hundred years agoe) when the King of *Tendes*, whom the histories of those times name *Presbyter Iohn* being a Christian, but a *Nestorian* Prince, ruled faire and wilde, in the North-east part of *Africa* his habiting his dominion, betwixt *Tendes*, (which was his owne native and peculiar Kingdome) all the neighbouring Provinces, which were at that time for a great part, Christian: but after that his Empire was brought to ruine, and hee subdued by *Chingis* a rebel of his owne Dominion (and the first founder of the Tartarian Empire) which happened about the yeere 1200. the state of Christian Religion became in short time strangely altered in those parts, for [indee in *Morcen Pandus* who lived within fiftie yeeres after *Vinivane*, and was a man of more experience in those parts then he, as having spent threene or four yeeres together in *Tartaria*, partly in the Emperours Court, and partly in traunelling over those Regions, about the Emperours affayres, that except the Province of *Tendes*, which as I said was the Kingdome of *Presbyter Iohn* residence (for it was the Prince of that Kingdome, which is rightly and vually, by the ancient Historians named

Presbyter Ilay, howsoever the mistaking fancies of many, have transported out of *Afimo into Africa*; and by error followed it on the King of *Alabaria* except that Prince of *Tenise* Ilay, wherof *Marcus Paulus* complains, to have professed the Christian Religion at his birth, and yet left the Christian Religion, being partly *Alahumetans*, and partly *Idolaters*: in all the other Provinces of those parts beside, that, live obnoxious the Christianits to beet but few, namely in the Kingdoms of *Tangubi*, of *Chincinciales*, of *Sutens*, of *Caramin*, of *Caffer*, of *Cerechem*, of *Ergimul*, of *Cerguth*, of *Egrigaya*, and in the other Regions of *Tartarie* mentioning no Christians at all. Two Cities only I finde in him excepted, the one was *Congogafra* in *Mary*, (that is *China*) where he noverth, that many Cities, and Towns, and the other *Quangy*, in which latter yet, (although the greatest Cicie in the world) he hath no mention of any Christian Church or Christians. I can finde no mention of any Christian Church, neither in *Paul Pauten*, nor any other of his position, and overfleweth all.

But yet indeed, in the more Southern parts of *Afia* (especially in those where Christianity was first planted, and had taken deeper root) as *Nabata, Syria, Palestine, Chaldaea, Offiria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Medu, Persia*, the North parts of *Arabia*, and the South of *India*, Christians are not only to be found, but in certain of those Regions, as in *Nabata, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia*, somewhat thickly mingled with *Mahometans*: as they are also in the South of *India* not farre from the Promontory of *Corniger*, in some reasonable number, in the Kingdome of *Cocat*, of *Craganer*, and of *Chorramand*, but mingled with Idolaters. But yet, is not this mixture of Christians with them of other Religions, in any part of *Afia*, after the proportion of their farre inferior to the multitudes of the *Mahometans*, much less the prevailing number) but they are mingled, and yet touching their number, decrease every day, in all the parts aforesaid, *India* only excepted. Where since the *Portugals* held Goa (which they have eected into an Archbishopsrick) and entertaigned *Malabar*, and some other parts of *India*, what with commerce, and what with amitie, the number of Christians is greatly multiplied, in sundrie places of that Region, but yet not io, as to compare in any fort with the *Mahometans*, and much lesse with the Idolaters among whom they liue.

Thus it was with Christians in the firm land of *Afa*; but in the Islands above *Afa*, Christianity was a yet and a tender plant; for although it hath made some entrance into the Isles called *Philippine*, the name of *Christ* is not yet so generally known, as to be received by that name, are (subject to the ruling of the *Potential*, into *Orma*, in the Bay of *Orma*, and the *Capitane*, as also by the preaching of the infinite multitude of *Islands*, dispersed in that *Eastern* Sea of *India*, and some found in all those places, rather some far beginning, than any great proceeding. Only in *Japoa* 60
there were found in that land (notwithstanding many hindrances and oppositions) more profusion, and about 300000 Christians in *Japoa*.

• Plat. de Bon
Stat. Relig. 1.2.
649.30.

HONDIVS *his Map of the Christian World.*



1. Lastly, in *America*, there are four large regions, and whole of the most fruitful and populous
 2. part of it, possessed and governed by the *Spaniards*, that is, *Neues España*, *Castilla del Oro* (other-
 3. wise termed *Nuevos Reynos*) *Persia* and part of *Brazil*, the first three, by the *Castilians*, and the fourth,
 4. by the *Portugals*, all which together, may by estimation, make a Region as large as Europe,
 5. which, as attem to the Islands, specially in the greater Islands of *Hispia*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and *Puerto-
 6. Rico*, the *Christian Religion* is to be largely spread; that is, that one hath proposed, to equal in a manner, the
 7. *Christianity* of *America*, to that of *Europe*; and the *Latine Church* in Europe: And another, hath left
 8. Christians that within a few years after the entrance of the Gospel among them, there were no
 9. less than seven Millions, or as others reported four score Millions, that in the Sacrament of Baptis-
 10. m Christian had given their names to Christ. But especially in the Kingdome of *Mexico* (or *Neues Ef-
 11. spania*) *Christian Religion* obtained that plentiful and prosperous success, that we finde recorded
 12. of fundry of the Preachers, employed about the conversion of that people; that they baptiz'd some-
 13. 14. times each one of them, above 100000. and that in few years: In witness whereof, that is, testified by *Sorius*
 15. it is to be found among the records of *Charles the first*, that four or five hundred thousand
 16. another 300000. and certayne of the very great multitudes. But yet, what manner of *Christians*
 17. many of those professed were? I am loth to remember, or report (as it may be by this time, they
 18. were all infected and instructed (then they were) for certainly, *Quinde* and *Banza*, men that had
 19. long lived, and were well experienced in those parts, have left recorded, the first of *Cuba*, that
 20. there was scarce any one, or but very few, that willingly became *Christians*, and here *Ondino* of
 21. them, and *Banza* of the *Christians* of *Neues España*, that they had nothing almost belondg to
 22. *Christianitie*, but onely the bare name of *Christians*, being so vetyly misdeleited, and carlede
 23. 24. by the *Spaniards*, that they were not able to understand, and profess any thing they made
 25. in their baptism: Ooely they kept in mind, the name they received then, which very name
 26. alio, they forgotte soon after. And the rest of *America*, except the regions afoe mentioned,
 27. were all bound to the vns possessed by the *Castilians* and *Portugals* (to make estimation by the
 28. Maps that we have of those regions, for the North and West coasts of *America*, are not yet per-
 29. fectly discovered) may be said by one, is possitied by Idolaters. Having

that *Seït*, which the *Jewes* name *Karaim*, and by the other *Jewes* of *Africa*, are reputed no better than Hereticks.

But yet, beside these, and such like diffusions of the *Jewish* Nation, that may be elsewhere in the world, there is a phantasm of many learned men, not unworthily more diligent consideration, that, not *anywhere* from *Scythia*, who about the year 1200, or a little before, became first known abroad in the world by that name, and hold at this day a

great part of *Asia*, in subjection: That those *Tartars* I say, are of the *Israelites* progeny: Namely, of the ten Tribes, which by *Salmanassar*, and some of his predecessors, were carried captive into *Affrica*. Which although it be as I said no other than a vain and capricious phantasm, yet, hath it, not only found acceptance and entertainment, with sundry learned and understanding men: but reason and authority are produced, or pretended to establish it for a truth. For first, it is alleged that the word *Tartari*, or *Tartari* (for to indecise they are rightly called, as *learned* men obscure, and not *Tartars*) signifies in the *Syriac* and *Hebrew* tongues, a Residue or Remainder, such as these *Tartars* are supposed to be of the Ten Tribes. Secondly, because (as the Patrons of this phantasmic lay) they have always embraced (the ancient character of *Indanus*) a Circumcision. And thirdly, the authority of *Josephus* (the very person I take it, whence hath flowed this stream of opinion) is alleged. Namely, that the Ten Tribes took this course to themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the heathen, and go forth into a farther Country, where none might dwell. That they might there keep their *Law*, which they never kept in their own land. And that they enquire in the narrow passages of the River *Euphrates*. The most high showing them signs, and laying the Springs of the flood, till they were passed over. And that their journey was great, even of a year and a half, and the region is called *Ararat*.

But to the first of these arguments, I may answer, that the *Tartars* obtained that name, neither from *Hebrew* nor *Syriac* original, and appellation, but from the River *Tartar*, saith *Leontianus*, and others. Or else from the Region, saith *Huibo*, where the principal of them anciently dwelled. Secondly, that the name *Tartari* or *Tartari* in the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* signification, importing a residue or remainder, can but full ill (as it seems) be applied to the *Tartars* in relation of the *Israelites*, whom they exceedingly surpass in multitude, as overspreading half the vast continent of *Asia*, or thereabout. For all the Nations of *Asia*, from the great Rivers of *Volga* and *Ob*, Eastward, and from the *Caspian* Sea, the River *Oxus*, the Countries of *India* and *China*, Northward, are contained under the Appellation of *Tartars*: and yet without their bounds many *Tartars* there are, both toward the West and South. And what if the innumerable people of so many Nations, as are known to inhabit and overspread the huge continent of *America*, be also of the same of spring? Certainly, if it be not greatly deceived, they are no others. For first, that their original must be derived from *Asia* is apparent, because (as he that reads the relations and histories of those Countries of *America* may easily observe) they have no reliſh nor remembrance at all, of the Arts, or learning, or civility of *Europe*: And their colour testifies, they are not of the *African* progenie (there being not found in all that large Continent, any blacker men, except a few about the River of *Saint Barthelemy*, in a small Country called *Quereque*, which be force and violence of some tempest, are supposed to have been transported thither, from the parts of *Guinea* or *Ethiopia*). Therefore it seemeth, that they had their original from *Asia*. Which yet will appear more credible, if it be observed, which by the *Spaniards* is discouered is well known to be true, namely, that the West side of *America* respecting *Asia*, is exceeding much better peopled than the opposite or East side that respecteth toward *Europe*. And, as for these reasons it is verily likely, that *America* received her first inhabitants, from the East border of *Asia*: So is altogether unlike, that it received them from any other part of all that border, save from *Tartaria*. Because, in *America* there is not to be discerned, any token or indication at all, of the arts or industry of *China*, or *India*, or *Catana*, or any other civil Region, along all that border of *Asia*: But in their gross ignorance of letters, and of arts, in their Idolatry, and the specialties of it, in their incivility, and many barbarous properties, they resemble the old and rude *Tartars*, above all the Nations of the Earth. Which opinion of mine, touching the *Americans* descending from the *Tartars*, rather than from any other Nation in that border of *Asia*, after the netre vicinities of *Asia* to *America*, this reason above all other, may best establish and persuade: Because it is certain, that that North-east part of *Asia* possessed by the *Tartars*, is not continent with the West side of *America*, which yet remaineth almost double full: but certainly, and without all doubt, it is the least diffused by Sea, of all that coast of *Asia*, for that those parts of *Asia* and *America*, on continent one with the other, or at most, diffused but by some narrow channel of the Ocean, the raucous and harmless beasts, wherewith *America* is stored, as Bears, Lions, Tigers, Wolves, Foxes, &c. (which men as is likely, would never to their own name transport out of one continent to the other) may import. For from *Noble* Asia, which rested after the deluge

* For of the *Jewes*, as touching their Religion, there be in these times three sects. The first, which is the greatest of them, is named *Pharisees*, who abide the holy Scriptures, embrace the *Talmud* also for Authentick, and for that cause they are also termed *Sadducees*. The second are called *Sadducees*, which receive only the Scriptures. And the third, which is that, the *Samaritans* (say they) but very few, which of all the holy Scriptures, admit only the *Pentateuch* or Book of *Moses*: of them all see my *Religious Lib.*

deluge, in *Asia*, all those befalls must of necessity fetch their beginning, seeing they could not proceed by the course of nature, as the viperetted sort of living creatures doe, of Purification: or if they might have Purification for their parentage, or receive their original (by any other new sort of generation) they should by Gods speciall appointment, be so carefully preferred in *Nabir* Arke (as they were) in time of the deluge. Wherefore, seeing it is certain, that those raucous beasts of *America*, are the progenie of those of the same kind in *Asia*, and that none, as is likely, conuinged them not (to their own prejudice) from the one continent to the other, it seemeth a great likelihood and appearance of truth, that if they voyne not together, yet are they next neighbours, and but little diffused each from other, for even to this day, in the Isles of *Cuba*, *Tamaica*, *Hispania*, *Barbadoes*, and all the rest, which are so farre removed from the firme Land, that these beasts cannot swimme from it to them, the *Spaniards* record, that none of these are found. Wherefore it seemeth (so digresse no farther) that the Nation of the *Tartarians*, spreading to exceeding farre, as it doth cannot certainly be the posterity of those captive *Israelites*.

Neither (to answer the second objection) doth their circumcision in any sort enforce it: for, neither was circumcision, among the *Tartars* ancienter than *Mohometanism*, but was received among them together with it, as *Mohomet* hath remembered, so that to this day, it is not in among them together with it, in their ancient Idolatry, as to the most part, both the *Tartars* of *Catana*, beyond the Mountain *Imau* towards the East Ocean, and the *Tartars* of *Sarmatia*, towards the North, on both sides the River of *Ob*, doe. Neither if it should be granted, that circumcision had beene ancienter among them, than *Mohometanism*, were that an argument of any importance, to prove them to be of the *Israelites* progenie. B. cause it is certainly knowne, that the ceremony and custome of circumcision hath bene and still is viall among many Nations, of whom there was neuer any suspicion, that they descended from the *Israelites*, for *Diodorus* hath recorded of the *Colchians*, *Philo Indians* and *Syrabs* of the *Ægyptians*, *Hindus* of those Nations, and of the *Ethiopsians* besides, that they used circumcision, and that that custome among the *Ægyptians* and *Ethiopsians*, did seeme very ancient, even as it is also both those Nations retained till this day. And yet, beside these Countries already mentioned, the like is also reported of the *Tragelodes* by *Strabo*, and by others: Of the *Phenicians*, and *Arabians*, by *Cyprian* and *Nepherus*. And (to leave this accumulation of humane testimonies) it is not obscurely acknowledged by the Prophet *Ieremie*, to have bene viall beside the *Israelites* with the *Ægyptians*, *Edomites*, and the inhabitants of the desert, that is to say, the *Israelites*, or *Saracens* of *Arabia*: Of which Nations, *Hierome* also (to whom those regions were well knowne (as *Epiphanius* also of the most of them) hath left testified, that they retained circumcision, even in his time. Touching some of which, although it may be probably conjectured, that they received it (in some form) from the *Israelites*: yet not as their progenie (which yet in some sense may be said of the inhabitants of the desert, being the posterity of *Ismael* the Sonnet of *Abraham*) and like wife of the *Edomites*, being the issue of *Eſau*, the poster of *Jacob*: yet at least, by imitation of *Abrahams* family, to whom also in *Ismael* they were allied, as the *Ismaelites*, and *Mohometans*, the posterity of *Ismael*, *Arabians* brothers, sons, and who had long since, his familiarity and family. Although I say of these Nations: may be conjectured, that their ceremonie of circumcision was taken up by imitation of the *Israelites* by the same rite, or custome was also derived originally, from *Ismael* to the whole Nation of *Arabians* (which was exceeding great) or to the *Ægyptians*, or other neighbouring Provinces. I know not why any should conjecture, or if they doe, yet appeareth it to begethwise, because they came first in the eight day, which is the allowable custome of the *Israelites*: but the *Ægyptians* in the fourteenth year, as is recorded by *Ambrose*, and the *Arabians* in the thirteenth and some of them both sexes, as *learned* men have recorded. Even as the *Turkes* almost this day, who received the rite of circumcision from the *Arabians*, are knowne to circumcise in the eighth or twelfth, or sixteenth year, or sooner or later, as opportunity may serve. Of these Nations I say how circumcision should proceed from the *Israelites* to them, I cannot conclude:

Isa. 40. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Mich. 2. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

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may, to be six hundred foot long, and three hundred and sixtie foot thick, as *Isaba* in *Plinio* related to be found in the Bay of *Aradua* (where yet, as it is well knowne by the foundings of Navigators, that Sea is not by a good deal: three hundred and sixtie foote deepe). Or, let them be more yet, euen four Acres long (that is nine hundred and sixtie foot) as *Plinio* hath related of some in the Sea of *India*. For, although the two last reports be in truth no better then fancies and fables, which the impudence of some, hath made the ignorance of others to beleue, yet I will exclude none, but only *Basil*, as intollerably hyperbolicall, affirming namely that Whales are equal to the greatest Mountains, and their backs when they shew above the water, like to Islands. But admitting all the rest I say, what proportion haue those dimensions of the Whale and the Elephant, to the huge breadth and depth of the Ocean?

For if I may without offence in offer a short Philosophicall speculation: the depth of the Sea (to speake nothing of the breadth, which every common Map doth represent) is determined by *Fabius* in *Plinio*, & by *Cleomedes* to be fiftene furlongs, that is, one mile and fouen eight parts: Or else, eq. all to the height of the greatest Mountains, to whose height, and the deepness of the Sea, the Geometricians (as *Plinius* hath recorded) anciently assigned eq. all dimensions. Or yet rather (if you will any thing respect my opinion) it is a great deale more. For, as for the shallow speculation of *Scaliger*, and others, of the shallownesse of the Sea, determining the height of Hills, farre to surpass the deepness of the Sea: And that in very few places, it attaieth one hundred paces of depth, is indeede true in the narrow Channels and Straits of the Sea: But in the free and large Ocean, it is by the experience of Navigators knowne to be as fass as the Goipell is true. Indeede touching the height of Mountains, I finde it pronounced by the great Mathematician *Erastosthenes* in *Them*, that the highest fort of them, passe not in perpendicular erectness ten furlongs (that is one mile and one fourth part) of which height also, it is observed in *Plinio*, that *Dicaearchus* by Dioptricall Instruments, found the Hill *Petrus* in *Thessaly* to be, and in *Plinius*, that *Xenagoras* (another Mathematician) observed the height of *Olympus*, in the same *Thessaly*, (saying, that in this later, there is an addition of twenty paces, for the whole number of paces, is 1270. Neither doe I finde any greater perpendicular height attributed to Mountains, by any ancient writer. *Cleomedes* excepted: who assigneth to the height of Hills, as doth also to the depth of the Sea, fiftene furlongs. (For *Adriaticum* I omit, because he only restraineth the height of hills, as namely, not to exceede eight miles, without determining what their height should be). But yet, all these, are to be vnderstood, I take it, with relation to the Mountains in and about *Greece*, with which themselves were acquainted, which may in no sort compare with the huge Mountains of vast Continents, such as are the *Alpes*, *Atlas* in *Africke*, *Caucasus* in *India*, the *Andes* in *Perry*, and such other.

But, whatsoever the height of Hills may be about the common superficies of the Earth, it seemeth to me after good consideration, that the depth of the Sea is a great deale more. For declaration of which point, I require to be supposed, first, that the Earth at the first forming of it, was in the superficies, regular, and sphericall: which the Holy Scripture direct vs to beleue, because the water covered and compassed all the face of the Earth: And secondly, that the face of the Land is in largeness and expansion, at least equal to that of the Sea: And thirdly, that the vneuenesse and irregularities which is now seen in the superficies of the Earth was caused (as is noted in *Damascenus*) others, by taking some parts out of the vpper face of the Earth in sundry places, to make it more hollow, and laying them in other places, to make it more conuexe: Or else (which in effect is eq. i. to the other) by raising vp some, and depressing others to make room and receit for the Sea: that mutation being wrought by the power of that word, *Let the waters be gathered into one place, that the dry land may appear*. For, as for the fancy of *Aquinas*, *Dionysius*, *Caluarinus*, and some other Duines: namely, that that gathering of waters, and discovery of the Earth, was made, not by any mutation in the Earth, but by a violent accumulation of the waters, or heaping them vp on high, it is too vnreasonable. Because it is vterly against the nature of water, being a flexible & ponderous body, so to conuall, and flay it selfe, & not fall to the lower parts about it, where in nature there is nothing at all to hinder it. Or, if it be hindered and restrained supernaturally, by the hand and bridle of the Almighty, lest it should ouerwhelme and drowne the Land, it must follow thereof, that God in the very institution of nature, imposed a perpetual violence vpon nature: And thus will all, that at the Deluge, there had beene no necessity at all, to breake vp the fountains of the deepe, and to open the *Cataracts* of Heauen, and powred down water continually, for many dayes and nights together vpon the Earth, (seeing, the only withdrawing of that hand, or letting goe of that bridle, which restrained the water, would presently haue ouerwhelmed all.

But to come to the Point. It seemeth vpon the former suppositions (of which, the holy Scripture establisheth the first, Experience of Trauellers, and Navigators the second, and Reason the third) that in making estimation of the depth of the Sea, are not to reckon and consider only, the height of the Hills, about the common superficies of the Earth, vnto which the extraordinary depths or whirlpools, that are found in the Sea, doe properly annex (descending beyond the ordinary bottom of the Sea, as the Hills ascend above the ordinary face of the Land) but,

but, the aduantage or height of all the dry land about the Superficie of the Sea. Because the whole Masse of the Earth, that now appeareth above the waters, being taken as it were out of the place, which the waters now possesse, must be equal to the place out of which it was taken, and consequently it seemeth, that the height or eleuation of the one, should answere the depth or descending of the other. And therefore as I said, in estimating the deepness of the Sea, we are not to consider only the erection of the Hills, about the ordinary Land, but the aduantage of all the dry Land about the Sea. Which later, I mean the height of the ordinary maine Land, (euen excluding the Hills) is in my opinion more in large Continents about the Sea, then that of the Hills, is about the Land.

For first, that the plaine and common face of the dry Land, is not leuell, or equally distant from the Centre, but hath great declinitie and descent toward the Sea, and acclitue or rising toward the Mid-land parts, although it appeare now to the common view of the Eye, isto reason notwithstanding manifest. Because as it is found in that part of the Earth, which the Sea conuerteth that it descendeth lower, and lower toward the middle of the Sea (for the Sea which touching the vpper face of it, is knowne to be leuell by nature, and euenly distant from the Centre, is withall obserued to waxe deeper and deeper, the farther one fyleth from the shore toward the Maine) Euen so, in that part which is vncovered, the courtings and streamings of Riuer on all sides from the mid-land parts toward the Sea, whose proprietie we know is to slide from the higher to the lower, euidently declare to much.

And although I am not able precisely to determine, what the ordinarie declinitie of the earth may be, yet, if that be conuenient in the workes of Nature, which is required in the workes of Art, that imitate Nature, it will be found true that before I said: Namely, that in great Continents, through which Riuer haue long Courses, some of one thousand or two thousand miles the height of the ordinarie Mid-land, about the face of the Sea, is more, then of the Hillies about the common face of the earth, for *Pliny* in the derivation of water, requirith

one cubit of declining, in two hundred and fiftie foot of proceeding (for he saith, *unum cubitum in binos Albus*, and *Albus* as may be obserued in *Columella*, and others) is the height of one hundred and (twentie foot long) *Vitruvius* and *Palladius* in their conduction of waters, require indeed somewhat leile, namely, that in proceeding of two hundred foot toward there should be allowed one foot of descending downward, which yet in the course of one thousand miles (as *Damascenus* or *Walsh*, or *Indus*, &c. haue 10 much or more) will make five miles of descent in perpendicular account: And in the course of two thousand or more (as *Nile* and *Niger*, and the Riuer of *Amazon*) haue ten mile or more of like descent.

And although I know well enough, that water being (as it is) heauie and flexible, will slide away at any inequality, and therefore altogether perswaded, that this rule of *Vitruvius* touching conuoyance of waters, is not to be taken as a rule of necessity, to be obserued in the dening of them, as if water could not runne without that aduantage (for in that respect the Conuoyers of waters of their times content themselves euen with one inch in six hundred foot, as *Philander* also on *Vitruvius*, hath obserued) but is rather to be vnderstood as a rule of commoditie, namely with relation to the expedition and wholefomnesse of the water so conuoyed, lest resting too long in the pipes it should contract from them loome, vniuersall qualitie, or else through the slacknesse of motion, or long cleanness, or banishment from the Aire, it might gather some aptnesse and disposition to putrifie. Although I say, such exccesse of aduantage as in the artificial conuoyance of waters the forenamed Authors require, is not of necessity exacted, in the natural derivation of them: yet neuertheless certain it is, that the descent of Riuer, being as it is continual, and the course of some of them vey long, and in many places swift, and here, and there headlong and furious, the difference of height or aduantage, cannot but be great, betwixt the Springs of Riuer and their Out-lets, betwixt their first rising out of the Earth, and their falling into the Sea.

Vnto which declinitie of the Land, seeing the deepness of the Sea doth in proportion aswfer (as I before declared) and not only to the height of Hills. It remaineth that we esteeme and determine,

Nouveau Leon
De la rue d'Al-
trophée de la
rue d'Alrois O-
trach's Carpa-
point de Gijfe.
Palas Confian-
tine, propre fin
* Croquer de-
scrip Pol'm. La
Heideß der Fel-
den A. L. Gua-
guet. D. Crist.
on. Gieseler

1. Coult. Florē.
Sc. 18. & flo-
quet. Inom.
Palmach. Con-
flom. in Re. p. 1.
ad Germani. a.
2. Coult. Florē
prope Initiam.
Reinart. G. x.
ad card. n. Gai-
san. Que. 7. 9.
3. Re. p. cad. gra-
cor. 2. 5. lere.
Pur. Re. 11.

4. Ircen. Kelp.
ca. c. 10. 2. 13
5. P. Poljica.
Tebus. Mosf.
nie p. 2. 43.
6. Id. Cit. 2. 9.
7. Ircen. Ref.
p. 1. cap. 2. 1.
8. Tom. 2. m. 1.
inter nael. C.
f. ant. Por. p.
rogen. in Tom.
1. Iur. Orient.
lis. 1. 2. 2. Zom.
Annal. Tom. 3.
in Imp. Leon.
philosophi.
9. Ref. Greec.
ad Guisn.
Qu. 8. 3. P.
und. deb.
Moscow. p. 44.
10. Poljica. c.
tar. 2. 1. 1. &
Vilmont em.
Vorst. 1. 2. 3.
epi. 1. 2. 3. Ep.

Of the Swains
or Melebirds.
Chap. 16.
* Botar. Relat.
p. 3. l. 2. c. 2.
Melebird.
a Poet. in De-
f. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

minutely authentic aligned, or rather confirmed to him (a: Bishop of the Imperial City) by the minutes of *Chalcedon* contained all the Provinces of *Thrace*, and *Anatolia* (*Asiatica*), and *Cilicia* only excepted, which belonged to the Patriarche of *Antiochia*) and they were in all no less then twenty eight *Roman* Provinces. Secondly, the voluntary submision of the Grecians, upon their separation from the Latine Church greatly increased it: for thereby not onely *Greece*, *Macedonia*, *Epirus*, *Caria*, and the Illes about *Greece* (in all seven Provinces) came under his obedience; but also *Sicilie*, and the East point of *Italy*, named *Calabria*, revolted from the Bishop of *Rome*, and for a long time pertained to the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, as appeareth in the Nouell of *Leo Soliman*, touching the order and precedence of Metropolitans, belonging to that Patriarchy. And by the like ordination set down by *Andronicus Palaeologus*, in *Cursu* palatris, where wee find the Metropolitans of *Syracusa*, and *Catania* in *Sicilie*, of *Rebennin*, *Senecaria*, *Kofa*, and *Hydruntum* in *Calabria*, regilled among the Metropolitans of that Iurisdiction. Thirdly, it was enlarged by the conuention of the North Regions to Christian Religion, performed by his Suffragans and Ministers, euen from *Thrace* to *Russia*, and the *Seythian Sea* (the last hereof was the principall cause, that so farre it enlarged the Bishop of *Rome* his Iurisdiction in the West parts of *Europe*.) And fourthly, by the conquests made upon the Westerne Countries, subiect before to the Bishops of *Rome*, in which all which, while partly the former Bishops and Pastors And, to auoid the *Turke* Oppression (like the hirling that forsaeketh the focke, when he seeth the wolfe comming) and partly, while the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, to supply that default, was faime to provide a new of new ministers, they haue beene by little and little brought and trayned to the Greeke Religion.

As touching the proper Characters of their Religion, I must for the better defining and remembering of them, let before me some imitation or patterne to compare it, and other acts of Religion withall: And that is most fit to be the Romane Church, both because their difference with that Church (specially, as in Writers most observed. So that, by that means my discourse may be the shorter, and yet no less perspicuous to you, that know the opinions of the Romane Church for well. The principal Characters then of the Grecian Religion (for none but the principal you require) and to mention every slender difference of Ceremonies, would be but tedious and fruitlesse (and is beside without my compasse) are these that follow.

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father only, not from the Sonne.
2. That there is no Purgatory fire.
3. That they celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.
4. And in leavened bread , and thinke it cannot be effectually consecrated in bread vnleavened.
5. That they reiect extreme Vnction.
6. And Confirmation.
7. That they deny the foules of holy men to enjoy the blisfull vision of God, or the foules of wicked men to be tormented in Hell, before the Day of Iudgement. *Tb. a lef. de Consecrat. l. 6. c. 1.*
8. That they admit Priests marriages, namely, so that they may keepe their wiues married before their Ordination, but muſt not marry after Ordination.
9. That they prohibit vnto the fourth marriage, as a thing intolerable. Infomuch, that (as we haue recorded) their Patriarkes haue for that caule excommunicated ſome of their Emperors, although they had no liſe left of their three former marriages.
10. That they reiect the religious vſe of maile Images, or Statues, admitting yet Pictures to expaine Images in their Churches.
11. That they ſolemniſe Saturday (the old Sabbath) ſpiritually, and eat therein fleſh, forbidding as vnlawfull, to ſaie any ſaith in the yeere, except Eaſter Eue.
12. That they obſerue foue Lents in the yeere.
13. That they eat not of any thing ſtrangled, nor of blood.
14. And laſtly, that they deny the Biſhop of Rome Primacy, and (reputing him and his Church for ſchismatics) exclude them from their communion : And ſo haue done, as I ſaid before the ſame Schiſmes, in *ſigberts*, about theſe hū hundred yeeres. And if you deſire to ſee more differences of the Greeke and Romane Church, you may fee them (but they are of little importance) then thoſe I haue related in *Polſemans* Booke of the matters of *Meſſecia*.

SIRIANS are the same that in some Histories are termed *Medithe*; being esteemed for their Number, the * greatest sect of Chriftians in the Orient*. The first, being properly the name of their Nation: And the second noting the propriety of their Religion. *SIRIANS* they were named (to let vain fancies goe) of the Cicle of *Tyre*, which in the ancient language of the *Phœnicians*, was called *סִירִי*: and certainly a For *Tyffe's* fantastie deriving *SIRIA* from *סִיר* is meerely- vain, and being neuer so named in the *Hebr* or tongue, but always *אַרַם*, by which name also it seemeth anciently

a For *Postle's* fantasie deriving *Sariz* from שרר is mee-
ly vaine, and being neuer so named in the *Hebrew* tongue, but
alwayes ארם, by which name also it seemeth anciently
ly.

ing seated in a small Island (but nineteene miles in
such a City : or perhaps, because it was the strongest
all those Regions, as being founded on a Rocke, em
lexanders time (seven hundred paces distant from the
tification of Art, populous as being the Metropolis o
the site of great traffike in the world.

20 Of this Citee they were termed, meerey in respect
chias I said they were termed, meerey in respect
cheas followed the examples and decrees of the Em-
Chaledon, infinite perplexitie and trouble began to
opinion of *Eusebius* and *Disformis*, of one, one
had condemned, but notwithstanding found many a
cell in those Easterne Countries : And thereupon the
ther of his Successors afterward did) the suffrages a
the best of the establishment of the Councell: Then be-
thority of that Councell, because they followed the li-
tered by their adherentes *Melchior*, of *Melchior*, fair-
speech of Syria signifieth a King : (as one would say,
opposed themselves to the Councell, were diffracted
30 plona after into more, as the fame *Nicopolitan* h

Now although the *Syrians* or *Malchites*, are for
nions. As:

3. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth only from the Father.
4. That they celebrate Divine Service as formerly.
5. That they keep that day festuall, eating the Pasche.
6. That they observe Easter.
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30 which is the chief Temple belonging to **Ḥabshah**, the Patriarch
 of **Ḥabshah** (where, as is reported, at **Ḥabshah** about one thousand
 40 For although **Ḥabshah** the Patriarchs of the *Maronites*, and
 residence in *Libanus*, and the latter in *Meſopotamia*,
 and by the Christians of their own sects be acknowledged
 50 tain the ancient Religion of *Syria*, acknowledge no
maſius, repeating both of them for Schismatics, and
 communion of the true Patriarch. And yet besides
 ſignation, that viſpereth the title of the Patriarch of
 60 *ſeſ Confiantinople* (which was about the year 1200
 about ſeventy yeeres, all which time the Patriarch
 Pope: As ſo, being the holy Land, and the Provinces
 an Princes of the Weſt, which began to be about
 during which ſeſion the Patriarches of *Antiochia* all

ly, that *Zyre* was anciently called *Sarra*, is recorded by the *Roman* Writers; and it is also acknowledged by *Vitruvius*, *Niger*, *Follot* and others, that the place of *Zyre*, (for the *Citie* was wretely ruined three hundred yeeres ago) is thil called the Port of *Sarra*, which name it seemed to have obtained, either becaufe it was built on a *Rocke*, for so *Burchardus* (which viewed the place hath observed) that *Ἰζύρ* in the *Phœnician* tongue signifies: or elie as *Herodotus* derives it, the straitnesse and scarcenesse of roome, as becometh, as *Ἰζύρ* importeth a small Territory, or fortresse (for the also Ἰζύρ importeth) a fortified towne by the Sea (for it was before *Babylon* the firme land) mightily strengthened by *Phœnicia*, and exceeding rich, as sometime

nts of *Syria* obtained their names; but *Melchior* of their Religion, wherein namely they are al-
temperous. For whereas after the Council of
Nicaise in the East parts, principally about the
of nature in Christ, which that Council
that maintained it, and reſcinded the Coun-
the Emperor *Leo* began to exact (as diuers o-
and ſcribſions of the Eaſterne Biſhops, for
an they that embraced and approved the
Emperours decrees made in behalfe of it, to be
ſt *Nicephorus* (rather *Νεστωρ*) which in the
Of the Kings Religion) whereas they that
into no leſſe then twelve ſeverall Sects, and
each recorded.

for their Religion merely of the *Gracians* opi-

1. That the Holy Ghost proceedeth only from the Father.
2. That they celebrate Divine Services as solemnly on the Sabbath, as on the Lords day.
3. That they keepe that day faythfull, eating therein flesh, and fast no Saturday in the yeere but Easter Eve.
4. That their Priests and Deacons contract not Marriage, being already in Orders, but yet retain their wives before married.
5. That the fourth Matrimony is utterly unlawful.
6. That they communicate the Eucharist in both kinds.
7. That they acknowledge not Purgatory.
8. That they observe four Lents in the yeere, &c. And in a word, although they bee meretriciously of the same Religion and communion with the *Grecians*: yet are they not of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, but of the Archbishop of *Damascus*, by the title of the Patriarch of *Antiochia*. For *Antiochia* is itselfe (where yet the name of Christians was first heard in the world, and was long knowne by the name of *Syriam*) lying at this present in a manner waste, broken and dispersed into small Villages, of which only one, of about sixtie Houses, with a small Temple belonging to Christians, & the Archbishop Seat was transfaried thence to *Damascus* (where, as is reported, are about one thousand Houses of Christians) and there remaineth. For although the Patriarchs of the *Maronites*, and of the *Jacobites*, whereof the former keepeth residence in *Libanus*, and the later in *Mesopotamia*, intitle themselves Patriarchs of *Antiochia*, and by the Christians of their owne sect bee so acknowledged: yet doe the *Melchites*, who retain the ancient Religion of *Syria*, acknowledge none for Patriarch, but the Archbishop of *Damascus*, repeating both the other for Schismatics, as having departed from the obedience and communion of the true Patriarchie. And yet besides all theie, a fourth there is of the Popes designation, that usurpeth the title of the Patriarch of *Antioch*. For to give the Latine Impiety the *Confessionale* (which was about the year 1200) and held the possession of the East Emperour about seavente yeeres, all which time the Patriarchs of *Constantinople* were consecrated by the Pope: As also, since the holy Land, and the Provinces about it, were by the hands of the Christian Princes of the West, which began to be about *Anno* 1100, and so continued about eighty yeeres, during which tyme the Patriarchs of *Antiochia* also and of *Ierusalem*, were of the Popes consecrated.

"Gellus 1.25. c.6
Felix in Diffi-
one larra.
* Strab. 16 in
fine.
* Vitruv. hist. for.
Oriental. 5.41.
Niger in com-
mentar. 4.4. Ab.
Populm. de scrip.
Spirae pag. 70.
* Str. 1.3; non
loc. ante fiam.
* Strab. 13. pag.
m. Burch. 14.
de fer. 1.14
Sardie.
Hieron. in lib. de
Nimib. b. He-
braicis. Plin. 1.5.
c. 10.
* Ad Scilicet
ad 2.6. in diffi-
c. 5. r. 2
Gnidon. Fabre.
in Grammatic.
Chaldaic. c.
b. 2. Cart. 1.4.
c. Plin. loc. cit.
do.

Niceph. Calli-
hist. 1.1. Eccl.
fast. 1.18. c. 52.
* Lib. 1.2. c. 5.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 1206
* Vitruv. hist. for.
Oriental. 5.41.

4. *Villamout en*
voyag. 1.2. c.22.
6. 7. *Villamon,*
levo citato.
* *Vitruu. lora*
iam citato. Ser
signicia tiner.
Tom. 8. c. 1. *Bu-*
mant. Pere-
grar. 1.2. c. 9. &
Alv.
g. *Bellon. obseru.*
l. *Chitra de fca*
Eccleſie. f. pag. 5.
Bater. *Nelat. p. 3.*
1.2. c. de *Mar-*
ritima. Conf. Turco.
grar. l. 4. p. 95.
et *relatioms*
Gerlachus.
h. *Bacur. l. 2.*
iam citato.
i. *Better. Baile*
p. 3. l. 2. c. 2.
Paria. l. 2. c. 2.
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eration: Ever since then I say, the Church of *Rome* hath, and doth still create successfully imaginary or titular Patriarkes (without iurisdiction) of *Constantinople*, *Antiochia*, *Ierusalem*, and *Alexandria*, so loth is the Pope to loose the remembrance of any Superioritie or Title: that hee hath once compassed.

The Georgians inhabit the Country, that was anciently named *Iberia*, betwixt the *Enxine* and the *Caspian* Sea: inclosed with *Serran* (*Medus*) named *with Mesgetria* (*Cobles*) *Welt* with *Turcomania* (*Armenia* the Greater) South: And with *Albania* (*Zunia*) North. The vulgar opinion of *Hibernians* is, that they have obtained the name of *Georgians*, from their deputation to *Saint George*, where they principally honour for their Patron: and whole *Image* they always bear in their Military Ensignes. But yet (as I take it) this vulgar opinion is but vulgar error: because the first mention made of the Nation of the *Georgians* in those parts, both in *Mela* and *Plinius*, before *Saint George* was borne whosoever he was. Touching the properties of whole Religion, this may be sufficient to obferue foral: That = it is the same, both in substance and ceremonies with that of the *Grazians*, = who yet are in nofort subiect (neither cure were) to the Patriarche of *Constantinople*: but all their Bishops (being eighteen) professe absolute obedience to their owne Metropolitans, without any other he dependence or relation. Who yet keepeeth reverence farre off, in the Monastery of *Saint Katherus*, in the Hill of *Simai*. *Prater*, de *Hæret. sciz.* *de Georgians*, *Bernard. Lucemburg. in Catalog. Hæret. in Georgianis.*

Next elife, I must speake a litle of their next neighbours, the *Mongrellians* and *Circassians* 20
(*Colchian* *Syghs* they were anciently called) I teate betwene the *Georgians*, and the *Riux* *Tars*
(*Colchian* along the Coast of *Mezia* and the *Enxene Sea*, as being allo Christians of the *Greeke* commu-
nion, and befie *r* of the Patriarke of *Constantinople* his obedience, and *r* converted by his Mi-
nistres *Cyrillus* and *Methodius* to the Christian Religion. Which Religion notwithstanding at
this present is exercised among them, not without some depuration and mixture of strange tan-
taries, for the *Circassians* baptise not their children till the eighty yeare, and enter not into the
Church (the Gentlemen epecially) till the sixtieth (or as others say, till the fortieth) yeere, but
heare Divine Service Randing without the Temple, that is to say, till through age, they grow
vnable to continue their Rapines and Robberies, to which finne that Nation is exceedingly
addicted. So diuiding their life betwixt Sinne and Deuotion, dedicating their youth to Rapine,
and their old age to Repentance. 30

Of the *Muscovites & Russians*, as they were converted to Christianity by the *Grecians*. *Zouar. Annal. Tom. 3. Cromer. de reb. Polon. 3.* so have they ever since continued of the *Greek* Communion and Religion.

1. Denying the Holy Ghost to proceed from the Sonne.
2. Receiving Purgatory but yet praying for the Dead.
3. Believing that the Holy men enjoy not the presence of God after the Resurrection.
4. Celebrating the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with leavened bread, and requiring wafer & water to mingle with the wine.
5. And communicating in both kinds;
6. But mingling both together in the *Chalice*, and distributing it together with a spoon.
7. And receiving children after four years old to the Communion, saying, that at that age they begin to sin against God.
8. Omitting Confirmation by the Bishop.
9. Denying the special efficacy of extreme unction;
10. Excluding the fourth marriage as utterly unlawful; whereas they approve not the first, second, or third lawful, but only permit it, but tolerate not the third, except on very important considerations.
11. Dissolving marriage by divorcement, upon every light occasion or displeasure.
12. Admitting neither Deacons nor Priests to Orders, except they be married: but yet prohibiting marriage to them being actually in Orders.
13. Rejecting carved or massie Images, but admitting the painted.
14. Reputing it unlawful to fall on Saturdays.
15. Or, to eat of that which is strangled, or of blood.
16. Observing foure Lentis in the yeere.

17. Refusing to communicate with the *Roman* Church, And (to conclude) excepting the difference in distributing of the Eucharist, and exacting of marriage to their Priests and Deacons, there is not any material difference in points of Religion; that I find betwixt them and the *Grecians*. With whom, they not onely maintain Communion

on, but were also, and that not long since (and of right thill ought to bee) of the same Jurisdiction and Government, for * their chief Metropolitan or Primate (whome the Archbishop of *Moscow* was wont to be confirmed by the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, but in now and hath bene about some sixtie yeeres, nominated and appointed by the Prince (the Emperor of *Russia*) and upon that nomination, consecrated by two or three of his own Suffragans: Of whom euen all the together, Bishops and Archbishops, there are but * eleven, in all that large Dominion of the Empire of *Russia*.

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[illegible]

The realm of which large spreading and preuailing of that Sect to farre in the Orient, it yet enquire I finde to that purpose, recorded by *Paulus Diaconus* of *Cesario* the King of *Perse*, that hee for the mortall hatred hee bore the Emperour *Heraclius*, by whom hee had bene fore afflicted with a grieuous warre, enforced all the Chriilians of the *Persean* Empire to Nestorianisme, permitting no Catholics to remayne in all his Dominions. By whole perswasion, the Christian Religion being farre there enlarged and propagated into other Chriilians, and because it is certain that all of them till this day acknowledge the precedence to the Nestorian Patriarch in *Mesopotamia* which Countrey was then part of the *Persean* Dominion: It is no wonder if sowing their own Tares and Chills wheat together, they propagated with the Gospell also their owne here. Shortly after their religion was sowne, the *Sarracens of Arabia* (*Mahometans*) conquering *Perse*, and bringing their Religion to the same, they brought their wickednes into all that large Dominion, there remanynge till this our daye: meaning and slender hope of their repaire and reformation from any found part of the Church (from which they were more now then afore diuided) except what affidance and trust, and the grace of God might worke and repaire in them.

Now touching their Ecclesiastical government: The Patriarch of the Nestorians, to whom the whole of the East parts, acknowledge obedience (a number of whole Suffragan Bishops are his subjects, who have reckoned up in *Synodus* books *de Vifibus Monachis*, and whom they call *Episcopos*, iath *Paulus Tenetis Brochardus*, and others, but mistake it (or else they of the East pronounce it arifile) for *Catholici*, as is observed by *Leuncianus*) hath his feat in the Cite of *Mit* 760 *Antiochia*, on the River *Tygris* in *Mefopotamia*, or in the Patriarcial Monasterie of Saint *Emet* (call'd *Martha*, *Tha* lef. 7. pag. 3. c. 4. In which Cite, though fubiet to Mahumetans, it is renowned, that the Nestorians retye fifteen temples; being esteemed about forty thousand Souls, *Tha* lef. 1. 7. par. 1. c. 4. and the *Iacobin* three. Which Cite of *Martha*, I neither confound with *Antiochia* nor *Ormus*, to be the fame, that antiently was call'd *Selima* (and in *Pline* so

x Poſſuin.
 Ker. M. ſcom.
 Com. 1. pag. 1.
 Guagunde-
 ſcrip. Moſcu.
 cap. 2.
 a Poſſuin. Ies
 proxime citato
 Sigism. in Moſco
 pag. 28.

b Boter. Rel. pa
1. L. c. Ruffia
Guaguin. Descr
Moscon. cap. 74

e Sigism. de R. b.
 Mojcou pag 27.
 Guignin leo
 iam citato.

g Of the Nestorians.
h ans. Chap. 12.

*d. Guil. de Rubr.
Itin. Tarr. c.
Paul. Venet. l.*

61. Φ 64. Φ c.
Paul. Diacon.
Hist. Misc.
lib. 18.

Sand. de Viss.
Monarch. l. 7.
An. 1556. Paul
Vener. l. 1. c. 15.

Brocard, Def.
 Terr. jährl.
 Leuclau.
 Pand. Hiflor.
 Turc § 2.
 e Ambros. Mir.
 Notice. Episc.
 Orb pag. 5
 Josef. in Orat.
 Tbe fant. in Sa-
 leut.
 Plin. l. 5. c. 25.
 Strab. l. 6. long.
 an. 2. Med.

India Parthorum both because *Seleucia* was, as *Strabo* saith, the Metropolis of *Affria*, even as *Mafal* is recorded to be: And also, because I finde the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of those parts committed by the fathers of the *Nicene* Council, to the Bishop of *Seleucia*, assigning him with all the name of Catholike, and the next place of Session in Councils after the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, which name and authority in those parts, the Bishop of *Mafal* now hath. Or if *Seleucia* were some other Citie, now destroyed, as for certain reasons I am induced rather to think, yet at least, the Patriarchall Seat was from *Seleucia* translated to *Muzal*, for the opinion of *Scaliger*, namely, that *Seleucia* was the same, that is now called *Bagdad*, or new *Babylon*, my observations in Geographie and Historie, will not suffer me to approve. Fifth, because *Seleucia* is remembered by *Strabo* to be three hundred furlongs (even and thirtie miles and one or two) *Indie* faith, a great deale more, distant from *Babylon*, whereas *Bagdad* is built close by the river of it. Secondly, because I find the position of *Seleucia* in *Ptolemy* to be two third parts of a degree, more North then that of *Babylon*, whereas *Bagdad* is more South. Thirdly, because in *Dion*, and others, *Seleucia* is named for a Citie of *Mesopotamia*, which *Bagdad* is not, but in the Province of *Babylon*, as being beneath the confluence of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*.

The Bishop of *Muzal* then, is Patriarch of the *Nestorians*. But yet at this present, if Relations of their times be true, there is a distraction of that Sect: which began about fixtie yeeres agoe, in the time of *Pope Julius* the Third: the *Nestorians* in the North part of *Mesopotamia* about the Citie of *Caramis* submitting themselves to another Patriarch of the Popes erecting (that reuolting from the Bishop of *Muzal*, taking also on him, the title of the Patriarch of *Muzal*, which the Pope bestowed on him) having first rendered and professed obedience to the See of *Rome*, in which obedience it is said, that those *Nestorians* about *Caramis* doe still continue.

Now touching the specialties of these *Nestorian* Religion, in relation to the *Roman*: they beleue,

First, that there are two persons in our Saviour, as well as two natures, but yet consubstantial Christ from the first instant of his Conception, with perfect God and perfect man. Secondly, that the blessed Virgin ought not to be termed *parthenos*, which yet now in some sort they qualify, confisting therein, that the Holy Ghost did enter her, but yet refusing to term her the Mother of God.

Thirdly, that *Nestorius* condemned in the third and fourth general Councils, and *Diodorus Tarsus*, and *Theodorus Mopsuestia*, condemned for *Nestorianisme* in the fifth, were holy men: Retesting for their sake, the third general Council held at *Ephesus*, and all other Councils after it, and specially detesting (the mall of *Nestorianisme*) *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Theodore* of *Ammon*.

Fourthly, they celebrate the Sacrament of the Eucharist, with leavened bread. Fifthly, they communicate in both kinds.

Sixthly, they vie not in auricular confession. Seventhly, no confirmation.

Eightly, they contract Marriage in the second degree of consanguinitie. *Th. a. Ies. Thid.* Ninthly, their Priests after the death of their first wives, have the liberie of the second or third or former Marriage. *Th. a. Ies. Thid.*

Tenthly, they have not the Image of the Crucifix on their Crosses.

The Christians of *India*, vulgarly named the Christians of Saint *Thomas*, because by his preaching they are supposed to have bene converted to Christian Religion (and his bodie as is thought, reposed yet among them, buried in the Citie of *Malapour* on the Coast of *Chersonesus*) inhabit in the neerer part of *India*, namely, in that great Promontorie, whose base lying between the Que-lakes of the Rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, stretcheth out the sides far toward the South (well nigh 1000. miles) till meeting in the point of *Comori*, they make together with the Isle forme mentioned (betwixt *Cambaya* and *Bangala*) the figure almost of an Equilateral Triangle. In the more Southerly part of this great Promontorie, I lay neerer to Cape *Comori*, about the Citie of *Calcut* and *Croagouzer* on the West side, and about *Malapour* and *Negapatam*, on the East side, doe these Christians of Saint *Thomas* dwell, being esteemed afore the *Portugals* frequented those parts, about a 10000. or a 16000. Families, or after another's account a 70000. persons: but on the West Coast, the farre greater number of them is found, and especially their habitation is thickest, about *Angamale*, a 15. miles from the Citie *Cochin* Northward, where their Archbishop keepeth residence.

Now

Now as touching their government: Their Archbishop till twentie yeeres since (or little more, the name of the Patriarch of *India* he is still termed:) certainly that the Patriarch of *Mozal*, so challenge their obedience, as being of his jurisdiction, appeareth by the profession of *Abul-fa*, a Patriarch of *Mozal*, of *Pope Sixtus* the Fourth his Innocting (Anno 1563.) as is to be seen in *Sanders Booke de visibili Ecclesiarum*. But then, the Archbishop of these *Indies*, reuolting from his former Patriarch, submitted himselfe by the *Portugals* perswasion, to the Bishop of *Rome*, retaining notwithstanding, the ancient Religion of his Country, which was also permitted by the Pope, so much, that in a Synod held in *Gua*, for that purpose, he would not suffer any alteration to be made of their ancient Rites or Religion, as one

that lived in those parts at that time hath recorded. But that Bishop being dead, his successor in another Synod, held by the Archbishop of *Gua*, at *Diampur*, not farre from *Malapour*, Anno 1599. made profession, together with his Suffragans, and Priests, both of the *Roman* obedience and Religion, renouncing in such direct sort, the Patriarch of *Mozal*, and *Nestorianisme*, that they delivered up all their Books, to the censure of the Archbishop of *Gua*, and suffered their Liturgie, in the points that reliques of *Nestorianisme* to be altered, even in such sort as now it is to be seen in the last Edition of *Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*.

But before this alteration of their Religion was procured by the *Portugals*, those Christians of *India* were *Nestorians*, as having the dependance that I related, on the Patriarch of the *Nestorians*, they could not well be any other. Some specialties of whole Religion I find thus recorded.

1. That they distributed the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both kinds.
2. That they celebrated it with bread seasoned with Salt, (*pane salato*, saith my Historian) and in stead of Wine (because *India* affordeth none) in the iuyce of Raisins, softened one night in water and so pressed forth.
3. That they baptized not their Infants till they were fourtie dayes olde, except in danger of death.
4. That they vied not Extreme unction.
5. That their Priests were married, but excluded from the second Matrimony. *Oford de Reb. Emanuel* l. 3.

6. That they had no Images of Saints in their Churches, but onely the Crosse.

7. That detesting (the Mall of *Nestorianisme*) *Cyril of Alexandria*, they honoured *Nestorius* and *Dischorus* as Saints, which yet me thinks were strange, being of so contrary opinions, as they were, the first, for two persons in Christ, as well as two natures: the second, for one nature as well as one Person; but it may be that *Dischorus* is by the Relater mistaken for *Diodorus*, who was indeed a great *Nestorian*, and for it condemned in the fifth general Council.

8. That they denied the Primacie of the Pope.

9. That their New Testament which in their Churches they formerly read (and still doe) in the *Syriack* tongue, was by the *Nestorians* in sundry places, which are now altered by the *Romanes*, corrupted to the advantage of that Heresie, wherein yet, I thinke the Reporter is deceived: because the same corruptions objected to them (whereof some are no corruptions at all, but agree rightly with the original Text, much better then doth the vulgar *Latine*, by comparing whereof he examines them, and censures them for corruptions) the same I lay, are found in the *Synagoga* Edition that we have, being so farre from being corrupted by the *Nestorians* that it was brought out of *Mesopotamia* into *Europe* (to be printed by *Mafal* *Chardin*, from the Patriarch of the contrary Sect, namely, of the *Jacobites*. But yet notwithstanding, I am indeed certainly perswaded that the *Synagoga* or Translation of the New Testament (whose

er was the Author of it) is nothing neerer of that Antiquitie, which the *Syriacs* (as *Beza* mention, and others report of them) pretend to it.

The Imperfections of the *Syriack* Edition, consist partly in Epistle defects, namely, 1. of all the Rudations: 2. of the Epistle of Saint *Iude*: 3. of the second Epistle of Saint *Peter*: 4. of the second and third Epistle of Saint *John*: 5. of the History of the Woman taken in adulterie, in the eighth Chapter of Saint *John* Gospel, containing thirtie seven Verses: and 6. of the 7. Verse of the Chapter

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§. II.

Relations of the Iacobites and Armenians, written by LEONARD Bishop of Sidon, Pope GREGORIE the 13, his Nuncio to the Eastern parts.

Iacobites num-
b. 15.

Their Bishops

Monasteries
and Churches

Rites.

Armenians.
Their Patri-
arks.Their numbers
Preachers or
Monks.Romish Arme-
nians.Second Patri-
arch.

The Iacobite Nation is dispersed thorow the Cities, Lande, and Townes of Syria, Mesopo-
tania, Armenia, and Babelonia, obtaining the number of 50000. houles, most of them poore, and
living on daily labour. In Aleppo and Caramit are many rich families which live on Mer-
chandrie. Their Patriarchall Church is in Mesopotamia without the Citie of Moradum, in the
Monastery Zafnam; but the Patriarch resideth for his greater commoditie and quiet in the Citie
Caramit. This Nation is subiect to the Patriarch David, but is governed by the Bishop Thomas, Vic-
car General and brother to the said Patriarch. Under whose obedience live at this time Iohn
the Metropolitan of Jerusalem, by the Iacobites Ruled the fifth Patriarch: Michael Archbishop of
Damasco, James Archbishop of Edessa called Orsa, or Raba. Mmas Archbishop of Saur, Eftren
Archbishop in the same Province, James Archbishop of Bisuria, Abraham Bishop of Amlafa,
Melchior Bishop of Saint Melchior in Tur, Iefu Bishop of the Monasterie Devileom, Abelmehedi
in the Province of Tur, Elias Bishop in Salach, Elias Bishop of the Monasterie Saint Croffe in Zaza,
Gazel Bishop in Turach, Daniel Bishop in Madam, Elias Metropolitan in Masal and the East
Gazel Archbishop of Musferichin, the Archbishop of the Monasterie of Mar Abbai, Anania Bi-
shop of Saint Beronias, Iohn Bishop of Haribeth, Isaac Archbishop of Cyprus, Simon Archbishop of
Caramit, Habib. There are many Monasteries of the same Nation, Churches, Religions, and Dea-
cons, and Clergie men innumerable, which I could not visit, being restricted by the said Vicar Ge-
nerall Thomas: Yet I visited the Temple of the Iacobites in Tripoli, Aumman, Damasco, Nepe, Je-
rusalem, Aleppo, Orsa, Mar Abbai, Gargar, amongst the Churches of which parts I found
thole of Jerusalem and Aleppo well furnished, but the rest without Images and ill governed. For
the Sacrament was kept in wooden pyxes without light or lampe and the baptismall Funtts wan-
tered water, for at every baptisme they blasse the Funtts anew: the ornaments of the Altars also were
most vile, and the office of the Masse was performed verie basely and carelessly. Of the Holy Oyles,
only Chrisme was kept in Churches: this is called Mrowand is blessed of the Patriarch every
seventy yeere with many flowers and odoriferous things. They have not the Oile of the Catechu-
meni, and for the Oile of extreme vnction, the Priest blesteth it in lights set on foure parts in
manner of a croffe, and therewith anoints the sicke, after many Gospels and Psalms recited. The
Sacrament of Confession is rarely frequented, and many communicate without auricular confession.
The Patriarch professed that they held the same in substance with the Roman Church, but the
Greekes and Latines could not attempt such words and termes as the Iacobites in thole things
had done.

Of the Armenians the said Bishop of Sidon testifieth, that they are subiect to two principal
Patriarks, one of Armenia the Greater, the other of Armenia the lesse. The former resideth in
the Monastery and Church of Eomezzum, neere the Citie Ervan in Persia: the other in the Citie
Cie of Cilicia, now called Caramania. Other Patriarks are sometimes by the fauour of the Turke
created amongst them, and are exalters of Tributes which the Armenian Families are bound to
pay the Turkes. Others also are elected Coadiutors of the same Patriarks with consent of the
Bishops and people. Further there are others, Primates or rather Patriarks of the same Nation
in the remotest parts of Persia & in Constantinople, which although legally they are subiect to the
Patriark of Armenia maior, yet sometimes do not acknowledge him. The Families subiect to
the Patriark of the Greater Armenia exceed the number of 150000. besides very many Mona-
stries, Bishops, Religious persons and Deacons. Their Preachers are called Morabitis, and are
obeyed by the people, as the Patriark himselfe. In the Province Newmar, in Persia also, in two
Cities there live Catholike Armenians subiect to an Archbishop of the Dominican Order, and
other Friars of that profession, which observe the Latine Rites, and live under the obedience of
the Roman See.

The Patriark of Armenia Minor hath vnder his Iurisdiction foure and twentie Prelates,
Archbishops and Bishops, and the Election of the Patriark belongs to 12. Bishops neere the
Patriarchall Church. Yet sometimes the Armenian people by fauour and command of the Tur-
ke Officers create their Patriarks, and after obtaine the consent of the Bishops and Archbishops,
and by the fauour of the principall people, a Coadiutor with future succcession is deputed to him,
who of a Master and Preacher, after the death of the said predecessor, is received and confirmed
by the people for Patriark. To this Patriark are subiect about 20000. Families; and they live
in the Villages, Castles and Cities of Cilicia and Syria: there are twentie Monasteries each con-
taining 100. Religious, 300. Priests, Deacons and Clerges many, which live of Almes, and of
their owne industry.

§. III.

§. III.

Of SIMON SYLAKA a Papall Eastern Patriark amongst the Chal-
dzans: and of diuers others thither sent. Of ADESSV,
AATALLA, DONHA his
Successours.

Amongst the Asian Nestorians, there have bene some Roman Catholics which have ex-
hibited obedience to the Pope. Some of thole which professed Simon Sylaka, a Monke
of Saint Basil Order to be their Superior, calling themselves Chaldians and Affi-
rians, acknowledged Pope Iulius the Third, and reiected the name of Nestorians. Syl-
aka was by the Pope confirmed Patriark of that Nation with the Title of Mosal, which
Church has adierly possessed. He returned to Caramit, and there ordained certaine Arch-
bishops and Bishops, and reiected the Nestorian Inuocation, which at that time was usually made
by the Deacon in the Church. He fought to spread the Roman faith, but by the policy of the
Antipatriark Dry he was taken and slaine by the Turkes. The confession of faith by the same
Sylaka made at Rome is extant in Bibliotheca Patrum.

The Bishop Arienfis a Dominican was sent by the Pope to visit and confirme this Church, who
having reformed some things, was driven with some Affrians to flee to Ormus and Goa, where
he died.

His companion Frier Anthonie, with the Archbishop Ermetes Elias Disciple of Sylaka, visited
many Christians in Cebus and Indus of Saint Thomas, and after his returne was made a Bishop
by the Pope. To Sylaka succeeded Abdes of the same order of Saint Basil, which was at the
Council of Trent vnder Pope Pius the Fourth, & from him carried with him the Title of Mosal,
Council of Caramit and Sert, ordained many Priests, Bishops and Archbishops, and many
returning to Caramit yielded him obedience, but soon after he died in the Monastery of the
City Sert: and Aatalla a brother of the same Order succeeded, and after him Donha Simon
the Archbishop of Gela and Salamas renounced the Antipatriark, and was elected Patriark by
the Prelates of that Nation, and confirmed by Gregorie the Thirteenth, to whom he sent Arch-
bishop Ermetes Elias in his name to exhibit obedience. Who returned with his Patriarchall Pall
from Rome 1582, but hitherto they have nothing of Mosal but the Title, the other Patriark
possessing the See, and they are glad to seeke a place of residence where they can, as at Caramit,
and this last at Zenalbach. The richest and priestly of that Nation are at Mosal and Geseire,
and acknowledge the other Patriark, lately called Elias, resident in the Patriarchall Monastery
of Saint Ermetes neere Mosal. He hath vnder him two and twentie Bishops, about fixe hundred Ne-
storian families, and in Masal 10000. each hauing about fortie persons: the other Territories
hauing two or three hundred Nestorian Families. They have thirtie Monasteries of Saint Antho-
nies Order in which fifteene or twentie Monkes live: and in that of the Patriark seuenie.

The Patriark and Bishops must bee Monkes. They extend to Baldach and the East Indies.

§. IIII.

Of the Cophi, their Synod at Cairo, the Iesuites being the Popes Agents,
and of STEPHEN COLINZAS missiue to the Georgians,
and two Iesuites sent to the Maronites.

Pope Gregorie the Thirteenth sent diuers missiues to the Cophi, whereby a Synod was
procured at Cairo, in December 1582. which had three Sessions to reconcile them to
the Roman Church. At the first were present Bishops and principall men. At the third,
the men went, with the Iesuites, especially Iohn Baptista Romanus. In the first were o-
pened the causes of their defection in the Conuenticle of Ephesus assembled by Dioscorus, where
by Eucherius his Heresie which denied two natures in Christ was first, condemned after in
the Chalcedon Council. They desired to search their Writings which were few and eaten with
age. And in the second Session was much altercation, and the matter put off to the third. In that
third the Law of Circumcision was abrogated first; and after that Anathema was denounced a-
gainst Iudas as should spoile Christ of either. Yet for all this the Vicar of the Patriark then being
refused the subscribing, and a quarrell was picked by the Turke against the Popes Agents, as if
they sought to subiect the East to the Pope, or the King of Spain. They were therefore cast into
Prison, and their redemption cost 5000. Crownes.
At Cairo is a Librarie in which are kept many Bookes of the ancient Doctors in Arabicke Gas of
Saint Ierome, Gregorie Nazanzene, Saint Basil, &c. and the men have good wits, and some there-
by

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a Nestorian
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Romans and Ca-
tholike.
Dryne Patri-
arch.

Indike her
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Thomas Chris-
tians in India.
Abdes in Asia
1582.

Of the Ne-
storian, see Na-
bopolis, Poly-
graphia, &c.
in 1700.
L. 1. & Bre-
uiss. Enquirit
following.

Synod at Cairo.

L. 1. & Bre-
uiss. Enquirit
following.

King of Georgia
h sletter to the
Popes.

Seminarie of
Maronites.

Poore Priests.

Their old rites.

L. B. 61. p. 9.

by proucleared. In the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, *Marke* the Patriarch sent a Submission to the Pope, as was pretended; but it proved to be the Impollute of one *Barton*.

Paul the Third also sent to the *Georgians*, Anno 1545. *Stephen Colpax* a elect of *Nemanz* in *Armenia*, his *Nuncio* to the Kings of *Georgia* and *Armenia*. The *Georgian King* writ backe to the Pope, his Letter beginning, *Miseratione Dei Symeon Rex Cardely totius Iberia & Orientis, Excelesse & gladiosissime, & sanctissime, & beatissime Domine noster, Pater noster & Papa, Pastor Pa-*

strum, Princeps Principum, & decime tertie Apostolicorum, Pater noster & Papa Maxima Roma, aucto-
taba, organum Dei insistant, Pater noster & vicinissime Regni Calist, Pater Dilecti gentium, qui
ascendit usque ad tertium celum, &c. Hee proceelede in twoling Titles of *wantie* skribel to the Pope, & aduich to much that all his zeale and profession was spent, as it seemeth, in that Epistle, for little effect: but had since appeared.

Pope Clement the Eighth sent two Iesuites with a Bishop to the *Maronites* in Mount *Libanus*, *Hierom Dandon* a Diuine being principall. The cause of sending was, that it might by the eyes be discerned, whether the coists bestowed at *Rome* on the Seminary of *Maronites* were well bestowed. The Pope sent the Patriarch a whole Vestiment of Silke wrought with Gold for a Patriarchall Masse, and many Chiffs of Bookes in the *Chaldean* Tongue printed in the Citty, containing the Lyturgies of *Saint James*, *Saint Peter*, and *Saint Sixtus*, they having no Bookes but written, and thole torne or erroneous: with Seruice-bookes to God and the Blessed Virgin. For they vie the *Chaldean* Tongue as wee doe the *Latine*. Our of the Seminary was sent one to bee a Coadiutor to the Patriarch and made Bishop, and another Coadiutor to him in his Bishoprick: 30
Their common Language is *Aramee*. The Pope sent also Iulie Chalices, and Iron Instruments to make the Iells and Ierel Vests for other Priests by the said *Dandon*. He Baid two monthes with his companion a Priest, in the Monasterie of the Patriarchie, in which time the old Patriarchie died, and the other was substituted by a Synod according to the custome. The Patriarchs performed all kind Offices to the Iesuites as did also the Monks which lye sparingly, eating little but Rice, Herbs and Broth. The Priests lye single, but are added to no Studies of Learning, and spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground, or sitting vp others thereto, that they may haue to lye on, and to pay their Tributes. Their women are very modest and chaste, neither haue they any mercenary Harlots. They haue a place at the entrance of the Church by themselves, and when Seruice is done they depart first, no man stirring till they be all gone. *Dandon* altered, 30
duers things amongst them, as to referre some cales to the Bishop or Patriarch, not to constrain Priests to marrie before they took Orders, that lone of the *Seruarians* should be appointed on some Holy dayes to preach, and write cases for others to learne, where as before they had no Sermons, but Iomerimes a Homily; to vie no other Missal: then such as had bene sent from *Rome*; that other Bookes should bee examined; not (as before) to admit Children to the Eucharist, &c.

He which will read more of these *Maronites*, may read out of themselves and others in this Worke, as also touching them and all other Christians in the East in *Maister Breerwoods Enquiry* hereto annexed: also *Thomas a Iesu* our Author is farre more ample in these things, then agree with our scope. I thought good yet to add out of a Manuscript about a dozen yeeres since communicated to me by the Right Reuerend Father in God Doctor *Viber*, Lord Bishop of *Meath*, copied out of a Iesuite written Catalogue of Heresies, these Errours as they are there recited by the Iesuite, and gathered out of the *Maronites* Bookes

Errores ex libris *Maronitarum* excerpti 1580. sunt
autem huiusmodi.

- 1 *Christus caput est diuinitatis.*
- 2 *In Christo una tantum est natura.*
- 3 *In Christo una tantum est operatio, una voluntas.*
- 4 *Natura inuisibilis in Christo est passio.*
- 5 *Trinitas est passio.*
- 6 *Trisugum recitandum est cum illa additione, Qui crucifixus est pro nobis.*
- 7 *Christus non est mortuus ut alij homines.*
- 8 *Christus descendens ad inferos omnes filios Ade liberauit.*
- 9 *Christus post resurrectionem unum habet naturam.*
- 10 *Anima sanctorum patrum deducit sunt a Christo ad Paradisum terrestrem: anima vero eorum qui nunc moriuntur aut illuc tra-*

hant, aut in proprijs corporibus detinentur, vel circa sepulchrum, vel descendunt ad locum tenebrarum pro mortuorum vel denatorum demeritate.

- 11 *In die iudicii noua corpora animalia creabuntur.*
- 12 *Quis sanctus ut a patre procedat.*
- 13 *Baptismus non debet ministrari nisi a Sacerdote.*
- 14 *Apollonia, vi heretici, sunt reprobandi.*
- 15 *Emergentium non sunt baptizandi, nisi meritis articulo.*
- 16 *Maculus in baptismo non debet suspicari formam, nec contraria.*
- 17 *Baptismus non debet dari in quadragesima.*

- 18 *Partusque baptizatus non debet tangi a matre que parit fluxum sanguinis ne cum poluit.*
- 19 *Mater non potest lachare suum infantem ratione christiana cum est baptizatus.*
- 20 *Angelus citius tribuitur in baptismo homini.*
- 21 *Christus debet confici ex vngui rebus, & equi igne ex sp. s. illic factus.*
- 22 *Forma confirmationis hac est, Vnge te hoc christum in vitam eternam, vi filius heras regni caelorum in nomine P. F. & S. S.*
- 23 *Sanguis Christi potest consecrari ex aqua, ex vniu lacu expressa.*
- 24 *Summus Episcopus potest consecrare sanguinem sine corpore.*
- 25 *Forma consecrationis hac est, Benedicis & dimittis vnicuique discipulorum partem, & fecit vi esset corpus Dominicum, quod daretur in totam mundum in remissionem peccatorum. Item benedixit & sanctificauit, & dimittit equaliter ad bibendum, solum Apostoli, solum illis, & fecit possidere solum sanctis, non vniuersum Testamentum Discipulis suis.*
- 26 *Sub speciebus panis & vini est corpus & sanguis sed non anima Christi.*
- 27 *Eucharistia consecranda feria quinta in Cena Domini, debet consecrari per totum annum.*
- 28 *Sacerdos qui nunquam celebrat, non potest.*
- 29 *Licit sacrum facere super librum Euaristij.*
- 30 *Qui non est discipulus ad communionem, non debet sacro interesse.*
- 31 *Dignus sumus Eucharistiam infans quomo adhibetur.*
- 32 *Infantes Christi sanguinem sumere debent.*
- 33 *Impios communem dignum ar in suis, aut os abluisset.*
- 34 *Alisolare panem non est super eius caput recitatione Dominicam.*
- 35 *Imposio manuum Apostolorum super baptizatos erat absolutio a peccatis.*
- 36 *Peccata minima sunt aperienda in confessione.*
- 37 *Peccata spiritualia ne in mortis articulo dimitti possunt.*
- 38 *Mali Sacerdotes non habent usum cleonum.*
- 39 *Post mortem reditur ratio commissorum peccatorum ab auge 12.*
- 40 *Optum extrema vntionis debet benedici a 7. sacerdotibus.*
- 41 *Matrimonium in lege veteri non institutum tantum ob prelam.*
- 42 *Matrimonium non est validum sine Sacerdotis benedictione.*

- 43 *Non potest pater & filius contrahere cum matre & filia, vel duo fratres contrahere inter se.*
- 44 *Quarta nigra & decipio sunt illicitae.*
- 45 *Omni mulier casus licet uxorem ducere, & aliam ducere.*
- 46 *Vis Matrimonij in Quadragesima est peccatum irreversibile.*
- 47 *Paradisus terrestris fuit creatus ante mundi.*
- 48 *Adam fuit formatus ex terra P. & S. S.*
- 49 *Adam & Eva ante peccatum erant incorrupti, & non possent cognosci vtrum malum esset.*
- 50 *Sacerdos erat Abel & non Cain, sed idem Deus placuit illi sacrificium, non huius.*
- 51 *Non tempore delugij in Area sacrificauit.*
- 52 *Filius Israel qui adorauit vitulum, & biberunt eum palmerem, moriebantur vi boues.*
- 53 *Iudas in deserto serbans lapidem solum in quo 12. fontes manabant.*
- 54 *Christus factus est Sacerdos a lebanne Baptista.*
- 55 *Maria apparuit Christum in forma hortulani.*
- 56 *Apostoli vsq. ad Pentecostem fuerunt in statu peccati.*
- 57 *Christus fecit Apostolos Diaconos cum in suffragio vsq. Job. 20. Sacerdotes vero cum ascendit in Caluam.*
- 58 *Anima Beata Virginis fuit primogenitum creatum.*
- 59 *Omnes credentes, etiam heretici sunt in statu salutis.*
- 60 *Non licet occidere hominem etiam publica auctoritate.*
- 61 *Deus promissit Moysi vinctum dimittitatem communionem cum anima Christi, quo modo solent est visibilis dimittit.*
- 62 *Sancti patres in limbo carabant sine excusandi.*
- 63 *Demones non requirunt dei Dominica.*
- 64 *Demones non possunt moueri per sacrificia.*
- 65 *Iesph sponsus Beatae Virginis habuit quatuor filios.*
- 66 *Urgentia non est propugnanda matrimonio.*
- 67 *Mandatum officium licitum est.*
- 68 *Iudei congerunt Beatae Virginis potare a quo amaram propter suspitionem adulterij.*
- 69 *Dies Feneris est celebrandus vi Dominicam.*
- 70 *Pharao non meretur panem, quod Deus cor eius indurauerit.*
- 71 *Pestes Sacerdotes si facerentur & id genus alia, amittunt consecrationem.*

I haue hitherto also translated some obseruations of *Christopher Angelus* a *Greeke* Monke and Priest, which hath lued many yeeres in *England*, and some five yeeres since gaue mee a *Greeke* Booke printed by him in *London*, touching their present Rites, both in their Churches and Monasteries. Many things I could haue added touching the *Greekes*, and their moderne Language, State and Religion, out of *Crisostomus*, *Ieromus* the Patriarch and others. But this man being a Traueller, I chose rather to let you heare him in that wherein he hath bene bred. As for dogmaticall differences you haue had them before, and the present *Greekes* are not ordinarily so leamed as to giue you a perfect account thereof.

ought therein were erroneous. Hee brought a Letter and profession the third yeere after the departure of the former. The Letter is this.

From the Patriarchall Chamber, Prayers and Blessings be given to you.

The Letter of
the Patriarch
of Babylon
to the Pope,
1445.

See what the
Popes pre-
sence can doe
with a poore
Patriarch.
Remote from
our civility and
let—what I the
poore and feeble,
and take the
name of my God
in vain, I praye.

* Ye wish
need, and very
needy ones are
they, and this
too, which
makes him tell
more then
Rome: it selle
cutes dressed
of foreign
graces in the East,
as others have
also done of
the South.

* This is the
Easterne faith-
on to receive
the Letters &
Mandates of
their Princes
on their heads

From humble Elias of the East, who by the grace of God, serveth the holy See of Babylon, continual adorations, and perpetual prayers, & everlasting kneeling before your holiness, O blessed Father, and head of Fathers, Sonne of Christenome, and Name on which is situated the edifice of the Church of Churches; my Lord, and my Father the Pope, Lord (and) Father of all the Patriarchs, which are in the Universe. Your Charitie towards us may be pleased to take notice, that your Letters, have come to us, and your firme Faith, and the blessing which you sent my lowliness; and I received a blessing together with my people, and have given thanks to Christ, for that I am made worthy of the blessings of your Holiness, and of your illustrious memorie, and you have numbered me among the sonnes of your Fatherhood besides my merits. I presently sent a thanksgiving and letters, and my Faith. But wicked men met my Legates, and took all things from them, and they returned to me empty: againe I sent others, which came not to your Holiness, which grieved mee with my Bishops and Archbishops, and I said, What shall I doe? I cannot because the Princes our Oppressors permit mee not; neither can I goe to Jerusalem: they hold us as Slaves, and permit us not to doe our will. At last I sent thy Faith and letters of thy puritie, with my faithful Sonne and Counsellor Father Adam, to shew them in all our Regions, that we might see what was fitting to be done of us Orientals, and so remained in these Regions a whole yeere: and we all conspired together, and have sent to your Holiness the same Father Adam: and I have sent with him my Faith and letters, and said that he should trust with your Holiness of these things; further then is written, because hee is the Head of Fathers and Abbas of the Orientall Monks, and wee have none of more note, as all the East consents. And now, O Father, with bowed head we adore before thy Seat without feare and awe, & thy Precept is received of me according to thy Precept, which delivered thee the Keyes. Nor will I deny that voyce spoken to Peter, I have given thee the keyes, and what thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heavens, and what thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heavens. And I will not fall as doe others, Hereticks; against the precept of the holy Apostles, and orthodox Fathers, which affirmed that the See of Great Rome should be the principall, and he is the Head of all Sees: for he is from me, but I confesse that the Roman Church is the Mother of Churches, and as he which doth not confesse it, let him be Anathema. And our Babylonian See is not elected of it selfe, as of other Hereticks, which have multiplied Patriarches in the world without Law, but by the Precept of the Pope, and counsell of the Roman Church, was the See of Babylon chosen, and so it is found written amongst us in the Chronicles, namely that the Orientall Fathers were ordained at Rome. But afterwards it came to passe, that when they sent men for Confirmation they were slaine in their journey, and they did so a long time, all persecuted. This being told to the Church and Pope, the Pope decreed a Council and said, Let us ordaine them a Patriarch, and let us permit them to choose their Patriarches, that they die not in the way for Confirmation, nor any evils happen to them, and so we should save, and they remaine without the Roman fold. And thus wee have received power till this time, and we have done nothing of our selves, as thereto, which have taken under foot the Canons of the Apostles, and Lawes of the Fathers, and have filled the Earth with Patriarches without need. For this cause the See of Babylon was called the Fifth, for the four Sees of the foure Evangelists; and because the Patriarch was elected with the Roman Confirmation, and he hath given us power to make Pastors, then was the See of Babylon called, which did accompany the foure Sees, and is numbered the fifth, as one of them. For, O Father, behold my Faith hath come to your Holiness with letters, and you may see if there be fraud in our profession or error, or receding from our Mother the Roman Church. Admonish, and we will doe, and we will obey. And if in all things we be true before your See, and there be no fraud in our faith, we desire of your benignitie, that you forgive not the poverty of your servants, because many of our profession have undergone dangers when they have come to you. For some have dyed, others were slaine by enemies, and few have returned. And let this suffice your Holiness from our lowliness, that from the furthest parts of the East, we have your Precepts on our heads and eyes, and we come against all Nations with our blood, and suffering calamities that we may adore before your Excellency, and we lowly and submissively may receive blessing from the Great Mother Church of Paul & Peter. Who ought us to do this, but the Christian Faith, and your love to our lowliness. And let this suffice that we have listened to your wisdom. But this whole labour we sustaine for the Roman Church; and your Ministers at Jerusalem hold all that are of my profession, as forerunners and rebels from the Church of Rome, and doe not gratifie us as before, because their Interpreters are of professions which hate us, and those your Ministers enquire not the truth. Wee desire your Holiness to admonish them, and to hold those of our profession, as of yours, and to be gentle to them. I have sent Letters to your Teachers, to command those of our profession in Jerusalem, because it was written in our Annals that our Archbishop, which was in Cyprus, and those of our profession which inhabit Jerusalem, and the Clergie in the Monastery of Saint James in Nisibis, are numbered amongst the sonnes of the Church of Rome for your Fatherhoods love to our lowliness. And now who am I, and all mine, and all the Easterne part? Wee are living before your Holiness, but as obedient servants, are subject to your Lordship, and with a mind farre from frowne kiss your holy feet, and earnestly desire health to your Holiness, and flee to your prayers, and the prayers of your fellow servants Peter and

and Paul, that wee may be made worthy of the remission of sinnes in the terrible Iudgement Day of God the Word, to whom, and his Father and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever. Amen.

His protection of the Faith followeth, part whereof wee have translated: Wee beleefe in God the Father, who is the Creator of Heavens and Earth, and all things therein visible and invisible. And in the Sonne which is of him, and which is equal with him in Essence, and is not lesse than his Father and Adoror of all things. And the Spirit of Sanctitie, which proceedeth from them his Father and his Son, and hee is a glorious substance, and equal in substance with the Father and the Sonne. The Father is Begotten, and not begotten; and the Sonne is Begotten, not begotten, and the Spirit of Sanctitie proceeding, not begotten our begotten, &c. God the Word descended into the Virgin and was joined with Man, which was compell in her in the power of the Spirit of Sanctitie, and was made one with man, as the conjunction of fire with Iron. And wee beleefe that hee received a body and soule, and understanding, &c. And though they say against us, that we confesse not that the Virgin is the Mother of God, but the Mother of Christ, this is the Mother of Christ God over all: yet this is nothing, for this is fit for the adoration. His honour and reprobation of the false opinion of Apollinaris, which said that the Deitie was without Humanitie, and to the confusion of the wickedness of Sempronius, which said, That Christ is a mere Man, to wit, Humanitie without Divinitie, &c. Wee in the deconviction of Christ comprehend the two Natures, of the Deitie of the Humanitie, and confesse not a simplicitie in Christ as they teach us, &c.

In another Epistle written by the said Elias to the Pope, hee confesseth that the differences acknowledged are brought to their heads. First, The Lord Pope, with all the Fathers of the Great Church of Rome, call the Virgin Saint Mary the Mother of God: but wee of the East call her the Mother of Christ. Secondly, They confesse two Natures of Christ, two Powers, and two Wills: but we confesse one Power and one Will. Thirdly, They confesse one Person in Christ, and wee confesse two Persons. Fourthly, And they say that the Spirit proceedeth of the Father and the Sonne, and wee confesse that the Spirit proceedeth of the Father. Fifthly, All the Fathers of Rome say, that that which comes out of our Lords Sepulcher is not true light, and wee with all ours receive it as true light. Hee faith, hee consulted with our Lords Apostles, and with Gabriel the ancient Archbishop and chiefe Grammarian in his Institution: which Gabriel answered, That they had received of their Ancestors, that there is no division amongst us, and the Church of Rome, but in Ceremonies, and they in all their Regions observe their owne Ceremonies: and as farre, faith hee, as I can understand, there is none other division but that one understandeth not the other. But touching thy request, behold Father Adam is before thee, which hath bene proud in the desert from his youth. And I said to our Father Adam, What sayest thou of these things? Hee answered, Give me three dayes space, and the third day, I will answer as much as my infirmities will, and as much as may suffice, and the third day hee brought his writing; and it pleased mee and all mine. And I gave him Letters with my Faith and Thy Epistles and Faith, and sent him to the Countrey and our Flocke, writing that if they had any thing to answer, hee should bring it. A yeere after hee returned with Letters, that all of our profession submitted themselves. And now I have sent him to thee.

The Treatise of the said Adam in seven Chapters, is published by the said Siraas the Popes Secretary, in which hee labourth to reconcile the Roman and Orientall Churches in the differences aforesaid; which by the said Siraas is learnedly discussed, and the truth enucleated and cleared from Nestorian stuffing, which the learned Reader may peruse in Siraas himselfe the vndermost could hardly doe it, though we had troubled our selves to trouble him with the Translation. The effect was, Adam was reclaimed in those points aforesaid to the Orthodox Faith, and sent with the Popes Breue (published also in the Booke aforesaid) dated on the five and twentieth of March, 1614. And Adam wrote another Treatise in maintenance of his corrected faith learned at Rome, by him dated, Ann. 1574. Regis Gracorum, Roma. Dilectis beatissimis Patri & Patri nostri temporis, Domini Papae Pauli Quinti, cuius oratio nobiscum 50 ff; all published together by the said Siraas.

Godwinus and Myrcus say, that John Antonie Maasiusius, and Peter Matejita two Jesuites, were sent backe with this Adam by the Pope, to make a more full reducing of the Nestorians.

CHAP. XVI.

A briefe survey of the Ecclesiasticall Politie Ancient and Moderne, or of the severall Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops Sees throu the Christian World: also of the Iesuites Colledges and numbers, and of other Monasticall Orders.



A *Vortius Myra* hath writtens Treatise, called *Notitia Episcoporum Orbis Christiani*; and another of *Ecclesiastical Politie*, is the State of Christian Religion in *Europe, Asia, Africa*, and the *New World* diuided into foure Bookes; and as many more of *Monastical originals*; out of whom principally, and out of some others I thought it to collect such things as might serue for our present Historicall purpose; for the Readers knowledge as well of the extension of Christian Religion in these times, as the opinions and differing rites before deliuered,

gion in these times, as the opinion of Italy, as being himself more then enough Italianized. The Princes now potent in *Italy* are the Pope, the *Spaniard* (which is King of *Napoli, Sicily and Sardinia*, and Duke of *Milaine*) the Prince of *Piemont* (which now is the Duke of *Savoy*) the Great Duke of *Tuscany*, the Dukes of *Mantua, Modena & Parma*; the Republics or free States of *Venice, Genoa, and Lucca*. *Rome* is the Seat of our Authors Religion, and by him honoured with that blasphemous title of *Vibi Aeterna* (as for *Terram dominam, orbem Regem, Orbis compendium*, they are given too, but too comendous) and was indeed of principal respect in the Church of Christ, ever since the Apostolical preaching of the Gospel, and the Apoitle of the Gentiles testified that their faith was then renewed *ibidem the whole world*; which was so fattered with the blood of their Primitive Bishops and Martyrs, that no where was a more fertile harvest then there, during the Reigne of the Ethnick Emperours. *Constantine* publishing his Imperial Scepter to the Croffe, her Bishops all received greater splendor of power and pompe, and being the Imperiall Cite, was therefore reputed the first Seat or Seat of the Patriarchs, which then were three, the *Roman, Alexandrian, and Antiochian*; which divided the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the *Roman World* (so they called their Empire) betwixt the: the *Constantinopolitan* being after both added to the number, & preferred above the *Alexandrian and Antiochian*; and equalled also with the *Roman*, being his meere primacie of Order (for the same cause that now it was also become New *Rome*; and the Imperiall Cite) by decree of the Council of *Constantinople*, A.381. and more plainly expressed by the *Chalcedon Councell*, A.451.

by the reasons draws from Scripture; *I have prayed for thee, I will give thee the Keys, feed my Sheep*, &c. now dayes alledged as proper causes of Papal preeminence, the ancient Councils knew them not, but alledged more ciuill respects of the Imperiall reference and power: which yet so suoped up the Imperious spirits of their successors, that in *Gregories* dayes the *Constantinopolitan* was needeably filled vniuersall Bishop, which *Gregory* then wishfull as Antichristian; and yet in few dayes after his death, his successor *Boniface* obtained of *Popeas* the murdereth, that forsweling and exorbitant Primacie and Papacie, in Ecclesiasticall respects, to the *Roman* See, by *Phocas* (to make iure of the *Romans*), in that slippery state of his new gotten Empire by blood and treason) made the *Head of Churches*, Which power could yet, neither by *Phocas* be granted any further than the *Roman* Empire extended, nor was euer acknowledged in the remoter parts of the world, till in these last times pueritie hath made some of the poore Patriarchs (I had almost said Parrats, whom their belly and external respects have taught their *sway* which was neuer with reall subiection acknowledged) yea the others Patriarchs of the Empire, to be thus with reall subiection acknowledged: yea the others Patriarchs is filled with the new vniuersall Patriarch, the *Roman* vniuersall Pope (which ritle of Pope, was in ancient times commonly giuen to other Bishops, as in Saint *Augustines* and others Epistles is seene, and the name of Archibishop) so and Patriarch giues as preminent Titles to some of the Bishops, as in the Councils of the *Roman* Councils) who now hauing gotten a Spirit of Papacie, *Gregory* the tenth about 1070. yeeres after Christ, began to turne the fame into a Papacie Monarchie, which his successors haue more fully effected, not onely in the abridgement of the Principalltie of the Churches Patrimoine, but in a wide-mouthed challenge of Supremacie to depose Kings, and dispoſe Kingdomes in that hypocritical pretended *ordine ad Deum*. But this you shall finde in other Authors, and I but touch it and now returne to our *Antichristian* Bishop. The *Irlesman* Bishop, in honour of that holy Cite was dignified with that Patriarchall honor, but later: for the Council of *Nice* left to the Bishop of *Cefaria* his Metropolitan right entit: the Council of *Chalcedon* gaue him the Title, which some *fay* Leo the Bishop opposed so much in pretence of the *Nicene* authoritie, that it was not fully ratified till 600. yeeres time, in the fifth Council, *A. 553*. Now for a fifth See at *Babylon* you haue heard *Elias* the *Assyrian* (as I conceiue) not to be found I thinke ratified by any good History: nor were the most

The *Roman* or *Western* Patriarch had six Dioceses, *Italy, Illyricum, Africa, The Gallia, Spain,* and

Eastern dia-
lection.

Part of Conf. ...
tinade.

Pat. of *Alexan*
dia.

Pat. of Action-
ch: a

W. Tyr. bi? S.

Pat. of Israel

Meaner Patr
archates.

Catholici.

Aquileia.

* See *Myr.*

Notit. Ep. l. 1 c
14. Glo. d. 21 c

verb. Arch. e.
piscopus.

Ararias Frigidus
nus a traucell

is

j-
af

of
the
...e,
h

Cardinals

1- Cardinals.
5, Marc. Cor. S.
Cor. E. T.

7- Of these reas-

S, Omskyr ksl.
ir ac Ewf. m. 5

D.C. & S. 27.
C. 27. 19. E

23

in
the

the
ing

0
1
2

2

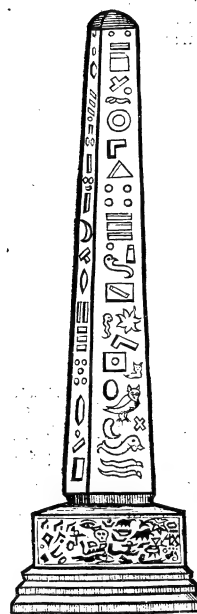
Appellationes Syrorum posterius.	Appellationes Syrorum veterum.	Phœnicia litteræ.	Græcæ literæ recentiorum & Latine. Ionorum veterum.	
Olaph.	Alpha.	Α	Α	A.
Beth.	Betha.	Β	Β	B.
Gomal.	Gamla.	Γ	Γ	C.
Dolath.	Delta.	Δ	Δ	D.
He.	He.	Ε	Ε	E.
Wau.	Wau.	Ζ	Ζ	F.
Zoe.	Zetha.	Η	Η	G.
Heth.	Hetha.	Θ	Θ	H.
Teth.	Teth.	Ι	Ι	I.
Iul.	Iota.	Κ	Κ	K.
Chuph.	Kappa.	Λ	Λ	L.
Lonad.	Lambda.	Μ	Μ	M.
Mim.	Me.	Ν	Ν	N.
Nun.	Nun.	Ξ	Ξ	O.
Semchath.	Simcha.	Ο	Ο	P.
E.	Oe.	Π	Π	Q.
Phe.	Phe.	Ρ	Ρ	R.
Tzode.	Tzode.	Σ	Σ	S.
Kugh.	Kophe.	Τ	Τ	T.
Refch.	Roe.	Υ	Υ	U.
Schin.	Schin.	Φ	Φ	V.
Thau.	Thau.	Χ	Χ	X.

By the figure of these Characters it is easie to bee gathered that the Letters (which Herodotus calleth *Kαλιτα γελωτα*, fence by him in the Temple of Apollo Iſmenius at the Boeotian Thebes *ἱερὰ ἰσμενίου ἱεροῦ*) were devised by Cadmus, with no great alteration in the most from th. Phœnician, except in the turning them from the right hand posture to the left, and adding sometimes, sometimes cutting off some parts. The Latine no less seemeth derived from the Ionian, and are in the most the very same. Your eyes may easily discern and judge; and Scaliger's Commentary is well worth your consultation herein, too long to transcribe or translate hither. Of the twenty two all had not the use of Letters and Elements of writing amongst the Ionians, but sixteen only: the rest were called *ἄλφα*, that is *notes*, to wit, of Spirit or Numbers: and therefore the first note stands for the numeral *VI*. *Β* is *ἑξήκοντα* in stead of *ἑξάν*, whereof the *ἑξάν* had frequent use, which called *ἑξάν* *ἑξάν*, & the *ἑξάν* was not repeated a Letter, because it might be taken away without change to the word; it stands also for a note of the

spiritus lenis, as in that hexameter [*αὐγὰς δ' ἑφ' ἑσπέρῳ δέξιν*] it is neither Consonant nor Vowel, there being a Synalephe for *ei* and no Position in *ἑσπέρῳ*. H with the old Ionians was as H with the Latines, as in that *H O D O I* in the former Inscription is teene they also vied E onely, both long and short syllable, as in the same Inscription *K I N E S A N T I* the *eth*, and *TEI* for *τη*. Beads lib. de Indagatione hath touching these *ἑξάν* these words; *Græci omnino suis literis exprimunt numeros. Verum tota Alphabeti charactera in numerorum figure vestigia, suis plus sunt, numeros, nota proprijs quæ ex Alphabeto non sunt depingunt. Prima est, quæ dicitur Epigrama, & est nota numeri VI. Secunda est G, quæ vocatur Kophe, & valet in numero XC. Tertia est Θ quæ dicitur Enneacofia quia valet DCCCC.* But let the learned read Scaliger himselfe.

10

The Hebrew Letters and Names thereof now in use are these.



Aleph
Beth
Gimel
Daleth
He
Vau
Zain
Cheth
Teth
Iod
Caph
Lamed
Mem
Nun
Samec
Ain
Phe
Tsadi
Coph
Rec
Cin
Thau



I have also added two Coins of the old Samaritan letters, the higher described from *Pestellus* his Introduction of twelve languages, the lower from *Beza* larger Annotations, *Math. 17*. His words are *Huius vero numi, id est dimidij Stateris argentei, qui quatuor Drachmarum erat quales vsq; Iudei olim signabant, veram imā; nem hic exprimendam curant, expressam ex vero & puri puri argenti numo, misit a seculo illo Christi formā D. Ambrosio Blaucero, donato. Habet autem hic numus Samaritanis li-*

R

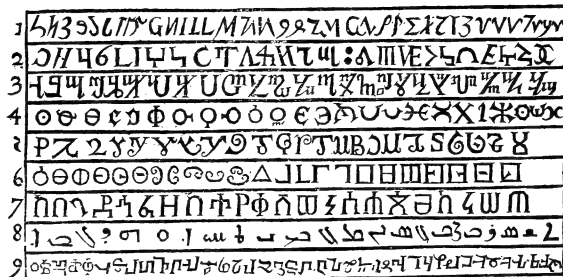
1111

teris insignis, una ex parte unam illam sacram, in qua recondita fuit *Manna*, superposita litera *Aleph*, qua declaratur simplex hic fuisse sicles, duorum videlicet drachmarum, cum duplex esset drachmarum quatuor, cum inscriptione *S C H E K E L I S R A E L* id est, Sicles Israel: ex altera vero, Virgam illi *Aaronis* florentem, cum inscriptione *I E R V S C H A L A I M K O D S C H A H* id est, Ierusalem Sancta. Tria: of *Possellius* (of *Siluer* alio) differet somewhat in the figure and the superscription *S.B.* which (I conceive) signifieth that it was a double Shekel.

I have added an *Obelisk* or *Column* inscribed with *Egyptian* Hieroglyphikes, copied out of *Grammaye*, and in the *bas* thereof have added another described out of *Lamartius* *Pignarius* his *Mensa Isaca* expositis, where the Reader may feast himself with Characters of that kind. I also have elsewhere given some of those *Egyptian* figures. These I thought good to add for illustration of that mention of the *Crosse* in the *Ecclesiastical History* against the *Egyptian* figures in the Temple of *Sarapis*, which occasioned the conversion of many *Ethnikes* to Christianity.

Insig. 910.
Sacrat. 15. c. 16.
Sax. 17. c. 15.

The Alphabets following we have distinguished by figures, for the Readers better understanding of the exposition added. Wherein we have most followed *Grammaye*.



1. The first is that of the *Alans* or *Lombards*, set forth by *Patricius*; other have beene published by *Bonaventura Vulcanius* in his *Specimen Universalium linguarum*, and others.
2. The old *Alman* Alphabet of *Trithemius*, much different from those of *de Bry*, *Hermanus Hugo*, and *James Bonaventura*.
3. An old Magicke Alphabet of *Henricus Thebani*, of which there are other kinds too many.
4. An Alchemicke of *Cid Abdalla*, of which the *Africans* have other sorts.
5. *Gramay* saith, it is an old *English* Alphabet sometimes published by *Sir Thomas Moore*.
6. The *A.B.C.* used by the Priests of *Isipter Ammon*, devised by *Mercennius Aegyptius*.
7. The *Alphabets* attributed to *Salomon*; many others by many others are so inscribed.
8. The *African*, ascribed to *Abraham*.
9. The old *Apulian*, which inserted and read from the bottoms is one kind of the *Armenian* fathered on *Saint Iohn Chrysostomus*.



The 10. is an old *Asian* Alphabet ascribed to *Peter the Hermit*. 11. The old *Attike* of *Ismael Mezopius*. 12. The old *Norman* A. B. C. of *Rolls*, *Duret* and others have other kinds. 13. The old Alphabet of the *Baltares* (so described by *Cid Tabia*). 14. The *Sacnian* or old *Frisian*. 15. The old *Centabrian* of *Charles the Great*. 16. The *Babui-Serian* or *Slavonian* of *Saint Cyril*, that also diversified. 17. The *Burgundian* or *Aitrologian* of *Ismael*. 18. 19. running or rait hand with *Ciceron* and *Cyprian* notes.



20. 21. 22. are *Cabalistical* Alphabets attributed, one to the *Angell Raphael*, the next to *Ezechiel*, the third to *Abraham*: of which sorts *Duret*, *Possellius* and others have delivered, with like credit to these. 23. The old *Celtike* of *Doratus*. 24. The *Carmike* or *Frankie* of *Vilphid*. 25. The old *Saxon* of *Otfriedus Monachus*, *Lexius*, *Mausler*, *Theofus Ambrosius*, &c. have described others. 26. The *Phivike*. 27. The *Cretan* or *Phrygian* of *Hercules*. 28. The *Chaldean* of *Abraham*, that also varied by others.

Vlphilas Gotike, and the Saxon Alphabet.

See of these
Guide Letters,
Tom. 2. 3. 5. 6. 13.

A	a	p	r
b	b	s	S
c	c	r	s
d	d	u	t
E	E	u	u
e	e	p	w
F	f	x	X
g	g	x	x
h	b	y	J
i	i	ſ	Æ
l	l	ſ	e
o	m	D	Tō
n	n	ſ	ib
o	o	p	th
p	p	ſ	and
q	q	ſ	that

The end of the first Booke.



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10 (maugre those darke
of his white and pure
or Skins for a time,
more worth, than he
ken Feathers of that
Children.

Thus in regard of
made the Seed-time
our Ruine) by fare
20 vs Eternitie, which
an earnest whereof
the promise of H. I. s.



A
DESCRIPTION OF ALL
THE CIRCUMNAVIGATIONS
OF THE GLOBE.
THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*Of the improvement of Navigation in later Times, and the means
whereby the World in her old Age hath beene
more then ever discovered.*

8. I.

*Of Magneticall and Astronomical Instruments, first
applied to Navigation.*



IO (maugre those darkeſt flames of Hell) whereby he might by laborious Art (being robbed
of his white and pure Robes, wherewith Nature had adorned him) patch together Leaves
or Skins for a time, to cover fome part of his nakedneſſe. Neyther is * it any more, or of
more worth, that here we labour for, and get as Servants, then ſome light Plumes and broken
Feathers of that goodly Fowle, which wholly without labour God had firſt giuen vs as
Children.

Thus in regard of this temporall state; which yet he (out of a Curle producing Blessing) made the Seed-time of a better Haruett, a richer Possession (rayed out of this Rubbish of our Ruine) by farre then that which we had lost: for Time, which we had forfeited, giuing vs Eternitie, which cannot die; for Paradise, Heauen; and GOD himselfe for the World; an earnest whereof wee haue already, his SONNE giuen for vs, his SPIRIT to vs, and the promise of HISSELFE in ineffable fruition.

* In the sweat
of thy Browes
thou shalt eat,
&c.

$$A_2 \qquad Y_{Ca}$$

g. Having descended the Cape of Good Hope, the Viceroy, doubtless, and looks to the West from the Cape, as the Land south, all Com-passes are not true for all Navigators; by the differences of those in the Strait, and here, see, the variation least near the Line is 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Guinne inclines Eastward to the African Continent, and neere the American bends Westward; in these Islands as indifferent betwixt two equal Continents, aimes at the Pole of the Earth, and therefore Magnetically. His many Rules, Experiments, and Observations are worthy a learned and leisurely Reader: My selfe having haste to trauell ouer the World, and that with so many Travellers, cannot stand in this Muse, or Maze rather of Philosophers. Let vs now consider not the naturall Causes, which are hard, but take easier view of the sensible effects thereof in the furtherance of Navigation, wherein the touched Needle is the Soyle as it were of the Compasse, by which euery skilfull Mariner is emboldened to compasse the whole Body of the Vniuers. Let the Italians haue their prayse for Invention: the prayse of Application thereof to these remote Discoveries is due to the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World, to let it see it selfe. These first all of all Europeans, applyed by the direction of King Iohn (as followeth in this storie) Astronomical Instruments to this Magnetically, and occasioned those Spanish Discoveries in the New World, by Colombo's Industry.

The Load-stone was the Lead-stone, the very Seed and ingendering Stone of Discoverie, whose focus Ioual Braire first conceived that *Minerva*. But the *Iuno Lucina*, that helped Nature in this happy Conception and educated *Discouerie* to that strength, that it durst ordinarily adventure beyond the knowne World, and made way to that Maturity, whereby it opened soone after another World, was Prince Henry of Portugall.

Thus doth the Great God rayse up the least things to Greatesse: and this one of the least and least of European Kingdomes, was dignified with the first search and Science of Discoveries. Spaine and Portugall, after a long feruente, fattened their Soyle with the blood of the Moores, and thence haue growne by Duine Blessing not only to free themselves of that Yoke, but with farre-spreading Boughes to ouer-looke and ouer-awe the remotest East and furthest West; paying themselves with the Drugges and Gemmes of Asia, the Gold and Slaves of Africa, the Silver and Possessions of America, as Wages for that European slavery vnder the Mahumetans, many Ages continued, which now shall follow to be declared.

Þ. II.

Of HENRY, third Sonne to IOHN the first King of Portugall by an English Woman, the Prince of later Discoveries: and of the helpes both against the Moores, and in their Discoveries which the Portugals haue receiued of our Nation.

a. P. 116. 13.
c. 2. 5. 1.
Some say
714.
b. See Spanish
Hist. Torquato
lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The Saracens (as we haue related elsewhere) about the yeere 712. brought by *Iuliona* Earle of Cepta (to reuenge the dowelling of his Daughter *Caba* by *Ro-dericus*, the last of the Gothick Kings) into Spaine, vnder the conduct of *Musa*, conquered and subiected the same to *Wit* the Chalphy. *Pelagius* began first to make lea: against these Barbarians, whose successors had succeeded in the same Quarrell with prosperous successe about three hundred yeeres past, when *Alphonso* the sixth tooke Tels-to from the Moores. He in recompence of good seruices in the Wars, gaue vnto Henry of Lorraine, whom some call Earle of Limbourg, his Daughter *Tereza*, with the Countrey of Portugall in Dowrie, and whatsoever he could further conquer from the Moores, by Title of an Earle: whose sonne *Don Alphonso* was the first King of that Realme, newly erected on the bloud and defolation of the Moores in thole parts, whom by degrees they chased quite out of that Kingdome, from that time till that of *Iohn* the first. He pursuing that Hereditarie Quarrell, passed ouer Sea into Africa, and there tooke Cepta, and brake the Ice to his Posterity, which made valiant and successfull progresse in thole Designes of Africa, till their Navigations into Asia with greater hopes and happinesse, made them neglect that neerer and dearer Purchase.

c. T. Wall. 116.
Ang. An. 1415.

This Conquest of Cepta, or Seut, is mentioned by *Thomas* a *Walsingham*, which then lived, in these words: This yeere the King of Portugall relying on the helpe of the Merchants of England most of all, and of the Almans, ouercame the Agarens in the Land of the King of the Betinarines, many thousands of them being sent to Hell; and tooke their Citie, leazed on the Sea, called Sunt, very large, compassed with a Wall, as they say, of twentieth miles. Some reason the English had to this Assistance: for the Wife of *Don Iohes* was *Philip*, Daughter of *Iohn* of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Sister to *Henry* the fourth, whose sonne *Henry* the fifth then reigned in England. They did imitate also their English Ancestors, who long before, in the time of *Henry* the second, had ioynded themselves with other Northern Pilgrimes for the Expedition to the Holy-Land, and saying to

d. A.D. 1188.
vid. Hist. Portug.
in fine Hen. 2.

gether

gether from Dartmouth, about 37. ships well manned touched at Lisbonne, where the Portugall King befought their aid against the Moores in the Citie Sylua, or Sylus, protesting the spoyle in recompence. Which they attempted, and on the third day of the Siege, brake into the Suburbs, and forced *Michael* the Prince to yeeld the Citie, wherein were of all sorts about 60000. Moores, whereof 47000. were slain, and the Mahumetan Temple consecrated to the Mother of God.

Thus both at home and abroad were the Portugals indebted to the English: as also in the example of some Englishmen, and namely one *Macham*, which had bene by tempest driuen on shore in Madera: but in nothing more, then that English Lady before mentioned, whose third sonne *Don Henry* was the true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugall alone, but of the whole Christian World, in Marine Affaires, and especially of these Heroike endeours of the English (whose flesh and blood he was) which this ensuing Historie shall present vnto you.

This illustrious *Henry* having giuen proofe of his valour against the Infidels at Cepta, deuiſed with himselfe, how he (being Gouvernor of the Militarie Order of *Isus Christus*) formerly instituted, and endowed to maintaine Warres against the Moores, alreadie expelled out of Portugall) might aduance the honor of his Name and Order, in Conquests which others had not yet attempted, and therefore in Discoveries of Countreys yet vnknowne. To this end he spent his life in single estate, and in the studies of the Mathematickes; for which purpose, he chose the clearer Ayre of Cape S. Vincent, that there he might better intend his Mathematical Theorie, the practise thereof in Instruments, and the vse, in finding out Ships at his owne charge to discouer remoter parts, whereof he had both heard by enquire of Captiues taken at Cepta, and conceiued by the studious, in the reports of *Menelao*, *Hanno*, *Eudoxus*, and others; that the Atlantike and Indian Seas had concour'd, the one yeelding passage to the other, or rather being one continued Ocean. He also from Maiorca caused one *Maister Iames*, a man skilfull in Navigation, and in Cards and Sea Instruments, to be brought into Portugall, there at his charge, as it were, to erect a Schoole of Marinerſhip, and to instruct his Countrey-men in that Myſterie.

The first Ships which he sent, discouered no further then Cape Bogiador, 180. miles beyond Cape S. Non (the *Nem ultra* before, of the Spanish Navigations) beyond which they durst not passe, because of the loftie breaking of the Surge, caused by the Capes extension farre into the Sea: not daring (such was then the infancie of Navigation) to auoid the same, to put further off into the Sea, lest they might hap to lose themselves, if they lost the sight of Land. That which Art durst not, Tempest compelled in the next Barke sent for Discoverie, which with distresse of Weather driuen into Seas out of the Mariners knowledge, happily encountered that Island, which they hereupon named *Porto S. Sante*, and without further casting the shore of Africke, returned home with the newes, and desire of licence to people it; so well did they like of the Ayre, Soyle, and gentle Condition of the Natures. The Prince accordingly sent three Ships, two of which hee committed to *Iohn Conſaluo Zarco*, and *Tristan Vaz*, the former Discoverers: the third to *Bartholomeu Perrelliſto*, who with Seeds and Plants carried thither: a Conie great with youth; which lighting her burthen by the way, and together with them put forth, so multiplied in two yeeres, that they grew wearie of all their Labours, destroyed by thole Countes. Whereupon *Perrelliſto* returning, the other two, *Conſaluo* and *Vaz*, would needs discouer whether it were Land or no, which appeared vnto them like Clouds or Vapours, and found it indeed the Land of Madera, or Wood, so called of the abundance of Wood which then ouer-shadowed it, and with the moile Vapours had seemed to bury it in a Cloud. They returning with this newes to the Prince, receiued by the Kings consent the same Land, diuided betwixt them: the one part, called *Funciale*, to *Conſaluo* and his heires; the other, called *Maichico*, to *Vaz*. This was so named of an Englishman, called *Macham*, which had before arriued there by Tempest, and buried therein a Woman, whom he loued, with a memoriall thereof ingrauen on the Stone of her Tombe; after which, with a Boat made of one Tree, he passed to the Coast of Barbary without Sayle or Oare, and being presented to the King for a Wonder, was by him sent to the King of Castile.

In the yeere 1420. began that Plantation, and the thicke Trees being by *Conſaluo* set on fire, continued burning seven yeeres: which destruction of Wood hath caused since as great want. The Prince caused Sugar Canes to be carried from Sicilia thither, and men skilfull of that Art, whereof the increase hath bene such, that in some yeeres the fifth part (which the Prince referred to his Militarie Order) hath amounted to about threethree hundred Arrobes (cuery Arrobe is five and twentie pounds) growing only in one place, little more then nine miles compass. To *Perrelliſto* hee gaue *Porto Santo*, on condition to

A 2

people

c. See Dam. a
Gos de Asthory,
Mora.
Barrios, Dec. 2.
1. 1.
Ojor. de Reb.
Emas. 1. 1.
Maffius Hist.
Ind. 1. 1.

e. Vide P. 116.
17. 1. 1. 5. 1.

g. Of which their Proutie was, He which shall passe the Cape of Non, shall turne a gaine, or else hee goneth. b. For, for that it was their Haue: and Santa, for that it was found on the day of All Saints.

k. Countes strangely multiplied. l. The Island of Madera or Wood discouered.

m. Macham an Englishman.

n. See Dam. 1. 1. 1. 1.

o. In Madera Sugars.

p. Porto Santo promised.

Catholike Princes being then buied in Warre against the Moors of Granada. But having spent hue yeeres in purling his suit, his answer from the Court was, That the Kings Treasure was so exhauit in the Conquest of Granada, that they could not entertaine new expences: but those being ended, they would better examine his intent, and give him dispatch.

Much was *Columbus* aggrieved at this answer, yet failed not his constancie. Hee caused his desires to be made knowne to the Dukes of Medina Celi, and of Medina Sidonia, but with effect like the former. Twice hee purposed (as his sonne *Fernand Columbus* writeth) to leave Spaine, and goe himselfe into France or England, whence hee had not heard of his brother *Bartolomeu*: but Divine Providence otherwise disposed. And hee which hitherto had not found credit to advance (nay, scarcely meares, but in great part, by the bountie of *Alphonso de Quintanilha* the Kings chiefe Auditor, to suite him, obtained the Letters of *Fritz Ivan Peres de Marchena* to *Fritz Fernand de Talavera* the Queens Confessor, and at last by the mediation of the Cardinal *Mendoza*, Archbishop of Toledo, procured audience and grant of the Catholike Kings, Queene *Isabel* taking order with *Lewis of S. Angelo* to empawne some of her Jewells, to the value of two thousand Duckats for his Expedition, which yet hee lent out of his purse: so low was the Treasure of Spaine, when God offered them the Westerne Treasures.

Magnanimous *Columbus*, not broken with Pouterie at home, with Affronts and Discontentances abroad, with imputations of impotent, almost impudent, at least as imprudent as importunate fancies of impossible, impossible Navigations by unknowne Seas to unknowne Lands! not amated so farre, as to abate his Conditions of no small nature to him and his heires, as if he had already effected his designs: not desiring any reward, except hee found somewhat answerable to his promise, nor lesse then, than the Office and Title of Admirall by Sea, and Vice-Roy on Land, with the Tenth of the Profits thereof all the Seas, Ilands, or firme Lands (to himselfe during his life, and after, to his heires and successors) whatsoever he should discover: which (saith *Oviedo*) he enjoyed while hee lived, his sonne Admirall, *Jemes* or *Don Diego Colombo*, after him, and his nephew *Don Lewis Colombo* the Admirall at this day. This composition was made betwixt him and the Catholike Kings in the Field before Granada, then besieged, in the middle of the Armie, the seventeenth of April, 1492, as if God would reward their endeavours and expences, in rooting out the Moors, which had possessed those parts of Spaine about foune hundred yeeres, with this New Discoverie, so profitable to the Spanishe Crowne.

Oviedo Hist. del Ind. lib. 4. c. 1.
Herrera Dec. 13. c. 10.

§. V.

COLUMBUS his first Voyage, and improvement therein of the Mariners Art.

* *Oviedo hath*
Galega.

Mart. Dec. 6.
Oviedo.

* When hee had
runne about
700. hee recko-
ned lesse then
600. nor their
Pilots much
more deceived
by the wind
always large.

* This Grasse
they call *Saba-
gillo*, or *Saba-
gillo*, being in
divers places
this and bar-
way, which at
first terrified
them, as if they
had en. oiled
funken Linds.

ON Friday, the third of August, the same yeere, hee set forth with his three Caravels from Palos; himselfe in the Admirall, called * *Santa Maria*; the second *Pinta*, in which was Captain *Martin Alonso Pinçon*, and his brother *Francisco Martinez Pinçon*, Master; the third *Ninna*, whole Captain and Master was *Vincent Tonnex*. *Pinçon*, which found halfe that eighth part of the expence which *Columbo* had countenanced to contribute. There were in all (some say) an hundred and twenty men; *Herrera* hath but ninety. On the fourth of August, the Rudder of the *Pinta* proued loose, which they fastened as well as they could with Cords, but soone after with force of Wind brake, and they were all compelled to strike layle; which, in such a Voyage as this (they knew not whither) could not but be troublesome, and seeme also ominous. On the eleuenth of August they had sight of the Canaries; where having refreshed themselves in the Ile Gomera, they hastned thence the next of September, for feare of the Portugals, who had set forth three Caravels to take them. The fteenth they lost sight of Land, with sighes and teares, many of them fearing neuer to see it againe; whom *Don Christopher* comforted as well as hee could, with promises of rich Discoveries: and saying that day "eighteen leagues, he reckoned no more then fifteen, dimittishing his account, to make them seeme neerer home. On the fourteenth of September hee first observed the Variation of the Compas, which no man till then had considered, which every day appeared more euident. On Sunday, the sixteenth, they saw pieces of * *Grasse*, or *Herbes*, on the Water, of a pale greene colour, and on one of them a *Grasse*, hopper aloue, and some signes of Land approaching, made some beleue they had seen it. On the nineteenth they saw an Alcatraz (a kind of Sea-Fowle) and the next day two, which with other Grasse every day encreasing, encreased their hopes of Land, that the Grasse themselves hindered their laying.

All this while hee had the Wind in poupe, which on the two and twentieth of September came cross at South-west; and the Spaniards murmured, that the former Winds, which had beene large to bring them hither, would neuer permit their returne to Spaine, and now begin to blowe the King and Queene, which had listned to that bold Italian, refusing to pursue the Voyage no further (the Admirall vying all his Wits to the contrary in vain, mixing with Promises and

Prayers, Threats and Menaces) alledging, That he thought to make himselfe a great Lord with the price of their lues; and that they had already done their dutie, saying further from Land then euer any had: nor ought they to be guilty of their owne deathts, proceeding they knew not whither, till Victuals fayled them, which already would scarcely hold out their returne, nor yet the Caravels, being already spent, and faultie, with other like quarrls: threatening to throw him into the Sea, if he would not returne; and if hee were so desperate to perish, they would save themselves. *Columbo* sweetly calmed those tempests with gentle words and fine promises, &c. (as is thought, before agreed vpon) talking with *Vincent Pinçon*, suddenly cryed, Land, Land on the sue and twentieth of September, which filled them with cheare and hope, 10. which yet proued but Clouds: and therefore howsoeue the mitigious tempest was for a time filled, yet on the second of October that storme rauid with such force, that hee hauing prolonged as farre as hee might, with likelier signes dayly of Land, at last hee indentured with them for three dayes. This they promised to trie, but not one houre longer, saying, all were *Lyes* which hee had promised. The first of these dayes hee perceived by the Sunne-set, that Land was neere, and commanded, that they should abate their Sayles in the Night; in which Night hee lpyed Light.

Two houres after Midnight, *Rodrigo de Triana* descryed Land on the eleuenth of October, 1492, which when it was day, they saw to be an Iland of fifteene leagues compass, plaine and woodie, with a great Poole of fresh Water, the naked people wondering on the shore, thinking their Shippes were liuing Creatures. They went on Land, and termed it *San Salvador*, by the Inhabitants called *Guanahani*, one of the Iles *Lucayos*, nine hundred and fiftie leagues from the Canaries, and having laid a *Te Deum* on his knees, with teares in his eyes, *Columbo* tooke possession in name of the Catholike Kings, *Fernand* and *Isabella*, in presence of *Rodrigo de Escotillon*, Notarie; the Spaniards also acknowledging him for Vice-Roy. The people wondered to see the Beards, Whitenesse, Clothing of the Spaniards, who gave them coloured Caps, Glass-beads, and other Toys. And when they departed, the naked Natives followed, some in Canoes, others swimming after them. They were all naked, their haire bound vp, their stature meale, bodies well formed, colour like those of the Canaries, Olive, painted like blacke, others of other colours, in part, or all over the body, as each best fancied. They knew not the vie of Iron, or Weapons, but layd their hands on the edge of the Sword. They saw no liuing Creatures but Parrots among them: They trucked for Cotton Yarne, and had Rings of Gold in their Nostrils, which they said that it came from the South, where they had a King rich therein. They tooke the Spaniards to be men come from Heauen.

On the fifteenth of October hee went fene leagues thence to another Iland (which hee called *Santa Maria de la Concepcion*) the seuenteenth, to *Fernandina*, where the Women, with their Cotton short Coates, from the Nault to the mid Thigh, couered their nakedness. The fourth Iland hee called *Isabella*, and thereof (as of all the former) tooke solemne possession. He would have not suffer any of his companie to take ought from the Natives in any place. Thence hee passed to Cuba, and went on Land, thinking it to be *Zipango*; and some Indians which hee carried with him, signified, that there was Gold and Pearles. He sent two Spaniards with two Indians to search the Countrey, which found a Towne of fiftie houses of about a thousand persons (for a whole Kindred or Linage dwelt together in one house) where the people killed their hands and feet, thinking them heuently Wights, gave them Bread of a Root, and perfumed them with certaine Herbes burned. They saw store of Cotton growing of it selfe, and strange kind of Birds and Trees. The Spaniards had most mind to the Gold which they saw in their Noies, of which they questioned these Indians, who answered *Cubacan*, that is in the midde of Cuba, which the Spaniards vnderstood of the Can of Cathay, mentioned by *Marco Polo*. In hope of singular successe, *Martin Alonso Pinçon* left the Admirall, who also left Cuba, which hee called *Iuana*, in honour of the Prince of Castile, to seeke that Iland which hee named *Hipaniola*, before *Hgti*. For hauing demanded of *Zipango* in Cuba, the Indians thinking hee had meant *Cibao*, which is one of the richest Mines of *Hipaniola*, directed him thither. Here going a Woman which they tooke, Meat, Drink, and Clothes, hee sent with her his Interpreter, which reported much good of the Spaniards, whence grew much acquaintance betwixt them, and after, with their King *Guanacagari*, which entreated *Columbo* to come aland. Here hee lost his principall Ship, and erected a Fort called the *Natiuitie*, and vnderstood of the Golden Prouinces of this Iland: and hauing good remembrance of him, leaving eight and thirtie alio, in exchange for Trifles, with some Indians taken with him, leaving eight and thirtie Spaniards in his new Fort, after reconciliation with *Pinçon* (the Indians, which carried the Admirals Letter to him, attributed their mutual vnderstanding to some Deitie therein) hee prepared for his returne.

Before this, hee charged them to behaue themselves with all due respects to *Guanacagari*, and to his Indians, without wrong to any; and on Friday, the fourth of Ianuary, in the yeere 1493 (after their account) sayled from the Port of *Natiuitie*. Hee saw three Mermaids leaping a good height out of the Sea, Creatures (as hee affirmed) not so faire as they are painted, somewhat resembling

Pod. de Triana
first saw Land.

Guanahani, or
San Salvador.

A Conoz is a
Box made of
one ror, which
they wrough
into that forme
with three
bones, & helpe
of fire: some
caried but one,
& some about
40. or 50. men
in them.

S. Maria de la
Concepcion.
Fernandina.
Isabella.
Cuba.

A Fort

Three Mer-
maids.

resembling Men in the face, of which at other times he said he had scene on the Coast of Guinea. In his returne, he discouered a great part of the Coast of Hispaniola, and gaue Names to Capes and Harbours. In this Voyage, *Colombo* is said first to haue taught the Spaniards, in their laying, to obseure the Sunne and Pole in their Navigations, which they before knew not. Obseuring by his skill in Astronomie, that the Moone being in coniunction with *Mercury*, and opposition with *Jupiter*, and the Sunne also in like opposition, to produce great Windes, hee made some stay, and had new commerce with other Indians, where accidentally happened the first quarrell and skirmish betwixt the Spaniards and Natives. But soone after this, King sent them his Crowne of Gold and much Wealth, and gaue them further intelligence. From this Gulf of *las Flechas*, or of Arrows, on Wednesday the fourteenth of Ianuarie, hee departed, and made homewards: in which it is obseured, that as in their way to the Indies, hauing the Wind large, they reckoned farre fewer leagues then they sayled, so in their returne they accounted more, the Admirals reckoning being a hundred and fiftie lesse then theirs.

Pilgrimages
vowed.

A tedious Tempest befell them in Februarie: wherein other remedies seeming to faile, they vowed Pilgrimages to our Lady by Lot; the first fell on the Admirall himselfe, to Guadalupe, the second to Loretto, on *Pedro de Vilá*; and a third Vow was common to all, that they should at the first Church of our Lady they came to, make Procession in their shirts, with other like deuoted Deuotions.

Pf. 107. 14. 15.
16. 17. 18. 19.
20. 21.

How vnlike was this to that of the Psalmist, in like stormes happening to them that see the Wonders of the Lord in the Deepe. For the Lord commandeth and rayseth the stormie Wind, which lifteth up the Waves thereof. They mount up to the Heauen, they goe downe againe to the Depths, their Soule is melted because of trouble. They reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wits end. Then they cry vnto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distress. He maketh the Storme a Calme, so that the Waves thereof are still. Then are they glad, because they he quiet. So he bringeth them vnto their desired Haven. O that men would praise the Lord (not goe on Pilgrimage to our Lady) for his goodness and for his wonderfull workes to the children of men, &c.

Providence,
left the Voyage
should mis-
carry.

The Psalmist in like case is to distrust: Mariners a better Admirall then *Colombo*, whose deuotion herein sayled in the Obiect. Yet his diligence and wisdom in this is to be commended, that fearing shipwracke, left this famous Discouerie might also be lost, he writ the whole Discouerie in Parchment, and folding it in a Seare-cloth, he put it in a Barrell or Hogs-head, which he threw into the Sea.

Bar. Dec. 1. 13.
6. 11.

But on the fifteenth of Februarie they saw Land, being *S. Maries* Iland, one of the Azores; where going on shore to fulfill their vowed Pilgrimage, the Gouvernour came vpon them, and after many words told them, that hee had order from the King of Portugall to take them. But making an escape, another Stormeooke them, and cauled another Pilgrimage to be vowed to our Lady of Cinta, the Lot falling on the Admirall: And thus was he forced to Lisbon; where after much contending with the Portugals, the King sent for him, being now much grieved for omitting such an opportunity; yet vfed him kindly, although there were that offered to kill *Colombo*, before hee should carry newes of this Discouerie to Spaine; the rather, for his boldnesse, obiecting to the King his neglect. But the gentle King reproved these cruell Gentlemen, and after kind vbiage, licenced him to depart.

Enuy.

True it is, that the Portugall Nation haue in their Bookes and Writings sought to obseure this Exploit of *Colombo*, attributing it rather to a Dreame of Zipango out of *Marco Polo*, and his confident glorious nature, seconded by successe vnlooked for (for which as idle imaginations, their King had refused his offer) then any such excellencie as the Castilian Writers ascribe to him. But Enuy is the darke shadow, that alwayes followes him at the heeles, which walks in the bright Sunne-light of Vertue and high Attempts. Euen the Spaniards themselves, not only by the tale of the Pilot before mentioned, but by light esteeme of his worth haue shewed a contemptible contempt of him: some of whom obiecting to himselfe the easinesse of this Discouerie, as hee fate at Table, he prayed to make an Egge, which then he gaue them, to stand on end; which when they could not, hee bruising the shell, and making the end flat, made it to stand thereon: thereby insinuating, how easie it was for them to doe that which they had scene and learned of him.

Yea, the *Pangonis*, his chiefe Associates, by like spirit of proud Enuy, maligned him; one of which had, after the Ilands discouered, forsaken him, as yee haue heard: which hee was forced to dissemble, and be reconciled, the most of his companye being of kinne to the *Pangonis*, or at least inhabitants of Palos with them. They also entered into with *Colombo*, and arrogated to their owne valour this Discouerie, which *Colombo* was fuit (after to many dayes not finding Land) haue forsaken, but was proceeded in by their resolution. And in this first Voyage 1499, *Rodrigo Ximenes* rayled a Rebellion in thole parts, and effected, that *Donadilla* was sent Gouvernour into Hispaniola, who sent the Admirall, with his Brother, Prisoners all the way, of his long Discouerie into Spaine, for which hee had aduentured. These Iron Chaynes could cold Enuy, for so much Gold, for such a World, render vnto that Worthy of Men. But the Catholike Kings

of higher Spirits (for Enuy, the first tyme we read of in the Decall, and which made him a Decall, as *Terribilis* and *Cyprian* in their Trafficks of Patience haue obseured, the first also in the first booke. Men which made him an incarnate Dull and Murthrer, is but the sink, and kerdled of Babel, which wanting proper worth, malignes it to others) their much honoured *Colombo*, as well they might, and confirmed his Principles an-w, bodies many speciall graces done him; as did also the Cardinall of Spaine, and still is done by their ingenious Writers, *Ouedo*, *Heruiz*, and others.

This Story at large I haue set downe, that Discouersers may by this example learne to digest greater Stormes at home, then the boyfettered Elements in their tempestuous Conspiracie yeele them; and to know, that Paullanimie and Impatience are the vnfitte Attorneys in the World. The Spaniards other Discouersers in the American parts (for to were they called of *Americus Vesputius*, a Fl. renture, who accompanied *Colombo* in his first Voyage, and after discouered a great part of the Continent then the Admirall had, as *Cabota* in that did more then they both) list not to pursue: easie it is to know, that Gold barded for Glasse, beads, and Noodles, and other Toys, would be firengly adue, and strangely attritione to new Discouersers. *Dimidum facti qui bene cepit habere*. *Cortes* his Conquest of Mexica, and *Pizarro* his Peru were not comparable to their Masters Master-Peace, who found the New World, to find them worke. Before *Colombo* went his second Voyage, he left a Card, containing the description of the whole Navigation and Discouerie, in Spaine with the Kings, and his seruies, Pagesto the Prince.

¶ V. I.

Of the Popes Bull made to Castile, touching the New World.

THE Catholike Kings, presuntly after that first Discouerie, gaue accompt thereof to the Pope, which then was *Alexander* the sixth (before named *Borgia*, a Spaniard of Valentia) by his Embassadour, and desired his fauour for the Crowne of Castile and Lions, in the Grant of thole New Discoueries, made or to be made: For long since had the Pope challenged Christs right ouer the Christian World. *Adrian* the fourth, in his Letters of Irland to King *Henry* the second affirmed, That all Ilands vnder the Sunne, of righte soueraine belong to Papall disposition. This second *Alexander*, in Gods right, claimes all the World: & in ordie ad Deum, for the contrarie, (if truth) to the Faith, the temporall Estates of the whole World are by his Pontifices vially put vnder that triple Diadem. So they thought, or so would seeme to thinke, in regard of Papall Grants before to the Crowne of Portugall (whence was like to arise some grievance and impediment to their Affaires, as pretending a Monopoly, by former Dispensation in Indian Discoueries) and therefore sought this fauour of that Monster of Men, then sitting in that Chayre. This Bull, because it is not common, I haue here transcribed.

EXEMPLAR BVLLÆ SEV DONATIONIS, AUTORITATE cuius, Episcopus Romanus ALEXANDER eius nominis sextus, concessit & donauit Castellæ Regi- bus & suis Successoribus, Regionis & Insulæ Noui Orbis.

ALEXANDER Episcopus, seruus seruorum Dei, Charissimo in Christo filio FERDINANDO Regi, & Charissimo in Christo filio ELIZABETH Regine Castellæ, Legionis, Arragonum, Siciliæ, & Granatæ, illustrissimis, Iulacum & Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Inter cetera Diuine Atacitatis beneplacita opera & cordis nostri desiderabilia, illud prefato possimum existit, ut fides Catholica & Christiana Religio nostris præsertim temporibus exaltetur ac subleuetur amplius ac dilatetur, animarumq; salus procuretur, ac barbaræ Nationes deprimantur & ad fidem ipsam redeantur. Vnde cum ad hanc facram PERI Sedem Diuine fauente clementia (meritis licet imparibus) euocati fuimus, cognoscentes nos tanquam veros Catholicos Reges & Principes: quales semper fuisse nouimus, & à vobis præclare gesta, totius pene Orbi notissima demonstrant, nedum id exoptare, sed omni conatu, studio, & diligentia, nullis laboribus, nullis impensis, nullisque parcendo periculis, etiam proprium sanguinem effundendo efficere, ac omnem

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tates ab ipso
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brado, Duko in
ian tan. 1577
Dua exarar?
oia hanc
Iulacit, tan
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dicit si non di-
lucit.
Tet. de patie.
tie.
cyp. de hanc pat.
Duchas tena-
nem ad inaci-
nem Dei fallat
im atteret in-
legit & 17. et
fritus & 17.
dicit.

Non nullus
habet Laps. de
Gen. 17. 15. 16.
gen. 17. 15. 16.
Gen. 17. 15. 16.

animum vestrum, omnesque conatus ad hoc iam dudum dedicasse, quemadmodum recuperatio Regni Granate & Tyrannie Saracenorum hodiernis temporibus per vos, cum tanta Divini nominis gloria facta, testatur. Digne ducimur non immerito, & debemus illa vobis etiam sponte, ac favorabiliter concedere per que huiusmodi sanctum ac laudabile ab immortalis Deo acceptum propositum, inde ferventiori animo ad ipsius Dei honorem & Imperij Christiani propagationem, prossequi valeatis. Sane acceptimus quod vos qui dudum animum proposituati aliquas Insulas & Terras firmas remotas & incognitas, ac per alias hactenus non reperiatis, querere & invenire, ut illarum incolae & habitatores ad colendum redemptorem nostrum & fidem Catholicam proficiendum reduceretis, huiusmodi sanctum & laudabile propositum vestrum ad optatum finem perducere nequissimum. Sed tandem, sicut Domino placuit, Regno predicto recuperato, volentes desiderium vestrum adimplere, dilectum filium CHRISTOPHORVM COLONVM, virum vitique dignum, & plurimum commendatum, ac tanto negotio aptum, cum Navignis & hominibus ad similia instructis, non sine maximis laboribus, ac periculis, & expensis destinasistis ut Terras firmas & Insulas remotas & incognitas, huiusmodi per Mareve hactenus Navigatum non fuerat, diligenter inquireret. Qui tandem (Divino auxilio facta extrema diligentia in Mari Oceano Navigantis) certas Insulas remotissimas, & etiam Terras firmas, que per alias hactenus reperiata non fuerant, invenierunt. In quibus plurime gentes pacifice viventes, & (ut asseritur) nudi incedentes, nec carnis vescentes, inhabitant : Et ut prefati Nuncij vestri possunt opinari, gentes ipse in Insulis, & terris predictis habitantes, credunt unum Deum Creatorem in Caelis esse, ac ad fidem Catholicam amplectendum & bonis moribus imbuendum, satis apti videntur : Spemque habetur, quod si erudirentur, nomen saluatoris Domini nostri Iesu Christi in Terris & Insulis predictis facile induceretur. Ac prefatus CHRISTOPHORVS in una ex principalibus Insulis predictis, iam unam turrim satis munitam, in qua certos Christianos qui secum erant in custodiam, & ut alias Insulas ac Terras firmas remotas & incognitas inquirerent posuit, consruere & edificari fecit. In quibus quidem Insulis & terris iam reperiatis, Aurum, Aromata, & alia quam plurima res pretiosae diversi generis & diversae qualitatis reperiuntur. Unde omnibus diligenter, & praesertim fidei Catholica exaltatione & dilatione (prout decet Catholicos Reges & Principes) consideratis, more progenitorum vestrorum clara memoria Regum, Terras firmas & Insulas predictas, illarumque incolae & habitatores, vobis Divina fauente clementia subicere, & ad fidem Catholicam reducere proposuistis. Nos itaque huiusmodi vestrum sanctum & laudabile propositum plurimum in Domino commendantes, ac cupientes ut illud ad debitum finem perducatur, & ipsum nomen saluatoris nostri in partibus illis inducatur, hortamur vos quamplurimum in Domino, & per sacri lanacri susceptionem, qua mandatis Apostolicis obligati estis, ut per viscera misericordiae Domini nostri Iesu Christi attente requiramus, ut cum expeditionem huiusmodi omnino prossequi & assequere prona mente Orthodoxae fidei zelo intendatis, populos in huiusmodi Insulis & Terris degentes, ad Christianam Religionem suscipiendum inducere velitis & debeatis, nec pericula nec labores ulla unquam tempore vos deterreant, firma spe fiduciaque conceptis, quod Deus omnipotens conatus vestros feliciter prosequatur. Et ut tanti Negotij Provinciam Apostolicam gratia largitate donati, liberius & audacius assumatis, moim proprio non ad vestram vel aliorum, pro vobis super hoc nobis oblata petitionis instantiam, sed de nostra mera liberalitate, & ex certa scientia, ac de Apostolica potestatis plenitudine, omnes Insulas & Terras firmas inventas & invenientias, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo unam lineam a Polo Artico, scilicet Septentrione, ad Polum Antarticum, siue Terra firma, siue Insula inuenta, & invenienda sint, versus Indiam, aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, que linea distet a qualibet Insularum, que vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem & Meridiem. Itaque omnes Insulae & Terra firmae reperiata & reperienda, detectae & detegende a praefata linea versus Occidentem & Meridiem, que per alium Regem aut Principem Christianum non fuerint actualiter possessa usque ad diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi proxime prateritum, a quo incipit Annus praesens Millestesimus quadringentesimus nonagesimus tertius, quando fuerint

fuerint per Nuncios & Capitanos vestros inuenta aliqua predictarum Insularum, Auctoritate Omnipotentis Dei nobis in beato PETERO concessa, ac Vicariis Iesu Christi, que fungimur in Terris, cum omnibus illarum Dominis, Civitatibus, Castris, Locis, & Villis, iuribusque & iurisdictionibus ac pertinentiis uniuersis vobis, haereditisque, & successoribus vestris (Castella & Legionis Regibus) in perpetuum tenore praesentium donamus, concedimus, & assignamus : Vosque, & heredes, ac successores praefatos illarum Dominos, cum plena, libera, & omnimoda potestate, auctoritate, & iurisdictione, facimus, constituimus, & deputamus. Dececentes nibilo minus, per huiusmodi donationem, concessionem, & assignationem nostram, nulli Christiani Principi, qui actualiter praefatas Insulas & Terras firmas possiderit usque ad praedictum diem Nativitatis Domini nostri Iesu Christi ius questum, sublatum intelligi posse, aut auferri debere.

Et insuper mandamus vobis in virtute sanctae obedientiae (ut sicut pollicemini & non dubitamus pro vestra maxima deuotione & Regia magnanimitate vos esse facturos) ad Terras firmas & Insulas predictas, viros probos & Deum timentes, doctos, peritos, & expertos ad instruendum incolae & habitatores praefatos in fide Catholica, & bonis moribus imbuendum, destinare debeatis, omnem debitam diligentiam in praemissis adhibentibus. Ac quibuscunque personis, cuiuscunque dignitatis, etiam Imperialis & Regalis status, gradus, ordinis vel conditionis, sub excommunicationis latae sententiae poena quam eo ipso, si contra fecerint incurrant, districtius inhibemus ne ad Insulas & Terras firmas inventas & invenientias, detectas & detegendas versus Occidentem & Meridiem, fabricando & construendo lineam a Polo Artico ad Polum Antarticum, siue Terra firma, & Insula inuenta & invenienda sint versus Indiam aut versus aliam quamcumque partem, que linea distet a qualibet Insularum, que vulgariter nuncupantur de los Azores, & Cabo Verde centum leucis versus Occidentem & Meridiem ut praefatur, pro mercibus habendis, vel quavis alia causa accedere praefatas, absque vestra ac haeredit & successorum vestrorum praedictorum licentia speciali : Non obstantibus constitutionibus & ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque quibuscunque in illo quo Imperia & Dominationes & bona cuncta procedunt, Confidentes quod dirigente Domino actus vestros, si huiusmodi sanctum ac laudabile propositum prosequamini, breui tempore cum felicitate & gloria totius populi Christiani, vestri labores & conatus exitum felicissimum consequentur. Verum quia difficile foret praesentes literas ad singula quaque loca in quibus expediendi fuerit deferri, volumus ac motu & scientia simulibz decernimus, quod illarum transumptis manu publici Notarii inde rogati subscriptis, & sigillo alicuius personae in Ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae, seu Curiae Ecclesiasticae munitis, ac prorsus fides in iudicio & extra, ac alias ubilibet adhibeatur, quo praesentibus adhiberetur si essent adhibita vel essent.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc Paginam nostrae commendationis, hortationis, requisitionis, donationis, concessionis, constitutionis, deputations, decreti, mandati, inhibitionis, & voluntatis, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare presumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum PETRI & PAULI Apostolorum eius, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum PETRVM, Anno Incarnationis Dominicae 1493. quarto nonas Maij, Pontificatus nostri, anno primo.

THE SAME ENGLISHED.

ALEXANDER Bishop, the Seruant of the Seruants of God, to our most deare beloved Sonne in CHRIST, King Ferdinand, and to our deare beloved Daughter in CHRIST, Elizabeth, Queene of Castile, Legion, Aragon, Sicillie, and Granata, most Noble Princes, greeting, and Apostolical Benediction.

Among other Workes acceptable to the Diuine Maiestie, and according to our hearts desire, this certainly is the chiefe, that the Catholike Faith and Christian Religion,

This was Englished and published by A. Edw. 1577

igion, specially in this our time, may in all places be exalted, amplified, and enlarged, whereby the health of Soules may be procured, and the barbarous Nations subdued and brought to the Faith. And therefore, whereas by the fauour of Gods Clemencie (although not without equall deserts) we are called to this holy Seat of PETER, and vnderstanding you to be true Catholike Princes, as wee haue euer knowne you, and as your noble and worthy Facts haue declared in manner to the whole World, in that with all your studie, diligence, and industry, you haue spared no Trauailes, Charges, or Perils, aduenturing euen the hedding of your owne Blood, with applying your whole Mindes and Endeauours hereunto, as your Noble Expeditions achieved in recouering the Kingdome of Granata from the Tyrannie of the Saracens in these our dayes, doe plainly declare your Facts, with so great Glory of the Diuine Name. For the which, as wee thinke you worthy, so ought wee of our owne free will fauourably to graunt you all things, whereby you may daily, with more feruent mindes, to the honour of God, and enlarging the Christian Empire, prosecute your deuout and laudable Purpose, most acceptable to the Immortall God. Wee are credibly informed, that whereas of late you were determined to seeke and finde certaine Ilands and firme Lands, farre remote and vnknowne (and not heretofore found by any other) to the intent to bring the Inhabitants of the same to honour our Redemer, and to professe the Catholike Faith, you haue hitherto bene much occupied in the expugnation and recouerie of the Kingdome of Granata, by reason whereof you could not bring your said laudable Purpose to the end desired. Neuerthelesse, as it hath pleased Almighty God, the foresaid Kingdome being recouered, willing to accomplish your said Desire, you haue, not without great Labour, Perils, and Charges, appointed our welbeloued Sonne *Christopher Colonus* (a man certes well commended, as most worthy and apt for so great a Matter) well furnished with Men and Ships, and other Necessaries, to seeke (by the Sea, where hitherto no man hath sayled) such firme Lands and Ilands farre remote, and hitherto vnknowne, who (by Gods helpe) making diligent search in the Ocean Sea, haue found certaine remote Ilands and firme Lands, which were not heretofore found by any other: in the which (as is said) many Nations inhabit, liuing peaceably, and going naked, not accustomed to eate Fleish; and as farre as your Messengers can coniecture, the Nations inhabiting the foresaid Lands and Ilands, beleue that there is one God, Creator in Heauen, and seeme apt to bee brought to the imbracing of the Catholike Faith, and to be ended with good Manners: by reason whereof, wee may hope, that if they be well instructed, they may easily be induced to receiue the Name of our Saviour *IESVS CHRIST*. Wee are further aduertised, that the fore-named *Christopher* hath now builded and erected a Fortesse, with good Munition, in one of the foresaid principall Ilands, in the which he hath placed a Garrison of certaine of the Christian men that went thither with him, as well to the intent to defend the same, as also to search other Ilands and firme Lands farre remote, and yet vnknowne. Wee also vnderstand, that in these Lands and Ilands lately found, is great plentie of Gold and Spices, with diuers and many other precious things, of sundry kinds and qualities. Therefore all things diligently considered (especially the amplifying and enlarging of the Catholike Faith, as it becometh Catholike Princes, following the examples of your Noble Progenitors, of famous Memorie) you haue determined, by the fauour of Almighty God, to subiect vnto you the firme Lands and Ilands aforesaid, and the Dwellers and Inhabitants thereof, and to bring them to the Catholike Faith.

Wee greatly commending this your godly and laudable purpose in our Lord, and desirous to haue the same brought to a due end, and the Name of our Saviour to be knowne in those parts, doe exhort you in our Lord, and by the receiuing of your holy Baptisme, whereby you are bound to Apostolical Obedience, and earnestly require you by the Bowels of Mercie of our Lord *IESVS CHRIST*, that when you intend, for the zeale of the Catholike Faith, to prosecute the said Expedition, to reduce the People of the foresaid Lands and Ilands to the Christian Religion, you shall spare no Labours at any time, or be deterred with any Perils, con-

cerning

ceiuing firme hope and confidence, that the Omnipotent God will giue good successe to your godly Attempts. And that being authorized by the Priuiledge of the Apostolical Grace, you may the more freely and boldly take vpon you the Enterprise of so great a Matter, wee of our owne motion, and not cyther at your request, or at the instant petition of any other person, but of our owne meere liberallie, and by the fulnesse of Apostolical power, doe giue, grant, and assigne to you, your heires and successors, all the firme Lands and Ilands found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Arctike to the Pole Antartike (that is) from the North to the South: Contayning in this Donation, whatsoever firme Lands or Ilands are found, or to be found toward India, or toward any other part whither soeuer it be, being distant from, or without the foresaid Line, drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, and South, from any of the Ilands which are commonly called *De los Azores* and *Capo Verde*. All the Ilands therefore, and firme Lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, from the said Line toward the West and South, such as haue not actually bene heretofore possessed by any other Christian King or Prince, vntill the day of the Natiuite of our Lord *IESVS CHRIST* last past, from the which beginneth this present yeere, being the yeere of our Lord a thousand foure hundred ninetie three, when soeuer any such shall bee found by your Messengers and Captaines, wee by the Authoritie of Almighty God, granted vnto vs in Saint PETER, and by the Vicarship of *IESVS CHRIST*, which wee beare on the Earth, doe for euer, by the tenour of these presents, giue, grant, assigne, vnto you, your heires and successors (the Kings of Castile and Legion) all those Lands and Ilands, with their Dominions, Territories, Cities, Castles, Towers, Places, and Villages, with all the Rights and Iurisdiccions thereunto pertaining; constituting, assigning, and deputing you, your heires and successors, the Lords thereof, with full and free Power, Authoritie, and Iurisdiction: Decreeing neuerthelesse by this our Donation, Grant, and Assignation, that from no Christian Prince, which actually hath possessed the foresaid Lands and firme Lands, vnto the day of the Natiuite of our Lord before said, their Right obtained, to be vnderstood hereby to be taken away, or that it ought to be taken away. Furthermore, wee command you in the vertue of holy Obedience (as you haue promised, and as wee doubt not you will doe, vpon meere Deuotion and Princely Magnimie) to fend to the said firme Lands and Ilands, honest, veruous, and learned men, such as feare God, and are able to instruct the Inhabitants in the Catholike Faith and good Manners, applying all their possible diligence in the premises. Wee furthermore straitly inhibit all manner of persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soeuer they be, although of Imperiall and Regall Dignitie, vnder the paine of the Sentence of Excommunication, which they shall incurre, if they doe to the contrary. That they in no case presume, without speciall Licence of you, your heires, and successors, to trauaile for Marchandizes, or for any other cause, to the said Lands or Ilands, found or to be found, discovered or to be discovered, toward the West and South, drawing a Line from the Pole Arctike to the Pole Antartike, whether the firme Lands and Ilands, found and to be found, be situate toward India, or toward any other part, being distant from the Line drawne a hundred Leagues toward the West, from any of the Ilands commonly called *De los Azores* and *Capo Verde*: Notwithstanding Constitutions, Decrees, and Apostolical Ordinances whatsoever they are to the contrary. In him from whom Empires, Dominions, and all good things doe procede: Trusting, that Almighty God, directing your Enterprises, if you follow your godly and laudable Attempts, your Labours and Trauailes herein, shall in short time obtaine a happie end, with felicitie and glorie of all Christian People. But forasmuch as it should be a thing of great difficultie, these Letters to be carried to all such places as should be expedient; wee will, and of like motion and knowledge doe decree, That whither soeuer the same shall be sent, or where soeuer they shall be receiued, with the subscription of a common Notarie thereunto required, with the Seale of any person constitute

with great labour and much trouble we got vnder the land, late in the Evening, and draue along by the Coast with faire weather: that night we saw many fires vpon the land.

Sept.

The eighteenth it was still weather, and we craue along by the Land: about noone two *Canoes* came to vs with a flag of Peace, from the Village called *Soppy*; they were *Tarnatians*, with whom we could speake well, and some of them were of *Gummacanor*: they shewed vs, that a Pin-nace of *Amsterdam* had bene there three months to lade Rice, and that about a moneth or two before, also an English ship had bene there. How glad we were then when we were so well assured, that wee were come to so good and long desired a place, after so much paine and trouble that we had endured, with egrotic men found men, when we had spent all our victuals, every man may iudge that hath proued the like aduerture. There we were vnder two degrees, fortye leuen minutes, and anchored at eight and twentie fathome: some of those men stayed that night with vs, the next day to bring vs to the Road of *Soppy*.

The nineteenth we layed into the Bay, and there anchored at ten fathome sandie ground, about a Canon shot from the shore. That day we bartered for some Sagow, some Hennes, two or three Turkeys, and a little Rice.

September,

The twentieth of September we had a good gale, and did our best to get to *Tarnata*: that morning betwixt we saw a layle to lookeward from vs, which also made towards *Tarnata*, being the *Morring Starre* of *Rotterdam*, of three hundred Tunnes burthen, hauing in her fixe and twentie great Peeces. At noone our Shalop came from that ship, where she had lyeen three nights, they being in the Creeke of *Sabon*, found there the Admirall *Verhaegen* there, in one of the Admirall *Speilbergh* his ships, by whose men we vnderstood of *Speilbergh* his Acts and Voyage.

They also told vs, that there were ten ships well furnished at the *Manilla*, their Generall being *Iohn Drinckson Lam* of *Horne*, to set vpon the Spanish fleet, that were coming to *Tarnata*. We also vnderstood, that *Peter Bot* layling home with foure ships, was cast away, vpon *Mauricius* Island, with three ships, by means of a storme that cast him vpon the Cliffe, where many of his men and himselfe also was drowned, the fourth ship scapt.

October,

The three and twentieth of October we set layle, and the eight and twentie went by *Iacatra*, where we anchored without the land: there we found three ships of *Holland*; the *Horne*, the *Eagle*, and the *Trom*, and three English ships. The next night one of our men dyed, which was the first man that dyed that voyage, in the *Zeigie*, besides two more that dyed in the *Horne*: the one *Iohn Cornelison Schouten*, our Masters brother, in the South Sea, by the *Dogs Island*, and one about the Coast of *Portugall*: so that vntill then, there dyed but three men in both the ships, and then we had left eighte foure men liuing, all indifferently well.

The one and thirtieth, the ship called *Baniam*, with *Iohn Peterfon Koenen* of *Horne*, President of *Baniam*, for the East India Company, came before *Iacatra*.

The first of Nouember, the President *Iohn Peterfon Koenen* sent for *William Cornelison Schouten* our Master, and the Merchants, to come on land, where being come (in the presence of his Council there assembled) he told them in the name of the East India Company, that they must leaue their ship and goods there, and deliuer it vp into his hands: and although our Master shewed him many reasons, to perswade the contrary, saying, that they did them great wrong, they were forced to doe as the President appointed them, who told them, that if they thought they did them wrong, that they should right themselves in *Holland*: and so our ship and goods was stayed and attached there. To receiue the ship and all her furniture, the President appointed two Masters of ships, and two Merchants, which was deliuered by Inventory vnto them, by our Master & the Merchant. This was done vpon Munday the first day of Nouember, after our reckoning; but vpon a Tuesday the second of Nouember, by our Countreymen reckoning there. The reason of the difference of the time fell out thus: as we layed Weltward from our owne Countreay, and had with the Sunne compassed the Globe of the World, we had one night, or Sun-setting, less than they: and thcy that came out of the Westland layle to the East, thereby had one day or Sun-setting more than wee, which make a quarter difference, and so as we made our reckoning of the time then with our Idles, and did the like with our Countreymen, that weeke wee lost the Tuesday leaping from Munday to Wednesday, and so had one weeke of six dayes.

A day difference in computation of time, now caused.

Our ship being in this manner taken from vs, some of our men put themselves into seruice with the East India Company. The rest were put into two ships, (that were to goe home into *Holland*) called the *Amsterdam*, and the *Zeland*: their Generall, being *George van Speilberghen*. The Master *William Cornelison Schouten*, *Iacob le Maire*, and ten of our men, went with the Generall in the *Amsterdam*, the Masters name *Iohn Cornelison May*, alias *Moufcheater*: and *Aris Claufon*, and the Pilot *Claue Peterfon*, with ten others, in the *Zeland*, the Masters name *Cornelis Reimlaende* of *Wildeberghe*, which set layle from *Baniam* the fourteenth of December.

The two and thirtieth our Merchant *Iacob le Maire* dyed.

The first of January, 1617. we lost the sight of the *Zeland*.

The foure and twentieth, we were vnder the Island *Mauricius* at anchor, where wee refreshed our selves; and the thirtieth set layle from thence.

The

The sixt of March, as we ghost, we past the Cape, but saw it not.

The one and thirtieth, we were vnder the Island of *Saint Helena*. Where we found the *Zeland*, which arrived there certaine dayes before vs.

The sixt of April after we had refreshed our selves, and taken in fresh water, both our ships set layle, and the fourteenth of April saw the Island of *Ascension*.

The three and twentieth we saw two ships to looke-ward from vs vnder one degree Southward of the Line, but because we could not reach them, wee held on our course. The foure and twentieth in the morning, we were the fift time vnder the Equinoctiall Line, and the eight

and twentieth we saw the North-starre, which wee had not seene in twentie months before. The first of Iuly we came with the *Amsterdam* into

Zeland, where the day before the *Zeland* likewise was

arrived: And so performed our Voyage in

two yeares, and eightene

dayes.

FINIS.





NAVIGATIONS AND
VOYAGES OF ENGLISHMEN,
ALONGST THE COASTS OF

AFRICA; to the Cape of GOOD HOPE, and from
thence to the RED SEA, the ARABIAN,
PERSIAN, INDIAN,
Shoares, Continents, and
ISLANDS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first English Voyages to the East-Indies, before the establishment
of the East-Indian Societies.

§. I.

Of SIGHELMVS, MAMDEVILE, STEVENS, FITCH, and diuers other
English-men, their Indian Voyages.



Having now taken Sea-view of the Vniuerse, and incompassed
the whole Circumference of the Globe, in the former sixe
Voyages: the first of Portugalls and Spaniards, the second and
third of English, the three last of Hollanders, therein not a
little furthered by English Pilots, and their Notes, as is before
obserued of *Melis*, *Adams* and others: Wee are in the next
place, to take more exact survey of the world in the principall
Navigations, to the most famous and remote Regions thereof.
Glorious and happy were those sixe Worthies, which pro-
duced themselves true Sonnes of the Sunne and *Tethys*, a farre
more Germane and Genuine issue, then that daring *Phaeton*,
who asked and attempted his Fathers Chariot, but ex-
changed it and himselfe for this miserable Epitaph.

Quem si non cecidit, magnis tamen excidit aufis.

But these haue attained what they fought, and what hee in his Vulcanian Chariot lost, these
in Neptunian Chariots gained, and followed the Sunne round about the world; at once seem-
ing to imitate the heavenly Orbes (as so many Terrestrial Planets) and to rule the Elements,
spurring the Ayre, braving the Ocean, contemning the narrow limits of known Earth, & filling
the world with their Fame. But Others alie, for their Marine adventures are worthy honour,
if not compassing that honour of those First Worthies (worthy to be reputed *First*, and *Wor-*
ships) yet in another kind, attempting as great a designe, of as dangerous hazard, long Perigri-
nation, costly expence, and profitable advantage, as the former. Such were those which haue
passed the blacke Guineans, and doubled the *Hopetull* Promontory, from thence piercing into

The English
Generall,
Drake and *Cum-*
dis, first Com-
passers of the
world, in the
most famous
Magellan ship,
not himselfe
effected more
renowned
than happy
Voyage, whom
the Hollanders
followed, gui-
ded by English
instructions,
and Mariners
not their for-
euners.

*Cape of Good
Hope.*

K k

urnour, to fetch the Plate and goods so manifested, and by their perswasion many false witnesses have deposed, who have vied many tricks, in ventions, caulls & false deuises to couer the truth; and they sent by three passages to the Island of *Visai*, to approue the so killing of the three Englishmen, and that their manifestation was true, intending to remaine with the rest, which they surprised, who vnderstanding that there were diligences done to approue their delict, some of them have broken the Prisons and Goales, and fled out of them, especially the sayd *Don Rodrigo de Fuentes*. Who being in prison with a chaine and bolts, and two Souldiers for guard, hee tyed off his Irons, broke the prisons, and fledde away by night, and carried with him two Blacke-Moores of his that were attached for your Maestie, and went to the Riuer of *Tua* two leagues from the Citie, where hee remained a long time in sight of this Citie, with a Horse, Lance, Pistol and Sword, whom being fauoured of many kinestokes and friends of his wife, I cannot apprehend, although I did many diligences, in the meane while I tooke the examination of his complices who haue confest the deed, and that the said *Don Rodrigo* is Actor of all; by whose counsell and direction they were all gouerned. But they haue not declared all the Stones, Gold, Plate, and Amber, saying that they were in the Island separated and deuised, that the one might hide his things without the pruitie of the other. The prououces and likelihoods doe much charge the said *Don Rodrigo*, and therefore I haue proceeded against him, for Absence and Rebellion, and they discovered in their confessions all their Complices; whom I haue examined for witnesses one against another, being a case wherein Complices may serue for witnesses. This cause being thought an extraordinary diligence, I haue apprehended him, and for that the suite is of two thousand leues, I haue made a memorie to take his confession of more then two hundred questions, and he hath confessed almost as much as his Complices, and denieth to haue the great stone and the rest; the said *Don Rodrigo* hauing taken from *Daniel* the Englishman two chaines of Gold, the one latched with an *Agnus Dei*, and the other with a Crucifixe of Gold, and with it a collar of Gold, which *Thomas* the Englishman declareth to haue fiftie pieces Ameled, to bee worse for a womans chaine, with certaine Bralletes and Rings of Gold with many small Stones; which declareth the said *Iuan Martin*, one of his Complices, and the said *Don Rodrigo* only confesseth two Chaines and three Rings, which hee saith were stolne from him, and his said Complices, hauing declared that three bags of Testones, of eight and foure Royalls which fell to the part of *John Ruiz*, they had paid to this Island, which the said *John Ruiz* hath confest, and as witnesseth hath declared that hee brought them, and carried them by the order of the said *Don Rodrigo* vnto his house, which hee will not deliuer, saying, That they were stolne from him in the mountaine where hee did hide them: and his Complices hauing declared that hee tooke in the said Island, a great masse of broken Silver, which *Thomas* the Englishman declareth to be fiftie pound weight, the said *Don Rodrigo* denieth the same. And hauing taken more two sakes of Plate in barres, which by witnesseth I did proue to weigh more then two hundred pound weight each of them; hee hath deliuered of all this onely tenne pound and a halfe, and saith that hee spent and sold twelue pound, and a pound and a halfe was stolne out of his house, and that hee gaue to *Christopher de Mercado* twentie and six pound, when he went with Commission from your Gouernour to fetch the Plate manifested: he denieth all the rest, affirming that he brought from the Island of *Visai* a Pot full of Plate, which hee saith fell from him into a Riuer. And hauing proued that he carried tokens from *George* the Englishman where he should find the great Stone in a Presse, made vp betwene two Boords, hee denieth the same; and hauing proued that the first time that hee went to the Island, hee brought thence a Purse of Veluet, without telling or shewing to his companions what was in it at the mouth thereof, did appeare certaine Boords of the *Volame* of two hands together, and it is presumed it was that wherewith *Thomas* the Englishman declareth the Stone was put, and hee will not deliuer the said Purse, saying, that it was stolne from him: he declareth and manifesteth some little pieces of wood that he brought in it, and two witnesses his Complices declare that those little pieces that hee manifested hee brought out of the same Island many dayes after, being sent thither by order of the said *Christopher de Mercado*. Many other tokens and presumptions conuince that hee hath the said Stone and the rest, and the rest of the Stones. It is likewise proued, presently after they returned from the said Island, the first time that they passed thither, it was publicly said and famed, that the said *Don Rodrigo* had found a Stone of great value, and to couer the truth hee was furnished with many Informations, which I haue proued to bee false, which were paid before *Christopher de Mercado*, when hee went with the said Commission to bring the goods manifested: for the which the said *Don Rodrigo* gaue him the said twentie six pound of Plate, and hee and his Complices one hundred two and twentie Crownes of Gold, an foure hundred and fiftie Royalls of Foure, and other things of the goods that they vrsued in the said Island. The said *Don Rodrigo* directed his Complices what they should say and do, and therefore they told not the truth in many examinations that I tooke of them, till such time that the said *Don Rodrigo* was fled out of the prison: so saying of his counsell, they presently declared and confessed the fact, will serue for witnesses, and it doth appeare by many other witnesses that they before denied the truth, and after his death they declared the same, and concealed the same before

before at the request and perswasion of the said *Don Rodrigo* also appeareth, that hee sent three small Camels to the Island, to the place where they said they had killed three Englishmen in fight, and hee confesseth hee did the same, to the end that his first Declaration might seeme to bee true, that hee sent them by order of the said *John Lopez de Ayceda*, Constable of the vale of *Coa*, who, which hath no Iurisdiction, Ciuill nor Criminall. So I apprehended him and committed him, and hauing brought the said *Thomas* Englishman, to this Citie who declaring before your Gouernour by Interpreter the fact of this Sute, the said *Don Rodrigo* procured to kill him, and for the same he requested of the Licentiate *Antonio de Robles* Physician, a proportion of Poyson, which both he and the said *John Martin* have declared: and appeareth that the said *John Lopez* did not passe to the said Island as Constable, nor carryed with him any Scriuener of two that were present when they imbarked themselves, and hauing confest, and as a witnesseth declared that hee passed to the Island, not as an Officer, but as a companion, and therefore tooke his share of the Testones, the said *Don Rodrigo* holdeth for his principall defence, to haue passed to the Island with a Constable, and that all was done by his order, and that the said Informations were false. I haue charged the said *Don Rodrigo*, of these and other offences, that by the Processes appeare, and commanded that hee might haue a Copie of them that with in the space of fiftene dayes, hee might allege and proue what was conuenient in his right, with all charge of publication, conclusion and litation for all the acts and sentences, leaving the Processes in Rebellion made against him in his force and vigor. He let passe the said Terme, and I granted him other three Termes of fiftene dayes, which likewise hee let passe, and in the end of them hee refused me, and generally all the Inhabitants in this Citie, and thirtie leagues about it, excepting only fixe friends of his, and your Royall Officers they refused. So I accompanied my selfe only with one Bailiffe for the time of tryall, referring to haue power to accompanie my selfe for the sentence with your Auditor which is looked for here, and commeth to this Port for your Royall Audience of *Santo Domingo*, and I granted him the foure score dayes of the Law, and hee hath made no proce nor can make none. For all that were in the said Island of *Visai* haue declared the delicts of the which the said *Don Rodrigo* is charged, and there will bee found no other by whom to make prooue of any thing to the contrary: and the cause being concluded, the said Audites paid without entering into this Port. And the said Bailiffe and other persons that I pretended to accompanie me refused me, saying, that if they did luttice, the Kindred of the Wife of the said *Don Rodrigo*, which haue taken his part would doe them harme, and in not doing the same, they did charge their consciences: and notwithstanding any person with whom I might be accompanied, that might not be without suspesse, and the refusal was so generall and auizable, I accompanied my selfe at the last with Bachelier *Joseph D'Arbalede*, Naturall of the Island of the Canaries, which chanced to come to this Port. Likewise the said *Iuan Ruiz* being Prisoner, brake his Prison and Gaule, and withdrew himselfe into the Cathedral Church of this Citie, and made himselfe strong in the Tower from whence I gate him, and a Sute was followed before the Iudge Ecclesiasticall, where I defended your Maiesties right, and made an Information in the which I alleged all the said goods to belong to your Maestie, hee hauing committed Robbery in the vsurpation of it, and other greivous Delicts, that they ought not to enioy the Immunitie Ecclesiasticall which hee pretended: and with many iudgements and opinions of Theologie, the Iudge Ecclesiasticall gaue sentence that hee ought not to be releued of the said Immunitie Ecclesiasticall, for that by the said Information may be better vnderstood. This Sute and luttice of your Maestie, which I haue thought good to send; and if to the contrary the said *Don Rodrigo* doe write, may be vnderstood the credit that may be giuen to one that hath done such Delicts; and made to many Inuentions and false Informations: to obfure and remayne without punishment with your Royall goods.

A conclusion of the Sute was made with them all, and I gaue and pronounced sentence, in the which I condemned the said *Iuan Lopez*, exiled *Iuan Ruiz*, *Iuan Martin*, *Pedro Camacho* to death, and loss of halfe their goods applied for your Maesties Chamber: and more I condemned the afore-said in solidum, and that within five dayes of the notification of this my sentence, they giue and deliuer the goods that they shaled, all that yet remayneth vnderdue to the accomplishment of that which *Thomas* the Englishman hath declared, therefore said, and his companions to haue taken in the Island of *Visai*, of which they afore-said, and Complices were possessor, of, hid and kept secret, that it might be put into your Maesties Chests, whose it is and to whom it doth belong.

The same sentence I gaue with my Companion against the said *Don Rodrigo desuener*, and remaynes pronounced in secret, hauing others to sentence that they may come forth together in the pronuntiation. I command that within the five dayes they deliuer the said goods: which not accomplishing, I did command a Mandate to be dispatched, that they may bee executed: with the which, I hope, to discover these goods, and they shall be restored to your Maestie, for the which I will doe all the diligence possible for my intention is not to execute them. And thus God keep the Catholike person of your Maestie. From *Portorico* the second of October, 1601.

If any of the
Committees
new to be cho-
sen

Freedom for
the Sonnes &
Apprentices
of such, as are
free of the
Company.

The Places of
the Freedom
of this Com-
pany.

That the
Company
may assemble
in any conve-
nient place.

Authority to
make reasona-
ble laws by
the greatest
part of a gene-
ral assembly.

semble themselves in such convenient place, as they shall thinke fit for the election of the Governour of the said Company, or that the said Company, or the greater part of them being then and there present, shall admyt then and there before their departure from the said place elect, and nominate one other of the said Company to be Governor of the said Company in the place or stead of him, that so dyed, or was forewaied, which person being selected, and nominated to the Office of Governour of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office for, and during the residue of the said year, taking first a corporall Oath, as is afore-said, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall so require. And also Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for Vs. Our Heires, and Successors We doe grant unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that when, and as often as it shall happen any of the Committees of the said Company, to my for the time being at any time within one year next after, that they or any of them shall bee nominated, elected, and sworn to the Office of Committees of the said Company, as is afore-said, to dye, or be removed from the said Office, which Committees not demeaning themselves well in their said Office, We will to bee removable at the pleasure of the said Governour, and Company, or the greater part of them, wherof the Governour for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, within convenient time after the death or removing of any of the said Committees, to assemble themselves in such convenient place, as is or shall bee vsual and accustomed for the election of the Governour of the said Company, or whoso else for the Governour of the said Company, for the time being, or his Deputie to be one, being then and there present, shall and may then and there, before their departure from the said place, elect and nominate one, or more of the said Company to be Committees of the said Company in the places and steads, place or stead of him or them; but so dyed, or was removed, which person, or persons so elected, and nominated to the Office, or Office of Committee, or Committees of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said Office and Offices, for, and during the residue of the said year, taking first a Corporall Oath, as is afore-said, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time so often, as the cause shall require. And further, We doe by these presents for Vs. Our Heires, and Successors, will, and grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and their successors, that they, and all that are, or shall be of the said Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, and whoso of them, and all the Sonnes of them, and whoso of them at their severall ages of one and twentie years, or upwards: And further, all such the Apprentices, Factors, or servants of them, and whoso of them, which hereafter shall be employed by the said Governour and Company, in the said Trade of Merchandise, 30 of or to the East-Indies, beyond the seas, or any other the places afore-said, in any part of the said East-Indies, shall and may by the space of fifteene yeeres, from the Feast of the Birth of our Lord God last past, before the date hereof, freely traffique and use the Trade of Merchandise by sea, in, and by such wayes and passages abroad found out, or discovered, or which hereafter shall be found out, and discovered, as they shall esteeme, and take to bee fittest into, and from the East-Indies into the Countreies, and parts of Asia, Africa, and into and from all the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Creeks, Townes and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Speranza, to the straights of Magellan, where any Trade or Traffique of Merchandise may bee used, or had, to, and from euery of them, in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intents, and purposes, as shall bee from time to time at any publique Assembly, or Court held by, or for the said Governour or Company, by or betweene them, of them of the said Company, or Fellowship of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or the more part of them for the time, being present at such Assembly or Court, the Governour, or his Deputie being alwaies present at such Court or Assembly limited, and agreed: And not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance: any statute, usage, custome, religion, or faith, or any other cause, or matter what soever to the contrary notwithstanding: so alwaies that the said Trade bee not undertaken, nor addressed to any Countrey, Island, Port, Haven, Citty, Caste, Towne, or place abroad in the lawfull, and actual possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any time hereafter shall bee in league or amitie with Vs. Our Heires or Successors, and who doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth openly declare and publish the same, to bee contrary against his or their good will and liking. And further, Our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for Vs. Our Heires, and Successors, We doe grant unto the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their successors, that it shall and may bee lawfull, to and for the said Governour, and Company, and their successors from time to time, to assemble themselves for, or about any the matters, causes, affaires, or business of the said Trade, in any place or places for the same convenient, during the said terme of fifteene yeeres within Our Dominions or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company, and the affaires thereof; and that also it shall and may be lawfull, to, and for them, or the more part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present in any such place or places, wherof the Governour, or his Deputie for the time being to be one, to make, ordaine, and constitute such and so many reasonable Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them being then and there present shall seeme necessary, 60 convenient for the good government of the same Company, and of all Factors, Masters, Mariners, and other Officers employed, or to be employed in any of their Voyages, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said Trade, and traffique, and the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances so made, to put in and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to reuoke, or alter the same, or any of them as occasion

from shall require, and that the said Governour, and Company, so often as they shall make, ordaine, or establish any such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances in forme afore-said, shall and may lawfully impose, ordaine, limit, and provide such paines, punishments, penalties, by imprisonment of body, or by fine, or amercement, or by all or any of them upon and against all offenders, contrary to such Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Governour, and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said Governour, or his Deputie being alwaies one, shall seeme necessary, requisite, and convenient for the observation of the same Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, and the same fines, and amercements shall and may lawfully make, take, and have to the use of the said Governour, and Company, and their Successors without the impeachment of Vs. Our Heires, or Successors, or of any the Officers, or Ministers of Vs. Our Heires, or Successors, or without accompt to Vs. Our Heires, or Successors, to bee rendered or made. All and sundry which Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, and Ordinances, so as afore-said to be made, We will to be duly observed, and kept under the paines and penalties therein to bee contained, so alwaies the said Lawes, Constitutions, Orders, Ordinances, Imprisonments, Fines, and Amercements be reasonable, and not contrary or repugnant to the Lawes, Statutes, or Customs of this Our Realme. And for as much as the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East-Indies, have natyve experience of the kind of Commodities and Merchandizes, which are or will be available, or to be offered in the said parts of the East-Indies, and therefore shall bee driven to carrie to the said parts in their Voyages divers and sundry Commodities, which are likely to be returned againe into this Realme: We therefore Of Our especiall Grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion, for the better encouraging of the said Governour, and Company of Merchants trading into the East-Indies, and for the advancement of the said Trade, doe grant unto the said Governour and Company, and to their Successors, that they and their Successors during the four first Voyages, which they shall make or set forth for or towards the said East-Indies, shall or may transport and carry out of Our Realme of England, and the Ports, Creeks, and Havens thereof, all such and so much goods and merchandizes, being goods and merchandizes lawfully payable, and transportable out of this Realme, and not prohibited to be transported by any Law, or Statute of this Realme, as shall be by them, their Factors, or Assignes, shipped in any Ship or Ships, Vessell or Vessells, to be employed in any of the said four first Voyages, free of Customs, Subsidie or Poundage, or any other duty or payment to Vs, or 30 Our Successors due, or belonging for the shipping, or transporting of the same or any of them. And yet notwithstanding Our Will and Pleasure is, and We doe by these presents straightly charge and command, that all and euery such goods and merchandizes so to be transported out of this Realme, shall from time to time during the said four first Voyages, as is afore-said, shall from time to time be duly entered by the Customs, Comptroller, or other Officer of such Ports, Creeks, or Places, where the same goods, or merchandizes shall happen to be shipped, or laden, to be transported as afore-said. And also of Our further especiall Grace, certaine knowledge and mere motion, We doe for Vs. Our Heires, Successors, grant to and with the said Governour, and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, and to their Successors, that when and as often as at any time during the said terme, and space of fifteene yeeres, as any Customs, Poundage, Subsidie, or other Duties shall be due and payable unto Vs. Our Heires, 40 or Successors, for any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes whatsoever to bee returned out, or from any the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places afore-said unto the Port of London, or any of the Havens, Creeks, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, that the Customs, and all other Officers for the time being of Vs. Our Heires, or Successors, for or concerning receipts of Customs, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties unto whom it shall appertaine, shall upon the request of the Governour, and Company of the said Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies, or any other their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, give unto the said Governour and Company, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, five Months time for the payment of the one halfe, and after those five Months ended, other five Months time for the payment of the other halfe of their said Customs, Poundage, or other Subsidie, or Duties, receiving good and sufficient bonds with surety to the use of Vs. Our Heires, and Successors, for the true payment of the same accordingly, 50 and upon the receipt of the said bonds with surety from time to time, to give unto the said Governour and Company of Merchants of London, trading into the East-Indies for the time being, their Agents, Factors, or Assignes, their Cockets or other warrants to take out, and receive on lead the same Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes by virtue thereof, without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the said terme of fifteene yeeres, any Goods, Wares, or Merchandizes of the said Governour, and Company for the time being laden from Our Port of London, or any the Creeks, Members, or Places to the same Port belonging, to be transported to or towards any of the Ports, Islands, Havens, Cities, Townes, or Places afore-said, shall happen to miserie or be left before their safe arrival or discharge in the Ports, for and to the which the same shall be sent, that then, and so often, and so much Customs, Poundage, Subsidies, or other Duties, as they are answered to Vs. for the same before their going forth of our said Ports, Havens, or Creeks, 60 shall after due proof made to the said Treasurer, for the time being of the said Customs, Poundage, and Subsidies thereof, bee by virtue hereof allowed by the said Governour and Company, their Agents, or Factors, by warrant of the said Treasurer, to the said Customs, or Officers in the next goods, wares, or merchandizes, that the said Governour and Company, or their successors, shall and may ship, for or towards those parts, according to the true rates of the Customs, Poundage, or Subsidies before, payed for the goods,

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find is each
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the Lawes of
the Realme.

Freedom of
Customs of
goods out-
ward
without
any duties
yet.

Five and five
months time
for payment of
customs and
subsidie in-
ward.

If goods mi-
carry outward
the value of
Customs shall
be allowed
as if they had
been shipped
ped.

two hundred and threecore tannes. These ships they furnished with men, victuals and munition for twentie monthes, and sent in them, in Merchandise and Spanish money, to the value of seven and twentie thousand pounds: all the rest of their stocke was spent and consumed about the shippes, and other necessaries appertaining to them: with money lent to the Mariners and Saylers before-hand, that went upon the Voyage.

The Merchants were Suters to her Majestie, who gave them her friendly Letters of commendation, written to divers Princes of *India*, offering to enter into a league of Peace and Amicitie with them, the Copies of which Letters shall hereafter appear in their places. And because no great action can well be carried, and accomplished without an absolute authority of Justice: She granted to the Generall of their Fleet Master *James Lancaster*, for his better command and government, a Commission of Martiall Law.

The thirteenth
of Febru-ry,
1600.

The said Master *James Lancaster* the Generall, was placed in the *Dragon*, the greatest shipp being Admirall: Master *John Middleton* Captaine in the *Heclor*, the Vice-admirall: Master *William Brand* chiefe Gouverneur in the *Ascension*: and Master *John Heyward* in the *Sufan*: and more in euery of the said shippes, three Merchants to succeed one the other, if any of them should be taken away by death.

The ships were ready and departed from *Holwich* in the River of *Thames*, the thirteenth of February after the *English* accompt, 1600. with four-hundred and fourecore men in them. In the *Dragon*, two hundred and two men. In the *Heclor*, an hundred and eight. In the *Ascension*, fourecore and two. And in the *Sufan*, fourecore and eight. The *Gueft*, a shipp of a hundred and 20 thirrie tannes, was added as a Victualler.

These ships layed so long in the River of *Thames*, and in the *Dunnes* for want of wind, that it was Easter day before they arrived at *Dartmouth*, where they spent five or sixe dayes in taking in their bread and certaine other provisions appointed for them. From thence they departed the eighteenth of April, 1601. and roade in *Tor Bay*, till the twentieth in the morning. While we roade there, the Generall sent aboard all the shippes, instructions, for their better company keeping, at their coming to the Seas: and further gave directions, if any of the Fleet should be separated the one from the other, by stormes of wind, tempests, or other casualties, what places to repaire vnto, for their meeting together againe.

* April, 1601.
These places
were the
Calmes of Ca-
marie, and if
weaknesse per-
mitted not to
double the
Cape So dinda,
the third Cape
Saint James in
Madagascar,
to Cape, and so
to Sumatra
their first place
of Trade.
May the first.

The second of April, 1601. the wind came fair and wee hoysed our Anchors, and departed 38 out of *Tor Bay*, directing our course towards the Ilands of the *Canaria*. The wind holding faire, the first of May in the morning, we had sight of *Algaranza*, the Northernmost Iland of the *Canarias*, and directed our course betwene *Fortentura*, and the Grand *Canaria*: and coming to the South part of the Grand *Canaria*, thinking to water there, we fell into the Calmes, which proceed by reason of the high-land that lyeth inuene the Sea-side.

The fourth of May, about three of the clocke in the afternoon, we departed from the Grand *Canaria*, hauing the wind at North-east, and we directed our course South-west by South, and South South-west, till wee came into 21. 2. degrees. From the eleuenth to the twentieth, our course was for the most part South, till we came into eight degrees: the wind being alwayes Northerly, and North-east: In this length, we found the Calmes and contrarie winds, which vpon this Coast of *Gocey*, at this time of the yeare, are very familiar with many sudden guttes of wind, stormes, claunder and lightning, very fearefull to be seene and dangerous to the shippes: vntill a diligence can be had, that all sayles be stricken downe vpon the sudden, perceiving the ayre neuer to litle to change or alter. And yet many times, although the Masters of ships were careful, and looked vnto it with great diligence: the suddennesse was such, that it could hardly be prevented. From the twentieth of May, till the one and twentieth of Iune, wee lay the most part becalmed, and with contrarie winds at South, and turning vp and downe with this contrary wind, with much ado, we got into two degrees of the North side of the Line: where we employed a ship, to the which, the Generall gave chafe, commanding all the rest of the ships to follow him: and by two of the clocke in the afternoon, we had set her vp and tooke her. She was of the Citie of *Francis in Portugal*, and came from *Lisbone* in the company of two Carrackes, and three Gallions bound for the East-*Indies*, which ships they had lost at Sea. The three Gallions were ships of warre, and went to keepe the Coast of the East-*Indies*, from being traded with other Nations.

We tooke out of her an hundred sixe and fertie Bats of Wine, an hundred threecore and sixtene Iarves of Oyle, twelue Barrells of Oyle, and five and sixtie Hogheads and Fats of Meale, which was a great help to vs in the whole Voyage after. The Generall diuided these Victuals indifferently to all the ships, to euery one his proportion without partialitie.

The last of Iune about mid-night, we doubled the Line, and lost the sight of the North-star, hauing the wind at South-east, and we held our course South South-west, and doubled the Cape of Saint *Augustine* some sixe and twentie leagues to the Eastwards. The twentieth of Iuly, we were shot into nineteene degrees, forty minutes to the Southward of the Line, the wind enlarging daily to the East-wind. Here we were discharged the *Gueft*, the ship that went a long way vs to carry the Provisions, that our four ships could not take in in *England*. After wee had discharged

her, we tooke her Masts, Sayles and Yards, and brake downe her higher buildings for fire-wood, and to left her doting in the Sea: and followed our course to the South-wind. The four and twentieth of Iuly, we passed the Tropicke of Capricorne, the wind being North-east by North, we holding our course East South-east. Now, by reason of our long being vnder the Line, (which we proceeded of our late coming out of *England*, for the time of the yeare was too faire spent by sixe or seuen weekes, to make a quicke Navigation) many of our men fell sicke. Therefore the nine and twentieth of Iuly being in 28. 2. degrees, he wrote a remembrance to the Gouverneur of each ship, either to fetch *Saldania* or Saint *Helena* for refreshing.

Thus following on our course, the first of August we came into the height of thirtee degrees, August. 10. South of the Line: at which time we met the South-west wind, to the great comfort of all our people. For, by this time, very many of our men were fallen sicke of the Scurvey in all our ships, and vntill it were in the Generall ship only, the other three were so weak of men, that they could hardly handle the sayles. This wind held faire, till wee came within two hundred and fittie leagues of the Cape *Buena Esperanza*, and then came cleane contrarie against vs to the East: and so held some fiftene or sixtene dayes to the great discomfort of our men. For now these few whole men we had, beganne also to fall sicke, so that our weaknesse of men was so great, that in some of the ships, the Merchants tooke their turnes at the Helme: and went into the top to take in the top-sayles, as the common Mariners did. But God (who sheweth mercy in all distresses) sent vs a faire wind againe, so that the ninth of September we came to *Saldania*, where the Generall before the red bare in, and came to an anchor, and hoysed out his Boats to helpe the rest of the ships.

They arrive
at
Saldania.

For now the state of the other three was such, that they were hardly able to let fall an Anchor, to saue themselves withall. The Generall went aboard of them, and carryed good store of men, and hoysed out their Beasts for them, which they were not able to doe themselves. And the reason why the Generall men stood better in health then the men of other ships, was this: he brought to Sea with him certaine Bottles of the Juice of Limons, which he gaue to each one, as long as it would last, three spoonfulls euery morning fasting: not suffering them to eat any thing after it till noone. This Juice worketh much the better, if the partie keepe a steepe Dyer, and wholly refraineth salt meate, which salt meate, and long being at the Sea as the only cause of the breeding of this Disease. By this means the Generall cured many of his men, and preferred the rest: so that in his ship (hauing the double of men that was in the rest of the ships) he had not so many sicke, nor lost so many men as they did, which was the mercie of God to vs all. After the Generall had holpen the rest of the ships to hoysed out their Boats, they began all to be greatly comforted. Then, he humbled himselfe presently a land to seeke some refreshing for our sicke and weak men, where hee met with certaine of the Countrey people, and gaue them diuers trifles, as Knives, and peeces of old Iron, and such like, and made signes to them to bring him downe Sheepe and Oxen. For he spake to them in the Cattell Language, which was neuer changed at the confusion of *Babel*, which was *Moath* for Oxen, and Kine, and *Bar for* Sheepe: which Language the people vnderstood very well without any Interpreter. After hee had sent

The best remedy
for the
Scurvey.

the people away very well contented with their presents, and kind vlsage order was presently giuen, that certaine of euery ships company should bring their sayles a land, and build Tents with them for their sicke men: and also to make fortifications of defence, if by any occasion the people should take any conceit of offence against vs, and thereby offer vs any violence. And the Generall prescribed an order for buying and selling with the people, which was, that at such times as they should come downe with the Cattell, only five or sixe men, appointed for that purpose, should goe to deale with them and the rest (which should neuer be vnder thirtee Muskets and Pikes) should not come neere the Market, by eight or ten score at the nearest: and alwayes to stand in their ranke in a readinesse, with their Muskets in their Rests, what occasion shoulde befall. And this order was most strictly oblied and kept, that no man durst once goe to

The most vni-
uerall lan-
guage.

speake with any of the people without speall leave, and I take this to be the cause, why we liued in so great friendship and amitie with them, contrary to that which lately had befallen the *Hollanders*, which had five or six of their men slaine by their treacherie.

Defence ne-
cessary.

Manner of tra-
ding with the
Sauages.

The third day after our coming into this Bay of *Saldania*, the people brought downe Beesfies and Muttons, which we bought of them for peeces of old Iron hoopes, as two peeces of eight inches a peece, for an Oxe, and one peece of eight inches for a Sheepe, with which they seemed to be well contented. Vntill ten or twelue dayes, we bought of them a thousand Sheepe, and two and fertie Oxen, and might haue bought many more, if we would. Now within twelue dayes they ceased to bring vs any more Cattell, but the people many times came downe to vs afterward, and when we made them signes for more Sheepe, they would point vs to those we had bought, which the Generall caused to be kept grazing vpon the Hilles about our Tents, and was the cause (as we iudged) they thought we would haue inhabited there, and therefore brought vs no more. But (God be thanked) we were well stored to satiate our need, and might cheere- fully well forbear buying. These Oxen are full as bigge as ours, and were very fat, and the peeces many of them much bigger, but of a very haire wooll, yet, of exceeding good flesh, fit and

This Bay is in
34. degrees
South of the
Line.
Qualities of
the people, and
their difficult
language.
Then a brief
notice of this
Bay.

sweet, and to our thinking, much better then our flesh in England. The people of this place are all of a tawny colour, of a reasonable stature, swift of foot, and much given to pick and steal: their speech is wholly uttered through the throat, and they cloke with their tongues in such sort, that in seven weekes, which wee remained here in this place, the sharpest wit among vs, could not learne one word of their language: and yet the people would soone vnderstand any figure wee made to them.

While wee layed here in this Bay, wee had so royall refreshing, that all our men recovered their health and strength, enely four or five excepted. But, before our coming in, and in this place, wee lost out of all our Ships one hundred and five men, and yet wee made account, wee were stronger at our departure out of this Bay, then wee were at our coming out of England, 10 our men were so well inured to the Southerne Climates.

§. II.

Their departure from Saldania, and proceeding in their Voyages to Achen in Sumatra, with their trading at Saint MARIES, Antongill, Nicubar: the strange Plant of Sombrero, and other occurrences.

1601.

THE four and twentieth of October, the Generall caused all our Tents to bee taken downe and our men to repaire aboard the Ships: and being fitted both of wood and fresh water: The nine and twentieth of October, wee put to Sea, and went out by a small Island, that lieth in the mouth of the said Bay: which is exceeding full of Seales and Penguins, so that if there were no other refreshing, one might very well refresh there. Over the Bay of Saldania standeth a very high Hill, flat like a Table, and is called the Table: such an other plaine marke to find an Harbour in, is not in all that Coast, for it is easie to be seen sixteen or eighteen leagues into the Sea.

November, 1.
The Cape
doubled.
November, 26.

Sunday, the first of November in the morning, wee doubled the Cape of Buena Esperanza, having the wind West North-West a great gale.

The fixe and twentieth of November, wee fell with the Head-land of the Island of Saint Lawrence, somewhat to the East of Cape Sebastiao, and being within five miles of the shoare, wee founded, and found twenty five fathome: the variation of the Compass being little more or lesse sixteen degrees. For in an East and West course, the variation of the Compass helpeth much, and especially in this Voyage.

Decemb, 15.
The of Cirre, or
D. Rodriguez.

From the fixe and twentieth of November, till the fifteenth of December, wee plyed to the Eastward, the nearest our course we could lie, alwayes turning to have gotten to the Island of Cane, which in some Cardes is called Diego Rodriguez, but wee found the wind alwaies after our coming to the Island of Saint Lawrence, at East, and East South-East, and East North-East, so that wee could not obtaine it: and to some long in hope of change of winds wee could not, for now our men began againe to fall sick of the Scurvy. Then, the Captaine of the Vice-Admirall called to the Generall, and thought it best to beare into the Bay of Antongill, and there to 40 froth our men with Oranges and Limons, to cleere our selues of this disease, which was by him and the whole counsell called for that purpose well approved.

Isles of S. Mary
and S. Lawrence.

The sixteenth of December, wee had sight of the Southermost part of the Island of Saint Mary, and the next day we anchored betwene Saint Mary, and the great Island of Saint Lawrence, and sent our Boats land to Saint Mary, where wee had some store of Limons and Oranges, which were precious for our diseased men, to purge their bodies of the Scurvy. Now, as wee roade here, buying Oranges and Limons, there arose vpon vs a very great storme, so that three of our Ships were put from their Anchors: but within some sixteen houres, the storme ceased, and the ships returned, and weighed their Anchors againe. The Generall thought it not good to make any longer stay there, seeing the vncertaintie of the weather, and that there was vpon this Island so little refreshing to be had: only the Oranges and Limons, a little Goates milke, and some small quantitie of Rice we sawe only one Cow, and that they draue away, asloone as they saw vs come on Land. Seeing this place so dangerous to ride in, the Generall gave present order to sayle toward the Bay of Antongill, the time of the yeere being spent, the Easterly winds come against vs, and our men sick.

People of S.
Mary.

This Island of S. Mary is high land, and full of woods, the people are blacke, very handsome and tall men, and scorified haid, onely before in their foreheads they stroke it vp, as the women doe here in England: so that it standeth some three inches upright. They are wholly without apparell, onely their privy parts covered, they are very tractable to converse withall, yet seeme to be very valiant. The most of their food is Rice, and some Fish: yet at our being there, wee could buy but small store of Rice, for the time of their store was farre spent, and their Harvest was at hand. There are two or three watering places on the North part of this Island: but none of them very commodious, yet with some trauell there is water enough to be had.

The twentieth third of December, we departed from this Island of S. Mary, and the twentieth being Christmas day, we came into the Bay of Antongill, and came to an anchor in eight fathoms, betwene a small Island, and the Mayne, lying in the bottome of the Bay, a very good, and a safe roade. But, the third riding, is secret vnder a small Island, for the defence of the winde that bloweth there: for while we abode in this Bay, there blew an exceeding great storme, and thole of our shippes, that read neere the small Island, being vnder the wind lapped butt: for two of our ships droue with three anchors ahead, the ground being Ozy, and not firme. At our going a land in the little Island, we perceived by writing vpon the rocks, of five Holland ships which had bene there, and were departed about two monethes before our coming in: 10 and had had some sicknesse among their men, and had lost (as we perceived) betweene one hundred and fiftie, and two hundred men while they roade in that place.

The next day after our coming to an anchor, we went a land to the Mayne Island, where the people presently repaired to vs, and made vs signes of the five Holland ships departed, and that they had bought the most part of their provision. Yet, they entred into barter with vs, for Rice and Hennes, Oranges and Limons, and another fruit called Plantains, and held all at high rates, and brought but a pedlars quantitie. Our market was neere to a great river, into which we went with our boats, and some men that were appointed to be buyers, went ashore: the rest remained in the boats, alwaies ready with their weapons in their hands: and the boats some fiftie or twenty yardes off into the water, where the people could not wade to them: and 20 were traded at all times (if they a shore had any need) to take them in. So, we traded off some daies, before (as aforesaid) we could bring them to any real trade: for this people of the South, and East parts, are very subtilty, and craftie, in their bartering, buying and selling, that unless you hold a neere hand with them, you shall hardly bring them to trade in any plaine sort. For, they will sit you continually to give a little more, and then, no man will sell without that price: so that you must not enlarge to any one, more then another: for, in so doing, all will have that price, or none. The Generall seeing this, commanded measures to be made of (almost) a quart, and appointed how many gale beades should be given for every measure: and he that would not deal in this manner, should not deal at all. The like order was set downe for Oranges, Limons, and Plantains, how many for every beade, or else not. Our Merchants 30 after a little holding off, consented, and our dealing was francke, and round, without any contradiction, or words. So, that while we abode here, we brought 15 1/2 tonnes of Rice, forty or fiftie bulles of their Pease, and Beanes, great store of Oranges, Limons, and Plantains, and eight Beeces, with many Hennes. While we roade in this Bay, we reared a Pinnae, which we brought in pieces in our shippes out of England: and cut downe trees, of which there were very great, and great store, which trees we fawed out in boordes, and heathen here. This Pinnae was of some fiftie tonnes, and very necessary, and fit to goe before our shippes, at our coming into India. In the time we stayed here, there died out of the Generalls shippes, the Masters Mate, the Preacher, and the Surgeon, with some tenne other common men. And out of the Viceadmirall there died the Master, with some other two. And out of the Affention, by 40 very great mitchance, were slaine the Captaine, and the Boatwaines mate. For, as the Masters Mate, out of the Generalls shippes was carried a land to be buried, the Captaine of the Affention took his boate to goe along to his buriall: and as it is the order of the sea, to shoote off certaine peeces of Ordnance at the buriall of any Officer, the Gunner of the Ordnance shotte off three peeces, and the bullets being in them, one stroke the Affentions boate, and slue the Captaine, and the Boatwaines Mate slake dead, so that they that went to see the buriall of another, were both buried there themselves. These that died here, died most of the Flux, which (in our opinion) came with the waters which we drank: for it was the time of winter, when it rained very much, which caused great floods to ouerflow: the Countrie is so that the waters were not well borne, as in most places in these hot countries, they are not, in the times of their raines. This disease also of the Flux, is often taken, by going open, and cold in the stomacke, which our men would often doe when they were hot.

We fell saile out of this Bay the sixth of March, and had on our course toward the India, and the sixteenth we fell with an Island called *Rogue-Peak*, which lyeth in 10. 3. degrees, to the South of the Equinodall Line. To this Island the Generall sent his boate, to see whether there were any life riding for the shippes: but the boate (for the most part) found deepe water, where the shippes could not safely ride. As we coasted along this Island, it seemed very faire, and pleasant, exceeding full of foule, and Coccut-trees: and there came from the land such a pleasant smell, as if it had beene a garden of flowers. And lastly, if there be any good riding for shippes in this Island, it must needs be a place of very great refreshing. For as our boats 60 went neere the Land, they saw great store of fish, and the fowles came wondering about them in such sort, that with the Oares, wherewith the Mariners rowe, they killed many which were the farrest, and the best that we tasted all the voyage. And of these, there was such exceeding great abundance, that many more shippes then we had with vs, might have refreshed themselves therewith.

Decemb, 15.
The bay of
Antongill.

The want of
this difference
in *Virginia*
(which one
out of need, or
seeming honesty,
would give
a greater price
then another,
to the *Savage*
for their commodities)
so heightened the
prices, and made them
over-value
their corn, &c.
that it appeared
much handsomer
to the Plantation,
a Pinnae
reared.

How many
things in Man?

The life of
Rogue-Peak.

1602.
Dangerous
Recke.

Thiefe of Candie.

Other Rocks.

The Isles of
Nicobar.

April 20.

The Ile of Sum-
atra.

Trees suffici-
ent for maine
Masts.
A strange
Plant.

The thirtieth of March 1602. being in fixe degrees to the South of the Line, we happened vpon a ledge of Rockes, and looking ouer-board, and seeing them vnder the ships about two fathome deepe, it much amazed vs, falling vpon the sudden, and vnexpected. Then, as we were presently cutting about the ship, we found eight fathome: and so held on our course East. One of our men, being in the top saw an Island South-east of vs, some five or six leagues off, being but low land: this we iudged to be the Island of *Candie*, although in our course we could not (by computation) find our felues to be there to the Eastward. Bearing on our course some thirteene or fourteene leagues, we fell vpon another flat of Rockes. Then we cast about to the Southward, and sayling some twelve leagues, found other Rockes: so that, prouing diuers wayes, we found flats of Rockes round about vs: and twentie and thirte, and in some places, forty and fiftie fathome water in the middle of the flats. Here we were for two dayes and an halfe in the Northward, danger, and could find no way to get out. But at last, we refused to seek to the Eastward, and in fixe degrees, fortie three minutes (God be thanked) we found fixe fathome water: the Pinnafe alwayes going before vs, and founding with commandement, to make signes what depth she had, that thereby we might follow her. Thus (thanks be to God) being deliuered out of this pound, we followed our course with variable windes, till the ninth of May about foure of the clocke in the afternoone. At which time we had sight of the Ilands of *Nicobar*, and bare in and anchored on the North-side of the Channell. But the wind changing to the South-west, we were forced to heyle our Anchors, and to beare ouer to the South-side of the Channell: and so came to an Anchor, vnder a small Island, that lyeth on the Iud shore. Here we had fresh water, and some Coco Nuts, other refreshing we had little. Yet the people came aboard our shippes in long Canoes, which would hold twentie men, and aboue in one of them: and brought Gummes to sell in stead of Amber, and therewithall, deceived diuers of our men: For, these people of the East, are wholly fowle to deceit. They brought also Hennes and Coco Nuts to sell, but hold them very deare: so that we bought few of them. We stayed here three dayes, placing of our Ordnance, and trimming of our ships: because we would be in all readinesse at our arrival, at our first Port, which we were not (now) farre from.

The twentieth of April, in the morning, we set saile to goe toward *Sumatra*, but the wind blew so hard at South, South West, and the Current was against vs, that we could not proceed: but beating vp and downe, our ships fell into two leaks, so that we were forced to goe to the Northward of *Nicobar*. Here, we in the Island of *Sombrero*, some ten or twelve leagues to the Northward of *Nicobar*. Here, we in the *Admirall* lost an anchor, for the ground is foule, and growth full of counterfeite Corall, and some Rockes: which cut our Cable asunder, so that we could not recover our anchor.

The people of these Ilands goe naked, hauing onely the priuities bound vp in a peece of Linen cloth, which cometh about their middles like a girdle, and so betwene their twitt. They are all of a tawny colour, and annoint their faces with diuers colours; they are well limbed, but very fearefull: for, none of them would come aboard our Shippes, or enter into our Boates. The Generall reported, that he had sene some of their Priests, or Sacrificers, all apparelled, but close to their bodies, as if they had bene sewed in it: and vpon their heads, a paire of homes turning backward, with their faces painted greene, blacke and yellow, and their homes also painted with the same colour. And behind them, vpon their buttocks, a taile hanging downe, very much like the manner, as in some painted cloathes, we paint the Diuell in our Country. He demanding, wherefore they went in that attire, answer was made him, that in such sort the Diuell appeared to them in their sacrifices: and therefore the Priests, his seruants were so apparelled. In this Island grow trees, which for their tallesse, greatnesse, and straightnesse, will serue the biggest shippe in all our Fleet, for a maine Mast: and this Island is full of those trees.

Here, likewise we found vpon the sands, by the Sea side, a small twigge growing vp to a young tree, and offering to plucke vp the same, it shooke downe into the ground: and sinketh, vntill it hold very hard. And being plucked vp, a great Worme is the roote of it: and looke how the tree groweth in greatnesse, the roote in the ground, and so groweth to be great. This transformation was one of the strangest wonders that I saw in all my trauiels. For, this tree, being plucked vp little, the leaves shippd off, and the pill, by that time it was dry, turned into an hard stone, much like to white Corall: so that this worme was twice transformed into different natures: Of these we gathered, and brought home many.

Þ. III.

Their entertainment and trade at Achen.

20. Of May,
1602.
Sumatra.



THE nine and twentieth of May, we set saile from this Island of *Sombrero*, and the second of Iune, we had sight of the land of *Sumatra*, and the fifth of Iune we came to anchor in the Road of *Achen*, some two miles off the Citie, Where we found extreme

or eighteen saile of shippes of diuers Nations, some *Gosrats*, some of *Bengala*, some of *Calicut*, called *Malabares*, some *Pegues*, and some *Patangies*, which came to trade there.

There came aboard of vs two *Holland Merchants*, which had bene left there behind their shippes, to learne the language, and manners of the Country. These told vs, we should be very welcome to the King, who was desirous to intertaine strangers: and that the *Queene of England* was very famous in those parts, by reason of the warres, and great victories, which he had gotten against the King of *Spaine*. The same day, the Generall sent Captaine *Iohn Middleton*, Captaine of the *Vice-admirall*, with foure or five Gentlemen, to attend vpon him to the King: to declare vnto him, that he was sent from the Generall of those shippes, who had a message, and a letter, from the most famous *Queene of England*, to the most worthy King of *Achen*, and *Sumatra*. And that it would please his royall Maiesty, to giue to the said messenger, audience to deliuer his message, and letter: with a sufficient warrant for the safety of him and his people, according to the law of Nations, holden in that behalfe. This messenger was very kindly entertained by the King, who when he had deliuered his message, gladly granted his request, and commended with him about many questions: and after, caused a royall banquet to be made him. And at his departure gave a robe, and a Tucke of *Calico* wrought with Gold, which is the manner of the Kings of this place, to those he will grace with his special fauour. And withall, sent his commendations to the Generall, willing him to stay one day aboard his ships, to rest himselfe after his coming from the diuquet seas: and the next day to come a land, and haue kind audience, and franke leave, with as great assurance, as if he were in the kingdom of the *Queene* his Mistress. And, if he doubted of any thing of this royall word, such honourable pledges should be sent him, for his further assurance, as he should rest very well satisfied therewith.

The third day, the Generall went a land very well accompanied, with some thirte men or more, to attend vpon him. And first at his landing, the *Holland Merchants* met him, and carried him home to their house, as it was appointed. For as yet, the Generall would make choyce of no house of his owne, till he had spoken with the King: but stayed at the *Hollander* house, till a Noble man came from the King, who saluted the Generall very kindly, and declared, that he came from his Maiesty, and represented his person. Then, he demanded the *Queenes* letter of the Generall, which he refused to deliuer: saying, he would deliuer it to the King himselfe. For it was the order of *Embassadors*, in those parts of the world from whence he came, to deliuer their letters to the Princes owne hands: and not to any that did represent the Kings person. So, he demanded to see the superscription, which the Generall shewed him, and he read the same, and looked very carefully vpon the seale,ooke a note of the superscription, and did likewise write her Maiesties name: and then, with courtesieooke his leave, and repaired to the Court, to tell the King what had passed. Who presently sent fixe great Elephants, with many Trumpets, Drums, and Streamers, with much people, to accompany the Generall to the Court: so that the pride was exceeding great. The biggest of these Elephants was about thirteene, or foureteene foote high, which had a small Castle, like a Coach vpon his back, covered with Crim-son Velvet. In the middle thereof, was a great Balon of Gold, and a peece of Silke exceeding richly wrought to couer it: vnder which her Maiesties letter was put. The Generall was mounted vpon another of the Elephants: some of his attendants rode, others went a foote. But, when he came to the Court gate, there a Noble man stayed the Generall, till he had gone in, to know the Kings further pleasure. But, presently the said Nobleman returned, and willed the Generall to enter in. And when the Generall came to the Kings presence, he made his obeysance after the manner of the Country: declaring that hee was sent from the most mightie *Queene of England*, to congratulate with his Highnesse, and treat with him concerning a peace and amitie with his Maiesty, if it pleased him to entertaine the same. And therewithall began to enter into some further discourse, which the King brake off, saying: I am sure you are weary of a long traualle you have taken. I would haue you to it downe and refresh your selfe. You are very welcome, and here you shall haue what you desire in any reasonable conditions demanded, for your Princelike: for he is worthy of all kindnesse, and franke conditions, being a Prince of great Noblesse, for Fame speaks of so much of her. The Generall perceiving the Kings mind, deliuered him the *Queenes* letter, which he willingly received: and deliuered the same to a Noble man standing by him. Then the Generall proceeded to deliuer him his present, which was a Balon of Silue, with a Fountaine in the middle of it, weighing two hundred and five ounces, a great standing Cup of Silue, a rich Looking-Glasse, an Head-peece with a Plume of Feathers, a case of very faire Dagges, which wrought embroidered Belt to hang a Sword in, and a Cap of Feathers. All these were received in the Kings presence, by a Nobleman of the Court: only, heooke into his owne hand, the Fanne of Feathers: and caused one of his Women to fanne him therewithall, as a thing, that most pleased him of all the rest. The Generall was commended to it downe in the Kings presence, as the manner is, vpon the ground: where was a very great banquet provided. All the dishes, in which the meate was serued in, were, either of pure Gold, or of another Metall, which (among them) is of great estimation, called *Tim-lopke*.

The Fame of
Q. Elizabeth.

The honorable
entertainment
of the
English Generall
by the King
of Achen.

The *Queenes*
Presents sent
to the King
of Achen.

A metall of
great esteem,
called *Ten-lopke*.

bayke, which growth of Gold and Brasse together. In this banquet, the King (as he fate-a-lot in a Gallery, about a fathome from the ground) dranke off to the Generall in their Wine, which they call Racke. This Wine is made of Rice, and is as strong as any of our *Aquavitae*: a little will serve to bring one asleepe. The Generall, after the first draught, dranke either water mingled therewithall, or pure water, the King gave him leave so to doe: for the Generall craued his pardon, as not able to drinke so strong drinke. After this feast was done, the King cauled his Damoels to come forth, and dance, and his Women to play Musike vnto them: and these Women were richly attired, and adorned with Bracelets and Jewels: and this they account a great fauour, for these are not vially seene of any, but such as the King will greatly honour. The King also gave vnto the Generall, a fine white Robe of Calico, richly wrought with Gold, and a very faire girdle of Turkey worke, and two Crefes, which are a kind of Daggers, all to which a Noble man put on in the Kings presence: and in this manner he was dismissed the Court, with very great curtesies, and one sent along with him, to make choyce of an house in the Citie, where the Generall thought most meete. But, at this time he refused this kindnesse, and rather chole to goe aboard his Ships: and left the King to consider of the Queenes Letter, the tenor whereof, hereafter followeth.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, *Queene* of England, France and Ireland,
defendresse of the Christian Faith and Religion.

To the great and mightie King of *Achem*, &c. in the Iland of *Sumatra*,
our louing Brother, greeting.

THe eternal God, of his diuine knowledge and providence, hath so disposed his blessings, and good things of his Creation, for the use and nourishment of Mankind, in such sort: that notwithstanding the growne in diuers Kingdomes, and Regions of the World: yet, by the industrie of Man (furred up by the inspiration of the said omnipotent Creator) they are dispersed into the most remote place of the vniuersall World. To the end, that euen therein may appeare vnto all Nations, his marvelous worke, bee hauing so ordered, that the one Land may haue need of the other. And thereby, by no only breed intercourse and exchange of their Merchandise and Fraies, which doe superabound in some Countries, and want in others: but also ingender loue, and friendship betwixt all men, a thing naturally diuine.

Whereunto wee hauing respect (Right noble King) and also to the honorable, and truly royall fame, which hath hitherto stretched, of your English humane and noble vsage of Strangers, which repaire into that your Kingdom, in loue and peace, in the Trade of Merchandise, paying your due Customes. Wee haue bene moued to give Licence vnto these our Subiects, who with commendable and good desires, saile to visite that your Kingdom. Notwithstanding the dangers and miseries of the Sea, naturall to such a Voyage, which (by the grace of GOD) they will make, being the greatest that is to be made in the World: and to present traffique vnto your Subiects. Which their offer, if it shall bee accepted by your Highnesse, with such loue and grace, as we hope for, of so great and magnanimous a Prince: Wee, for them, doe promise, that in no time hereafter, you shall haue cause to repent thereof, but rather to reioyce much. For their dealing shall bee true, and their conuersion faire, and wee hope, that they will give so good proofe thereof, that this beginning shall be a perpetual confirmation, of loue betwixt our Subiects on both parts: by carrying from vs, such things and merchandise, as you haue need of there. So that your Highnesse shall be very well serued, and better contented, then you haue heretofore bene with the Portugals and Spaniards, our Enemies: who only, and none else, of these Regions, haue frequented these your, and the other Kingdomes of the East. Not suffering that the other Nations should doe it, pretending themselves to be Monarchs, and absolute Lords of all these Kingdomes and Provinces: as their owne Conquest and Inheritance, as appeareth by their false Title in their writings. The contrarie whereof, hath very lately appeared vnto vs, and that your Highnesse, and your royall Familie, Fathers, and Grandfathers, haue (by the grace of GOD, and their Valour) become, not only to defend your owne Kingdomes: but also to give Warre vnto the Portugals, in the Lands which they possesse: as namely in Malacca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575. under the conduct of your valiant Captaine, Ragamacota, with their great losse and the perpetual honour of your Highnesse Crowne and Kingdom.

And now, if your Highnesse shall be pleased, to accept into your Favour and Grace, and vnder your royall Protection and Defence, these our Subiects, that they may freely doe their business vnto, and continue yeerely hereafter: This Bearer, who goeth chiefe of this Fleet of foure Ships, hath order (with your Highnesse Licence) to leaue certaine Factors, with a settled House of Factorie in your Kingdom, until the going thither of another Fleet, which shall goe thither upon the returne of this. Which left Factors, shall learne the Language, and customes of your Subiects, whereby, the better and more loonely to converse with them.

And the better to confirme this Confederacie, and Friendship betwixt vs, wee are contented, if your Highnesse be so pleased, that you cause Capitulations reasonable to be made: and that this Bearer doe the

the like in Our name. Which wee promise to performe royally, and entirely, as well herein, as in other Agreements: and Arguments which he will communicate vnto you: to whom, wee doe greatly desire your Highnesse to give intire faith and credite, and that you will reuise him, and thereof be his compasse, vnder your Royall protection, favouring them in what shall be Reason and Iustice. And we promise on our behalf, to re-assure in the degree, in all that your Highnesse shall haue need, out of these our Kingdomes. And we desire, that your Highnesse would be pleased to send vs answer, by this Bearer of this our Letter, that wee may thereby understand of your Royall acceptance of the Friendship and League, which wee offer, and greatly desire, may haue an happy beginning, with long yeeres to continue.

AT his next going to the Court, hee had long Conference with the King, concerning the effect of the Queenes Letter, wherewith the King seemed to be very well pleased, and said: if the contents of that Letter came from the heart, he had good cause to thinke well thereof. And, for the League, Her Maiestie was desirous to hold with him, hee was well pleased therewith. And, for the further demands the Generall made from Her, in respect of the Merchants traffike: he had committed all those points to two of his Noblemen, to conferre with him, and promised, what her Maiestie had requested, should by all good means bee granted. With this contented answer, after another Banquet appointed for the Generall, he departed the Court. And the next day, he sent to those Noblemen, the King had named to him, to know their appointed time, when they would sit vpon this Conference. The one of these Noblemen was the chiefe Bishop of the Realme, a man of great estimation with the King, and all the people: and he well deserved, for he was a man very wise and temperate. The other was one of the most ancient Nobilitie, a man of very good grauite: but, not so fit to enter into those Conferences as the Bishop was.

A day, and a meeting was appointed, where many questions passed betwixt them, and all the Conferences passed in the Arabucke Tongue, which both the Bishop and the other Noblemen well vnderstood. Now, the Generall before his going out of England entertained a few, who spake that language perfectly, which stood him in good stead at that time. About many demands, the Generall made touching Freedoms for the Merchants, the Bishop said vnto him: Sir, what reasons shall we shew to the King, from you, whereby he may (the more willingly) grant these things, which you haue demanded to be granted by him? to whom the Generall answered with these reasons following.

Her Maiesties mutual Loue.

Her worthinesse in protecting others against the King of Spaine the common Enemy of these parts.

Her noble mind which refused the offer of these Countries.

Nor will these suffer any Prince to exceed her in kindnesse.

Whole Forces haue exceeded the Spaniards in many Victories.

And hindered the Portugals attempts against these parts.

The Grand-Signor of Turkey hath already entered into League with her Maiestie on honorable conditions.

Reasons of another kind.

Moreover, it is not vnknewne to the King, what a prosperous Trade of Merchandise bringeth to all Lands: with increase of their revenue, and the Customs of these Countries.

Also Princes grow into the more renewance and strength, and are the more feared, for the wealth of their Subiects, which by the concurrence of Merchandises grow and increase.

And the more kindly that Strangers are entertained, the more the Trade doth grow. The Prince is thereby much enriched alio.

And for Achem, in particlar, this Port lieth well, to answer to the Trade of all Bengala, Java, and the Moluccas, and all China. And these places hauing vent of their Merchandise, will not let to resort thither with them. So that, by this means, the royaltie of the Kings Crowne, will greatly increase, to the decrease, and annuishing of all the Portugals Trade, and their great Forces in the Indies.

And, if it shall happen, that his Maiestie want any Artificers, hee may haue them out of our Kingdom, giuing them content for their trouble: and free course to goe, as they haue good will to come. And any other necessarie, that our Countrey bringeth forth, and may iapare, shall be at the Kings command and seruice.

But, I hope his Maiestie will not vrge any demands more, then her Maiestie may willingly content vnto: or that shall be contrarie to her Honour and Lawes, and the League he hath made with all Christian Princes her neighbours.

Further, the Generall demanded, that his Maiestie would cause present Proclamation to be made for her safetie, and that none of his people should abuse any of ours: but that they might doe their business quietly. And this last request was so well performed, that although there were a thirtie order, that none of their owne people might wake by night: yet ours, might goe both night and day, without impeachment of any. Onely, if they found any of ours at road at vnlawfull houres, the Iustice brought them home to the Generals house, and there delivered them.

As the Turkey hath his Ambassi, so other Mahometan Princes haue their

Chief Priests in all Countreies of that profession.

Great vfe of the Arabick Tongue.

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ding was. And when the Justice came aboard, and saw two *Portugals* there, he asked them from whence they came, and whether they were going: they answered, They came from *Achen*, and belonged to the *Portugall* Embassadour. Nay, said the Justice, but you have robbed your Master, and runne away like thieves with his goods: and therefore I will returne you againe to him, from whom you are fleet, and there you shall answer it. But in this hurly-burly and leaching of them, they lost their plots, and their letters, and their Trunks were broken open: and they lent to *Achen*, bound backe againe to the Court, to be delivered to the Embassadour, if they did belong vnto him. The Generall had some intelligence of these things, and the next time he came to the Court, the King called him vnto him, and said: Now what sayest thou, art thou contented? The Generall made him obedience, and gave him humble and beartie thanks for his clemencie, and kinde towards him: and with some other conference, the Generall departed for that time. The Marchante of *Hennas* came daily following his Merchandize, and as the Generall suspected, and he himselfe afterward confested, not without his Masters consent; to aduise from vs, as well as he himselfe from his Master.

But now the Summer was past, and September came, the time that the Generall meant to goe to sea to seek means to supply his necessities: and now fell out the greatest Croffe of all to his pretence. The Embassadour himselfe had his dispatch from the King to be gone. Which the Generall knowing, went to the Court, and where the King sat, seeing the sports that were made before him, he sent his Interpreter to him, desiring that it would please him to heare a certain request which he had vnto his Maestie. Whereupon the King immediately called for him, and demanded what he would have him to doe. It hath pleased your Highnesse, said the Generall, to doe me many courtesies, and therefore I am further emboldened, to proceed to request one kinde more at your Maiesties hands. What is that (said the King, smiling) are there more *Portugals* going to *Malacca*, to hinder thy pretences? Yea, said the Generall, the Embassadour himselfe (as I am going to vnderstand) hath your Maiesties dispatch to be gone, as his pleasure: and is determined to depart within few dayes. And what wouldst thou haue me to doe, said the King? Only stay him but tenne dayes, till I be come forth with my ships. Well, said the King, and laughed, thou must bring me a faire *Portugall* Maiden when thou returnest, and then I am pleased. With this answer the Generall tooke his leave, and departed, and hastened all that he could to be gone. For he had left the Merchants behind him, and vnder the protection of the King till his returne: and in the meane time to buy what Pepper they could, to helpe to furnish the *Affentions* lading, which was now more than three parts laden. But the Generall would not leave her behind him, hiding in the Port, but tooke her in his company: for the road but in an open place. All the three ships were made ready, and there was a Captaine of a Dutch ship in the road, who desired the Generall that he might goe to sea in his company, and take part of his adventure; his ship was about two hundred Tunnes, but had as little money to lade himselfe, as we, and therefore refused no consert. So the Generall was contented to giue him $\frac{1}{2}$ of what should be taken, and here rested therewith contented. The Generall hauing taken his leave of the King, and presented two of the chiefe Merchants vnto him, *M. Starke*, and *M. Styles*, the King graciously tooke them into his protection and safeguard: for these Merchants with some others, were left behind (as I said before) for the providing of such Pepper, as was there to be had, against the returne of the ships from the Sea. The ships being ready, we set saile the eleventh of September, toward the Straights of *Malacca*.

Now, let me tell you how the King dealt with the Embassadour of *Portugall*, after our departure, which every day vied his dispatch to be gone: but still, upon one occasion or other, his passage was deferred. At last (four and twenty daies after our departure) the King laid vnto him: I maraile you are so hasty to be gone, seeing the English Embassadour is abroad at the Sea with his shipping? If he meets you, he will be able to wrong you, and doe you violence. I care little for now, said the Embassadour, for my *Friger* is so nimble with Saile and Oares, that if I haue but her length from him, I will escape all his force. Well, said the King: I am the more willing you should depart, because I see you rest so assured of your owne safety: and so he had his dispatch to be gone. This seruice came well to passe for vs, for if he had gone away in time, such aduice would haue beene giuen from *Malacca*, by *Friger* into the Straights, that all ships would haue had warning of vs: but (by this means) we lay within few and twentie leagues of *Malacca* at this, and were neuer decayed, whereby to be presented. The third day of October, we being in the Straights of *Malacca*, laying off and on, the *Heitor* espied a Saile, and calling to the rest of the ships, we all discried her. And being toward night, a prudent direction was giuen, that we should all spread our selues a mile and an halfe, one from another, that she might not passe vs in the night. The shippe fell with the *Heitor*, that first espied her, and presently she called vnto her, and shot off two or three peeces of Ordnance: so that the rest of the ships had intelligence, and drew all about her, and began to attempt her with their great Ordnance, and she returned shot againe. But when the Admirall ship came up, he discharged six peeces together out of his Prow: and then her maine yard fell downe. After that the shot no more, nor any of our ships, fearing least some vnfortunate shot might light

betweene

betweene wind and water, and so sunke her, (for the Generall was very careful) to the sight ceased till the morning. At the brake of day, the Captaine with some of the rest, entred their Boate, and the *Heitor* being next her, called them to come aboard him: and Master *Iohn Middleton* the Captaine, being Vice-Admirall, brought the Boate and Captaine aboard the Generall, to whom they rendered their ships and goods. The Generall presently called all the chiefe men of the Prize, to be placed aboard our ships, and onely placed but foure of our men about the Prize: for feare of rising, & pillaging the good things that are within her; and those foure suffered none other to come aboard. And their charge was, if any thing should be missing, to answer the same out of their waggons and shutes: for when the shippe was vladen, the Boate swaine and the Mariners of the same ships, did wholly vnlade her, and none of ours came within her to see any labour. Onely they received the goods into their Boates, and carried them aboard each ships, as the Generall appointed them to doe: so that by this order, there was neither rising, cheating, pillaging, or spoiling, which otherwise would hardly haue bene a voided in such businesse as this. Within five or sixe daies, we had vladen her of nine hundred and fiftie packes of Calicoes, and Pintalos, besides many packes of Merchandize: she had in her much Rice, and other goods, whose we made small account. Now a storme arising, all their men were let aboard, and we left her, riding at an Anchor. This shippe came from a place called *Saint Thomas*, that lyeth in the Bay of *Bengala*, and was going for *Malacca*. When we intercepted her, she had in her about sixe hundred persons, Men, Women, and Children: her burthen was nine hundred tons. The Generall would neuer goe aboard to see her, and his reason was, to take away suspicion, both from the Mariners that were there, and the Merchants that were at *London*, lest they might charge, or suspect him for any dishonest dealing, by helping himselfe thereby. We was very glad of this good hap, and very thankfull to God for it, and as he told me, he was much bound to God, that had cald him of a very heavy care, and that he could not be thankfull enough to him for this blessing giuen him. For, such he, he hath not one supplied my necessities, to lade these ships I haue: but hath giuen me as much as will lade as many more ships as I haue, if I had them to lade. So that now my care is not for money, but rather, where I shall leaue these goods that I haue, more then enough, in safety, till the returne of the ships out of *England*.

The one and twentieth of October, our ships returned out of the Straights of *Malacca* for *Achen*, whereby the way a great Spout of water came pouring out of the Heauens, and fell not farre from our ship, which we feared much. For these Spouts come pouring downe like a riuer of water, so that if they should light in any ship, the were in danger to be presently sunke downe into the Sea: it falleth with such an extreme violence, all whole together, as one drop, or as water poured out of a vessell: and sometimes dureth a quarter of an houre together, so that the Sea boyleth with froth, of an exceeding height, by the violence of the fall of the Spoute.

§. V.

Their Present to and from the King: His Letters to Queene ELIZABETH:
Their departure for Priaman and Bantam, and sailing a
Trade there.

THE foure and twentieth of October, we callt our Anchors in the Port of *Achen* in *Sumatra*, where the Generall went a shore, and found all the Merchants well, and in safety: who gave great commendations of their good, and kind entertainment received from the King, in the Generals absence. Wherefore, the Generall willing to gratifie the King, with such things as he had taken in the Prize, sorted out a present of duers things, that he thought might be most to his liking: and at his first going to the Court, presented them vnto him. The King received the Present, and welcomed the Generall, and seemed to be very ioyfull, for the good successe he had against the *Portugall*: and testifying said, hee had forgotten the most important businesse that he requested at his hands, which was, the faire *Portugall* Maiden, he desired him to bring with him at his returne. To whom the Generall answered: that there was none so worthy, that merited to be so presented. Therewithall the King smiled, and said: If there be any thing here in my kingdom may please thee, I would be glad to gratifie thy good will. After this, the Generall commaunded the Merchants to put aboard the *Affention*, all such Pepper, Cinamon, and Cloues, as they had bought in her aduice: which was scarcely the ships full lading, but at that time there was no more to be had, nor that year to be hoped for. And therefore, he willed the Merchants to put all their things aboard the ships, for his resolution was to depart from thence, and goe for *Bantam* in *Java maior*, where he vnderstood both of good sale for his commodities, and great returne of Pepper to be had, and at a much more reasonable price, then they could buy it at *Achen*. This determination once knowne,

O o 2

The Caracke yielded to the English.

Care to auoid rising and spoile. Goods taken in the Prize.

His care to prevent suspitions.

A great Spout of water.

Returne to *Achen*.This was Captaine of a ship of Holland, called *Syntheberg*, English favour to the Hollanders.The Kings subtle dealing with the *Portugals*.This was the Carack of *S. Thomas* in India.

all men hasten to put their things aboard. So the Generall made the King priuy to his departure, and went to the Court, and had long conference with him, who deliuered him a Letter for her Maiestie, written in the Arabian tongue: The Tenor whereof, is as followeth.

The Letter of the King of Achen, to the Queene of England.

Clorne be to God, who hath magnified himselfe in his Worker, glorified his Dominion, ordained Kings and Kingdomes, exalted himselfe alone in Power and Maiestie: he is not to be vndered by word of mouth, nor to be conceived by imagination of the heart, he is no vaine phantime: no bound may com-
taine him, nor any similitude expresse him: his blessing and his peace is ouer all his goodnes in the Creation: He hath bene proclaimed by his Prophet heretofore, and now againe by this writing at this present, inferior vnto none. For this Citty, which is not slacke to shew their love, hath manifested it, in the entertainment of that societie, which filleth the Horizon with joy, and hath confirmed it to thee by a signe, which bringeth knowledge of remembrance of it generally and particularly. And for that their request is with purpose for exchange; and they themselves of honest carriage, and their kindnes great in doing good in generall to the Creatures, helping the Creature in proffesse and aduantage soynly, giuing liberally vnto the poore, and such as stand in neede of their abundance, preferring the Creature to their utmost will: with a willing mind: which for this now is extended vnto India and * Arach; sending forth the chiefeest men of discretion and note, calling also the best of the 20 creatures to counsaile herein.

* Or Cymene.

This is the Sultana which doth rule in the Kingdome of England, France, Ireland, Holland, and Frisland: God continue that Kingdome, and that Empire long in prosperitie.

* Or Achens.

And because that he which hath obtained the writing of these Letters, from the King of the Kingdome of * Achey, who doth rule there with an absolute power; And for that there came vnto vs a good report of you, declared and spread very iustly by the mouth of Captaine James Lancaster, (a good continuance his welfare long,) And for that you doe record that in your Letters, there are commendations vnto vs, and that your Letters are Patent Priviledges. Almighty God aduance the purpose of this Honorable confection, and confirme this worthy league.

* Or Spaine.

And for that you doe asseme in them, that the Sultana of * Afrangie is your enemy, and an enemy to 30 your people, in what place soeuer he be, from the first vntill now, and for that he hath lift up himselfe proudly, and set himselfe as King of the world: yet what is he, besides his exceeding pride and haughtie mind? In this therefore is our joy increased, and our societie confirmed: for that he and his Company are our enemies in this world, and in the world to come: so that we shall cause them to die, in what place soeuer we shall meete them, a publicke death.

* Or Bander.

And moreover, you doe asseme, that you desire peace and friendship with vs. To God be praise and thanks for the greatnesse of his Grace. This therefore is our serious Will, and Honourable Purpose truly in this Writing. That you may send fr m your people vnto Our * Ports, to Trade and to Traffique; and that whosoever shall be a soynr Citty in your Highnesse Name, and to whomsoever you shall prescribe the time, they shall be of a soynr Company, and of common priuiledges. For this Captaine and his Company, 40 so soone as they came vnto vs, we haue made them of an absolute societie: And we haue incorporated them into one Corporation and common Dignities: And we haue graunted them Liberties, and haue bestowed them the best course of Traffique: And to manifest vnto men, the love and brother-hood betwene vs and you in this world. There is sent by the hand of this Captaine, according to the custome, vnto the famous * Citty, a King of Gold, beautified with a Ruby, richly placed in his set, two vestures woven with Gold, embroidered with Gold, inclosed in a red Boxe of * Tzin.

* Of London.

* Or China.

* This is, by Computation of time.

Written in * Tarih of the yeere 1011. of Mahomet. Peace be vnto you.

Translated out of the Arabick, by WILLIAM BEDFORD. 50

* Psalmes of David knowne to the Mahometans.

For a Present to her Maiestie, he sent three faire Cloathes richly wrought with Gold, of very cunning worke, and a very faire Rubie in a Ring: and gaue to the Generall another Ring, and a Rubie in it. And when the Generall tooke his leave, the King said vnto him: haue you the Psalmes of David extant among you? the Generall answered: yea, and weeing them daily. Then said the King: I, and the rest of these Nobles about me, will sing a Psalm to God for your prosperitie, and to they did very iolemnly. And after it was ended, the King said: I would haue you sing another Psalm, although in your owne language. So there being in the company some twelue of vs, we sang another Psalm: And after the Psalm ended, the Generall tooke his leave of the King, the King shewing him much kinnesse at his departure: desiring God to blede vs in our iourney, and to guide vs safely into our owne Countrey, saying, if hereafter your ships retarne to this Port, you shall find as good viage as you haue done. All our men being shipped, we departed the ninth of Nouember, being three ships, the Dragon, the Helior, and the Ascention.

tion. We kept company two dayes, in which time the Generall dispatched his Letters for England, and sent away the Ascention, the setting her course homeward, toward the Cape of Good Hope, and we, along the Coast of Sumatra, toward Bantam: to see if we could meete with the Sufan, which had order to laie vpon that Coast.

As we layed along the Coast of Sumatra, we tolainely fell among certaine Ilands in the night: and the day approaching, we marvelled how wee came in among them, without seeing any of them. They were all low landes, and full of Flattes and Rockes, so that wee were in great danger, before we could deere our felues of them: but thanks be to God, who deliuered vs from many other dangers, as he did also deliuer vs from there. So holding on our course from Priaman, we passed the Equinoctiall Line the third time, and came thither the six and twentieth of November, and found the Sufan there, which the Generall had sent before from Achen, to laie there. Now, when they saw vs, they were very glad of our coming, and had provided toward their lading, some six hundred Baggas of Pepper, and sixtie fix Baggas of Cloues. Heere our Pepper cost vs lesse then at Achen, but there is none growing about this Port, but is brought some eight or ten leagues out of the Countrey, from a place called Managash. This place hath no other Merchandise growing there; only, there is good store of Gold in Dust, and small graines, which they wash out of the Sands of Riuer: after the great floods of Raine, that fall from the Mountains, from whence it is brought. This is a place of good refreshing, and is very wholesome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fifteen minutes of the Line. At this Port hauing refreshed our felues with the good ayre, fresh victuals and water, the Generall gaue Commision to the Captaine of the Sufan, to make what halte he could for his lading, which would be accomplished with some hundred Baggas of Pepper, and so to depart for England. And the fourth day of December, we tooke our course toward Bantam, in the Iland of Iaua maior: and we entered the Straights of Sunda, the fifteenth of December, and came to an anchor vnder an Iland, three leagues from Bantam, called Palapanja.

The next day in the morning, we entered the Road of Bantam, and thot off a very great peale of Ordnance out of the Dragon, being our Admirall, and out of the Helior: such an one as had neuer bene rung there, before that day. The next day in the morning, the Generall sent his Vice-Admirall, Captaine Iohn Middleton alant, with a Message to the King: declaring, that hee was sent by the Queene of England, and had both a Message and a Letter to deliver to his Maiestie from her, and requied his Maiesties safe conduct and warrant to come a-land, to deliuer the same. The King returned him word, that hee was very glad of his coming, and sent backe a Nobleman with Captaine Middleton, to welcome the Generall, and to accompany him a-land. The Generall tooke some sixteen men in his company, and went a-land with the Nobleman to the Court: where he found the King (being but a child of ten or eleuen yeeres of age) sitting in a round-houfe; with some sixteen or eighteen Noblemen of the Countrey about him, in some reasonle estate. The Generall did his obeysance, and the King welcomed him very kindly. And after the Generall had had some conference about his message, hee deliuered to the Kings hand, her Maiesties Letter, with a Present of Plate, and some other things withall: which the King receiued with a smiling countenance, and referred the Generall (for further conference) to one of his Nobles, who was then Protector. After some houre and an halfe conference had of many things, the said Nobleman (as from the King) receiued the Generall vnder the Kings protection, and all his Company, willing him to come a-land, and buy and sell, without any kind of molestation, for there he should be as free, as if he were in his owne Countrey: and to this, all the Nobles agreed with one consent. There passed many speeches of diuers things, which (for breuities sake) I omit to trouble the Reader withall: for my purpose is to shew the effect of this first sitting of the Trade in the East-Indies, rather then to particularize of them. The Generall, after his kind welcome and conference had, took his leave of the King, and the rest of his Nobles: and presently gaue order for the prouiding of housing, whereof the King willed him to make his best choice wherefoeuer he would. So, within two dayes, the Merchants brought goods ashore, and beganne to sell: but, one of the Kings Nobles came to the Generall, and said, it was the custome of that place, that the King should buy, and furnish himselfe, before the Subjects should buy any thing. The Generall was well contented for he was aduisd, that he would gaue a reasonable price, and pay very well. The King being serued, the Merchants went forward in their sales: so that within some five weekes, much more was sold there in goods, then would haue laden out two shippes: and yet they brought away from thence two hundred and seutentie fixe bagges of Pepper. These contayned sixtie two pound weight a piece, and cost at first penny 5. 2. Riials of eight the piece, beside our anchorage, and the Kings Custome, which anchorage for our two ships cost vs (by agreement the Sultana) was reckoned among the prestat Pickers and Theenes of the World. But the Generall had commision from the King (after hee had receiued an abuse or two) that whosoever he tooke about his house in the night, he should kill them: so, after four or five were thus slaine, we liued in reasonable peace and quiet. But, continually, all night, wee kept a

Dangerous Flare.

Firebrands.

Managash. Store of Gold in Dust.

The Sufan is not in home. December the fourth, 1602. they depart from Priaman. They arrive in the Road of Bantam.

The King of Bantam a child of 10, or 11. yeeres of age. The Queenes Letter and Present to the King of Bantam.

Trade began.

A Riial of 8. is foure shillings sixpence sterling.

our selves, having great need of good refreshing: For, in three months, wee had seene no land, but were continually beaten in the sea.

The first day of July, we set sail from this land, our course being North-west. The thirteenth day, we passed by an land called the *Ascension*, which standeth in eight degrees. No ships touch at this land, for it is altogether barren, and without water: onely, it hath good store of Fish about it, but deepe water, and ill riding for ships. From hence we held our course full North-west, the wind being South and South-east, till the nineteenth day, and then, we passed the Equinoctial-Line. The four and twentieth day we were six degrees to the Northward, at which time, we judged our selves to be an hundred and fiftie leagues from the Coast of *Ginny*. Then we steered away North and by West and North till the nine and twentieth, at which time, we had sight of the land of *Fogo*. Here, we were becalmed five dayes, striving to passe to the Eastward of this land, but could not: for the wind changed, and came to the North-east, so we stood West North-west.

The tenth day of August, we were in sixteen degrees, and the twelfth day we passed the Tropique of *Cancer*, that lieth in 23.4. degrees, holding our course Northerly. But the three and twentieth, the wind came Westely. The nine and twentieth, we passed the land of Saint *Marie*, the wind faire.

The fourth day of September, we took founding, judging the Lands end of *England* to be forty leagues from vs. The eleventh day, we came to the Downes, well and safe to an anchor: for the which, thanked be almighty God, who hath deliuered vs from infinite perils and dangers, in this long and tedious Navigation.

CHAP. IV.

A Discourse of Iaua, and of the first English Factorie there, with diuers Indian, English, and Dutch occurrences, written by Master EDMUND SCOT, containing a Historie of things done from the eleuenth of February, 1602. till the sixt of October, 1605. abbreviated.

§. I.

The description of Iaua maior, with the manners and fashions of the people, both Iauans and Chynasses, which doe there inhabit.

Iaua maior, and the Inhabitantes.

The Mid-lands.

The Cities.

Bantam.

I*aua maior*, is an land which lieth in an hundred and fortie degrees of longitude from the middle part of it, and in the ninth degree of latitude, being all about an hundred fortie and six leagues long, East and West, and some ninetie leagues broad, South and North, the middle part of which Land is for the most part all mountaines, the which are not so steep, but that people doe trauell to the top of them, both on horse-backe, and on foot. Some inhabitants doe dwell upon those hills, which stand next to the Sea, but in the very middle of the Land, so farre as euer I could learne, there are no Inhabitants, but there are wild beasts of diuers sorts, whereof some doe repaire neere the valleys adioyning to the Sea; and deuoure many people. Towards the Sea, for the most part is low moorish ground, wherein stand their principall Townes of Trade, the chiefe of which lieth on the North and North-east side of the Island, as *Cheringin*, *Bantam*, *Lackarra*, and *Iorian* or *Gressey*. The which low ground is very vnwholsome, and breedeth many diseases, (especially vnto strangers which come thither) and yield no merchandise worthy trading for, or particularly of Pepper, the which hath bene brought in times past from all places of the Land to *Bantam*, as the chiefe Mart Towne of the Countie, which Towne for Trade doth farre exceed *Achen*, or any Towne or Citie therabouts: And Pepper was wont to be brought thither from diuers other Countries, which of late yeeres is not, by reason that the *Dutch-men* trade to eury place, and buy it vp.

This Towne of *Bantam*, is about three English miles in length, also very populous. There are three Markets kept on eury day, one in the forenoone, and two in the afternoone: that especially, which is kept in the forenoone, doth so abound with people, that they throng together, as in many *Fayres* in *England*. Yet I neuer saw any kind of Cattell to sell, by reason that there

are very few tame in the Countrey. Their food is altogether Rice, with some Hens, and some Fish, but not much, or in nooban anse. The *Iauans* houses are altogether built of great Canes, and some few small Timbers, being slight buildings: In many of the principall mens houses, is good workmanship the ved, as carings, &c. And some of the chiefe haue a square Brick room, being built in no better forme then a Brickkil, which is onely to put in all their household stuffe, when fire commeth, but they seldome or neuer lodge, nor eate in them. There are many small Riuer running through the Towne: also, there is a good road for shippes, whereby if they were people of any reasonable capacity, it would be made a very goodly Citie, also it is walled round with a Brick wall, being very warlike built, with Flankers, and Turrets scouring eury way.

I haue bene told by some that it was first built by the *Chingies*. In many places it is fallen to decay for want of repairing. At the very end of this Towne, is the *China* Towne, a narrow Riuer parting them, which runneth crosse the end of the *China* Towne, vp to the Kings Court, and through the middle of the great Towne, and doth be and flow, so that at a high water, both *Glades* and *Lunels* of great burthen, may goe vp to the middle of the great Towne.

This *China* Towne, is for the most part built of Brick, eury house is square, and flat over-head, some of them having Boords, and small Timbers, or if it be Canes over-crosse, on which are laid Bricks and Sand, to strengthen them from fire. Over these Brick Ware-houses is set a shed, being built up with great Canes and Thatched, and some are built up with small Timber, but the greatest number with Canes onely. Of late yeeres, since we came thither, many men of wealth haue built their houses to the top, all fire free, of the which sort of houses, at our first coming, there was no more but the *Sabandars* house, and the rich *Chyna* Merchants house, which neuertheless means of their windows, and sheds round about them, haue bene consumed with fire. In this Towne stand the *English* and *Dutch* houses, which are built in the same manner, onely they are very much bigger, and higher then ordinary houses, and the *Dutch-men* of late (theigh with great cost and trouble) haue built one of their houses up to the top all of Bricks, fire free, as they suppose.

The King of this place is absolute, and since the depoying and death of the late Emperour of *Demacke*, he hold the principall King of all that land: he vtieth alwaies Marshall law vpon any offender whom he is disposed to punish. If any priuate mans Wife or Wives be taken with dishonestly, so that they haue good proote of it, they cause them presently to be put to death, both the woman, and the man that is taken in Adultery with her. And for their Slaves, they may execute them for any small fault. To eury Wife that a *Iauan*, being a free-man, marieth, he must keepe ten women-slaves, which they as ordinary vie as their wives; and some of them keepe for eury wife, forty slaves, for so they keepe ten: they may haue as many more as they will, but they may haue but three wives onely.

The *Iauans*, are generally exceeding proud, although extreme poore, by reason that not one amongst an hundred of them will worke. The Gentlemen of this Land are brought to be poore, by the number of Slaves that they keepe, which eate faster then their Pepper or Rice groweth. The *Chinois*, doe both plant, drile, and gather the Pepper, and also sowe the Rice, liuing as Slaves vnder them, but they sucke away all the wealth of the Land, by reason that the *Iauans* are so idle. And a *Iauan* is so proud, that he will not endure one to stand an inch in height above him, if he be but of the like calling. They are a people that doe very much thirst after blood, yet they will seldome fight face to face with another, or with any other Nation, but doe altogether seeke reuenge of their enemy cowardly, albeit they are for the most part men of a goodly stature. Their law for murder, is to pay a fine to the King, and that but a small summe; but euermore the friends of the party murdered, will be reuenged on the murderer, or his kindred, so that the more they kill one another, the more fines liath their King. Their ordinary weapon which they weare, is called a *Cule*, it is about two foot in length, the blade being waied, and crooked to and fro, Indenture like, and withall exceeding sharpe, most of them hauing the temper of their Mettle pyroned, so that not one amongst nine hundred that is wounded with them in the body, escape with his life. The handles of these weapons, are either of bone or wood, curiously carved in the likenesse of a Duell, which many of them doe w. rship. In their warres, their fight is altogether with Pikes, Darts, and Targets. Of late, some few of them haue learned to vie their Peeces, but very vntowardly.

The apparell of the better sort, is a tucke on their heads, and about their loynes a faire Pintadoe, all the rest of their bodies naked: sometimes they will weare a close-coate, somewhat like a Mandilion, or V. luet, Chamblet, Cloath, or some other kind of Silke: but it is but seldome, and vpon some extraordinary occasion. The common sort weare on their head, a flat cap of Velvet, Taffie, or C. lico-cloth, the which is cut in many peeces, and seamed with a faire stich, to make them sit flat and compasse: about their loynes they weare a kind of Callico-cloth, which is made at *Chyn*, in manner of a silke girdle, but at the least one yard broad, being of two colours. Also, there commeth from thence many sorts of white colour, which they themselves doe both dye Paint and Gild, according to the fashions of that Countrey: Likewise, they can weare a kind of striped stulle, both of Cotton, and Rundes of trees, but by means of their lamelle, there

Their food.
Their houses.

The China Towne.

The King and his power.
Punishment of Adultery.

Costly wives.

Iauans proud and poore.
Chinese frugall.

Punishment of murder.

Their weapons and fighes.

Their apparell.

a hundred Rials. The *Flemmings* requested to haue that vnder his owne hand, the which they had, and it was all the mends they had for killing of their man, if they would haue taken fiftie Rials of eight, they might haue had it.

Longest cruell
enemies to be
met.

About the fift of September, here came a Iuncke full of men from the Iland of *Lampoon*, which standeth in the Straights of *Sunda*; and are enemies to the *Tauans*, and all others that are dwellers in *Bantam*: there are like the *Tauans*; that the one is not knowne from the other. All there were many *Tauans* comforted with them. These men hauing their Iuncke riding in a Creeke hard by the Towne, and being in all points like vnto the *Tauans*, would boldly come into the Towne, and not only in the euening and nights come into houses, and cut off the peoples heads, but at noone dayes, in so much that for the space of a moneth, we could take little rest for the grieuous crying of the people. One day while we were sitting at dinner, they came and tooke a woman, being our next Neighbour, and muffled her in with a Sacke, that she could not cry, and so carried her into a tuft of bushes in our back-side, and there cut her throat, and meant to haue cut off her head, if they had had time. Her Husband mistaking her, and looking out might see them carrie her, who cryed out, and we rose from dinner and pursued them, but it was too late to saue her life. Also they were very swift of foot, so that we could come neere none of them, and for any thing that we knew, they might be amongst vs, for after the *Tauans* were come we could not know them. It was thought of some that they lay hid in the bushes till the coming of the *Tauans*, and then stole out, and put themselves amongst them. There were some *Taua* women that would cut off their Husbands heads in the night, and sell them to these people. They did ling er much about our house, and surely if we had not kept good watch, they would haue attempted the cutting of our throats (if not for our heads) for our goods. But after awhile, many of them were knowne, and being taken were executed, which were men of very goodly stature. The reason they doe make these hard Adventures, is, their King giues them a woman for euery stranger that they bring him, wherefore many times they would digge vp such as were new buried at *Bantam*, and cut off their heads, and so coozen their King.

Perfidious In-
uaders.

Cruelty re-
warded.

Treacherie
intended and
performed.

Also at this time, some credible men that wished vs wel, of whom the Admirall was one, bid vs haue a speciall care of our good watch, because some of the principall of the Land in birth, though not in wealth nor office, which had many Slaves, but little to maintayne them, had laid a Plot to haue slaine vs in the night, and to haue made spoyle of our goods which they tooke to be ten times more then were, and after to haue giuen it out, the *Lampoons* had done it. Whereupon we were forced to haue Lights burning all night round about our house, otherwise in the dark nights, they being lo blacke as they are, might haue entred suddenly vpon vs, before we should descry them. For all the vpper worke of our houses by reason of the heat are open, and they are built with Canes, and likewise the fence round about the houses, which is but a weak building, and may quickly be borne downe. These Heathen Devils came forth two or three times, thinking to haue executed their bloody pretence, but God would not suffer them. For so soone as they came within sight of our Lights and might heare our Drumme sound at the end of euery watch, their hearts failed them, so that they durst not giue the attempt, for they supposed, we were ready not only with our small shot, but with our Murtheurs to giue them entertainment, and so I speake truly, they should haue found it so indeed. After they had wayted long, and could neuer find opportunity, they fell out amongst themselves, and so were dispersed. Diuers others made bold but vaine attempts, and therefore now fel to work with the *Chinois*, whose houses at this time were full of our goods, which they had bought, in so much that euery night for a long time, we had such grieuous crying out, and we looking euery houre when we should be assaulted, durst take no rest in the night. Many *Chinois* about vs were slaine, and surely if we had not defended them with our shot, many more would haue bin slaine for the singing of a Bullet is as terrible to a *Tauan*, as the cry of the Hounds is in the eares of the Hare: for they will not abide if once they heare it. But these continuall alarms, and grieuous out-cries of men, women and children grew so rife in our eares, that our men in their sleepe would dreame they were pursuing the *Tauans*, and suddenly would leape out of their Beds and catch their weapons: his next iellow hearing the dolefull noyse he made, would buell vp, and in their sleepe haue wounded one another, before those that had the watch could come to part them: and if they should haue fet their weapons further from them they would not haue beene ready, if we should haue had occasion, the which we were in for euery minute, and being but few of vs, I tooke my turne to watch as long as any, in which I haue stood many times more in feare of my owne men then of any other, and when I haue heard them buell, haue catched vp a Target, for feare they would haue ferued me as they did their fellows.

The miseries
of the *English*.

Terror of the
word Fire.

But all this feare was nothing to vs in comparison of that which I will now speake of, which was fire. O this word fire, had it beene spoken neere me, either in *English*, *Malayes*, *Tauans*, or *Chine*; although I had bene found a sleepe, yet I should haue leaped out of my bed, the which I haue done sometimes, when our men in their watch haue but whispered one to another of fire: In so much that I was forced to warne them, not to talke of fire in the night, except they had great occasion.

And

And not only my selfe, but my followes, *Thomas Todd*, and *Gabriel Towner*, after our watches had bene out, and we haue a sleepe so that our men many times founding a Drumme at our Chamber doores, we haue neuer bewrayed them, yet presently after they haue but whispered of fire, we all haue runne out of our Chambers. I speake not this, that any may be sent thither hereafter should be discouraged, for then we were strangers, and now we haue many friends there, and the Countrey is growne to much better ciuilitie, and as the young King groweth in age, will more and more, because their Government will bee better. In three monthes space, the Towne on the East-side the River, was burnt fure times, but God be prayd, the wind alwayes fauoured vs, and although the *Tauans* many times fired it on our side, yet it pleased God fully to preserve vs, so that by reason it blew but little wind, it was quenched before it came to hurt vs.

The Towne
fure times
burnt in these
monthes.

¶ III.

Differences betwixt the Hollanders (slinging themselves *English*) the *Tauans*, and other things remarkable.



About this time also, there was much falling out betwixt the *Flemmings* and the Countrey people, by means of the rude behaviour of the *Flemmings*, and many of them were slaine in the euening: and at that time the Common people knew not vs from the *Flemmings*, for both they and we were called by the name of *Englishmen*, by reason of their vsurping our name at their first coming thither to trade, wherein they did our Nation much wrong, for we were euer ashamed of their behaviour, and as wee passed along the street, we might heare the people in the Market, rayling and exclaiming on the *Englishmen*, although they meant the *Hollanders*, wherefore, we fearing some of our men might be slaine in stead of them, wee began to thinke how wee might make our selues knowne from the *Hollanders*.

Hollanders col-
led themselves
English in the
Indies, and so
disgraced vs.
Nouemb. 17.
Iohnnized, &c.
thereby dif-
ference made
betwixt vs.

And now the ffeuteenth of Nouember drawing neere, the which wee held to be our Cotation day, (for at that time, not the yeare following, we knew no other) we all fired our felces in new apparall of silke, and made vs all Scarfes of white and red Taffata, being our Couptrie Colours. Also we made a Flagge with the red Croffe through the middle, and because wee that were the Merchants would be knowne from our men, we edged our Scarfes with a deepe fringe of gold, and that was our difference. Our day being come, wee fet vp our Banner of Saint *George*, vpon the top of our house, and with our Drumme and Shot wee marched vp and downe within our owne ground, being but fourteen in number, wherefore we could march but single one after another, and so plied our Shot, and casting our felces in Rings and Eflfes. The *Sabindar* and diuers of the Chieft of the Land, hearing our Peeces, came to see vs and to enquire the cause of our triumph, we told them, that that day ffeuen and fortie yeare, our Queene was crowned, wherefore all *Englishmen*, in what Countrey fouer they were did triumph on that day. He greatly commended vs for hauing our Prince in remembrance in so farre a Countrey. Many others did aske vs, why the *Englishmen* at the other house did not so: wee told them, that they were no *Englishmen*, but *Hollanders*, and that they had no King, but their Land was ruled by Gouernours. Some would rephe againe, and say they named themselves to bee *Englishmen* at first, and therefore they tooke them to be *Englishmen*, but wee would tell them againe, they were of another Countrey neere *England*, and spake another Language, and that if they did talke with them now, they should heare they were of another Nation. The multitude of the people did admire to see so few of vs deliuer so much shote, for the *Tauans* and *Chinois* are no good shot. In the afternoon I caused our men to walke abroad the Towne, and the Market, whereby the people might take notice of them, and the red and white Scarfes and Hat-bands made such a show, that the Inhabitants of those parts had neuer seene the like, so that euery after that day, we were knowne from the *Hollanders*; and many times, the children in the streets would runne after vs, crying, *Oran Engrees bayk*, oran *Hollanda Labad*, which is, the *Englishmen* are good, the *Hollanders* are naught. Generall *Warricke* went for *Patanca*, and from thence to *China*.

The first day of December came in two ships, which some fix monthes before he had sent thither, who coming vnder the Iland of *Macassar*, found a Carracke there riding at an anchor, being full laden with raw Silks, Muske, and diuers other costly wares, ready to depart, and at that time, her men were almost all aboard, so that they tooke her without any resistance, or very little, they laded their two ships and the rest they let a fire, so that there was by their owne report, twice so much burnt as they brought away. Coming backe they met with a great Iuncke of *Siam*, with whom they fought and killed threecore and foure men. They had found slaine and hurt all, but when they had taken her, and knew her to be of *Siam*, they let her goe againe, because they had or shortly meant to send *Falcons* there, the Captaine of the Iuncke was slaine, who they say, when they haled him would not tell them of whence he was, and when they had

A Carrack
taken.

Cachichina.

Malaco.

Danger by
hoate of Pep-
per.Chimie disbo-
neſty.A ſt of our
buying ſo much
Pepper.Engliſhmen
with the Hol-
landers.A Luncke from
Iore.Two great
fires.

Año, 1604.

Dangers by
Malaco.

him ſtrike, Anſwered that he would not for neuer a Saile that Iwarne in the Sea. The *Flemmings* not knowing Maſke ſold great ſtore to certame of *Iapen*, which they met with at Sea for little or nothing. After they had ſpent ſome fortie dayes in *Banton*, and their Mariners, ſome wickedly and ſome vainly confirmed their ſallage, (which was great) vpon the ſeuenteenth of January they ſet ſaile from thence, being four ſhips in company there. One had laded at *Banton*, and one that ſome two monthes before came from *China*; and had ſpent four years out of their Country, of which time, they had bene fourteen monthes at *Cachichina*, where they at their firſt coming, were betrayed, and their Captaines taken Priſoners, whom they made kneele on their knees ſoure and twentie houres, hauing their neckes bare, and one ſtanding with a ſharpe Sword ready to hane ſtrooke off their heads when the word ſhould be giuen. They bare them downe to be men of Warre and Spyes, and ſome Merchants. Theſe *Dutchmen* were Papifts, wherefore in the end the *Portugall* Friers ſaued their lues, and afterwards they were kindly viſed, but their ranſome coſt them deare.

About this time the Protector ſent to mee diuers times to lend him two thouſand pieces of eight, and if not two thouſand, a thouſand, but I put him off, telling him we were left there with goods but no money. Alſo that the people of the Country ought vs much, the which we could not get in, likewiſe that as yet we had bought but little Pepper, wherefore we muſt buy all we could to get luing againſt we expected our ſhips. The *Flemmings* that came in ſo rich from *Mac-ken*, had ſo benighted him, that now he began to harken to them concerning the building of a faire houſe.

The fixt of February we loſt one of our Company *Robert Wallis*, and many more of our men were ſicke and lame, which lay the heate of the Pepper in milling and ſtutting in, ſo that e- uer after we were forced to lurre *Chimie* to doe that worke, and our owne men to ouer-ſee them only.

The ſixteenth of February, came in a great ſhip of *Zelan* from *Pattary*, but ſue or ſoſe dayes before her coming, ſhe ſent in a ſmall Ship or Pinnace, willing their Factors to buy vp all the Pepper they could, which made vs thinke that *Generall Warnecke*, with all his ſhippes was coming to laſe there, wherefore we bought vp all that was found to bee good and merchantable. For the *Chimies* ſpoiled much with water and dirt, becauſe the *Flemmings* reſuſed none, and it is of a certaine, the *Chimies* bought one of another, and ſeld it to the *Flemmings* againe at the ſame price they bought it, and yet they would gaine ten Rials of eight in a hundred laces, by putting in water and dirt, for were it neuer ſo bad, they knew their Chapmen, and blow which way the wind would, they had ſhipping to come thither, either from the Eaſt or from the Weſt, in ſo much that one would haue thought they meant to carrie away the Pepper growing on the Trees, Mountaines and all. The people there hearing our Countries are cold, haue asked vs if we beat Pepper in our Morter, that we playſter our walles with to make our houſes warme. This ſhip had taken much good purchaſe, but they ſware theſe *Engliſhmen* they had with them, and alſo charged them vpon ſome of their wages, they ſhould tell vs nothing, which we tooke very vnkindly.

There was at this time three houſes of *Flemmings*, and all lay for ſeuerall accounts, and bought vp Pepper euery one ſo much as they could get. The fixt of March the Protector ſent to mee in the Kings man to borrow a thouſand Rials of eight, wherefore I was forced to lend them ſix hundred, or elſe they would haue fallen out with me, the which the *Flemmings* would haue bene glad to haue ſene.

About this time there came in a Luncke from *Iore*, with certaine *Flemmings* in it, who ſtole a- way with their goods, becauſe *Iore* had a long time bene beſieged by the *Portugall* of *Malaco*, ſo that they of the Towne could hardly looke out. They ſaid the *Portugall* offered the King of *Iore* peace, vpon condition hee wd. ſell them thoſe *Flemmings* that were there into their hands, or kill them himſelfe, to the which the King anſwered, that hee would firſt loſe his Kingdome. In the beginning of this month of March, and to make an end of this old and wonderfull year, 1602, we had two great fires on the other ſide of the water which did much ſpoile, but God bee thanked the wind alwayes fauoured vs.

And now to begin the new year 1604. My Pen affords to ſpeake of little elſe, but Murther, Theft, Warres, Fire and Treſon, and firſt to begin with a Tragedie. We had a *Malato* of *Pegu* in our houſe, which our ſhips brought from *Acbeu*, and in the great ſhip that came lately from *Pattania*, there was one of his Country men, who on Sunday being the eight of April, had gotten a bottle of Wine, and brought it a-horne to make merry with our *Malato*. In the afternoon, they walke abroad, met with the Prouoſt of their ſhip, who bid their *Malato* get him a-board, but he anſwered he would not yet, whereupon the Prouoſt ſtrooke him, our *Malato* ſeeing his Country-man miſſed and being ſomewhat tickled in the head with wine, which hee did ſeldome vſe to drinke, thought he would reuenge his Country-mans quarrell, wherefore hee ſo preſently came home, and the evening being that time there was much quelling and bubbling betweene the *Iuſians* and the *Flemmings*, I charged our men, that if they were ſent out in the evening about any buſineſſe, they ſhould take their Weapons with them, for feare ſome *Ia-*

uſians, that knew them not might doe them a miſchiefe in the darke, we thinking the Cooke had ſent him into the Market for Herbes or ſomething which hee wanted, miſtruſted nothing. Alſo there went out with him a Slaue of the *Sabinders*, which was borne and brought vp amongſt the *Spaniards* at the *Manilles*. They meeting with the Prouoſt, & the other *Malato* together, our *Malato* beganne to quarrell with the Prouoſt, and preſently out with his Cryſe, and ſtabd him, then fearing his Countryman would bewray him, ſtabd him alſo and would haue flaine him that went out with him, had he not runne thorow a great Ditch, and ſo got from him, then meeting with a poore *Iuſian*, and being nulled in blood ſtabd him likewiſe.

There manner is, that when a *Iuſian* of any account is put to death, although there bee a com- mon Executioner, yet the next of kinne doth execute his office, and it is held the greateſt fa- uour they can doe him. The Protector would haue had twentie Rials of eight for the *Iuſian* which was ſlaine, and the *Hollanders* his life. And accordingly they came with a guard of ſhot, the ſixteenth of April, to his execution, which the Executioner performed with quickſt ſt- patch.

The fame evening their Vice-Admirall, hauing one ſhip more in company ſet ſaile for *Hol- land*. The fourteenth day *Thomas Tudd*, the Companies chiefe Factor left there for *Banda* who had bene a long time ſicke departed his life, ſo that ſeuſen Factors left there for this place and *Banda*, we were now but two luing, and we had loſt in all ſince the departure of our ſhips, eight men beſides the *Malato* that was executed, and wee were now tenn luing and one Boy. The twentieth day died *Laſter Genſtery*, who was Admirall of the two ſhips that was betrayed at *Cachichina*.

The two and twentieth of April, came in a great Luncke from *China*, which was thought to be caſt away, becauſe the tarried ſo late, for they vſe to come in February and March, but by reaſon of her coming, Calis kept all the year at a very cheape rate, which was a great hindre- ance to vs, in the ſales of our prize goods, for when Calis were cheape, and Rials deare, we could not vent a piece of ſtuffe at halfe the value we did at our firſt coming. Againe, the *Chi- nois* this year ſent all the Rials they could get for *Chimie*, wherefore we were forced to giue them credit, or elſe we muſt loſe the principall time of the year for our ſales. Pepper the *Flemmings* had left none, but what was in our hands, and the *Sabinders*, who would not tell for any reaſona- ble price. Alſo our goods now began to grow old, and the colours of many ſores began to fade, for the Ware-houſes in that place are ſo hot and moyſt, that although men take neuer ſo much paines in aying and turning their wares, yet they will ſpoyle any ſort of Cloth which ſhall lye long in them.

§. IIII.

Treacherous underminings, with other occurrents.

40 *Chimie* borne, but now turned *Iuſian*, who was our next neighbour, and kept a victu- ling houſe, and brewed Aracke, which is a kind of hot drinke, that is vſed in moſt of thoſe parts of the world, in ſtead of Wine, had two Our-houſes, where his gueſts did vſe to ſit, and in theſe hee vſed to brew, which ſtoyned to our pales, on the South ſide of our houſe; but now he began another Trade, and became an Ingeniour, hauing got firſt Fire-brands of hell more in his hand, only of purpoſe to let our houſe a-fire. Theſe ſimple deere workers digged a Well in one of theſe houſes, from the bottom of which Well, they brought a Mine, quite vnder the foundation of our houſe: but when they came vp to the Plancks of our Ware-houſe, they were at a ſtand, but before they could make this Mine, they were forced to dig a very deepe Well in their yard, to draw away the water which did abound in this Mine, and becauſe we ſhould miſtruſt nothing, they planted Tobacco, and many other herbes, hard by that Well, and would euery day be watering of them: Alſo, we might heare them boyling of water euery day, but becauſe they were Brewers, and had many tubbs to waſh and to fill, we miſtruſted nothing of that enſued. When they came to the Plancks afore-named, they diſt not cut them, alwayes for ſome of vs were walking our them, both night and day. After they had waited two monthes, and could neuer find opportunitie to cut the boards, they began to caſt their Cerberous heads together how they ſhould get in, but the Deuill ſet them wrong to work, for if they had continued ſtil, vntill they had come but croſſe the ware-houſe oppoſite againſt them, they had found thirte thouſand Rials of eight buried in larrs, for feare of fire, and alſo that room was not boarded at all, ſo they might haue come into the Ware-houſe, and had what they fought for. Well, one of theſe wicked conſortſhip being a Smith, and brought vp alwayes to worke in fire, told his fellows hee would worke out the plancks with fire, ſo that we ſhould neuer heare nor ſee him, and vpon the eight and twentieth of May, about ten of the clocke at night, they put to a Candle, and burnt a round hole thorow the boards. So ſoone as the fire came thorow, the Mats of our Packsooke fire, which preſently ſpread, and began to burne; at this

Needeſt thou ſee
goe who in the
Deuill diſt
This ſtory being
long ſhall haue
enough ſaid of a
ſo ſoone
quarre ſcued
both w
Iuſian & Co.
Lodges, the
probaſe
might cauſe a
third fire in the
Reade.

Thomas Tudd
dyeth.

Difficultie in
Sailles.

Vulcan ſet
to conuey a-
way the Eng-
liſh goods.

Great dangers.

The Queene
renowned af-
ter her death.
Fame of the
English.

English resolu-
tion admir'd.

Hollanders ha-
red.

Chinese fraud.

First news of
Q. Elizabeth's death.

Principal Mi-
ner taken.

that if there Slaues be killd, they are beggered, wherefore they had alwayes rather come to a fel-
fealt, then a pitched Battell.

The fourteenth day of November, which we tooke to be our Coronation day, and having
all our Peeces and Chambers lying laden since the troubles, we invited the *Flemmings* to Dinner,
in the middle of Dinner we dranke a Health to our Queene, and also those off all our Ordnance.

There resort to this Towne of *Bantam* a number of many Nations, the which diuers of them
are Liegers. These people haue heard much fame of the *English* Nation in times past, before e-
uer they saw any of vs, had an especial eye to our carriage and behaviour, and were were growne
a common admiration amongst them all, that we being so few should carrie such a port as we
did, neuer putting vs the least wrong that was offered by either *Lanous* or *Chineses*, but alwayes
did iustice our selues, and when the Protector did wrong vs himselfe, it was knowne that we
did not spare to tell him of it soundly, and in such sort that he wanted very much of his will. It
is well knowne also, that at the first coming of our ships, the *Lanous* offered vs much wrong, in
purloining our goods, but so many as we tooke, were either slaine, wounded, or foully beaten:
the *Lanous* thought we durst not do so, when our ships were gone, wherefore they did practise
to steale both day and night, but they found it all one, the which they did admire at for it is most
certaine, and I haue heard many Strangers speake it, that haue bene present when we haue be-
aten some *Lanous* that they neuer knew or heard of any Nation but vs, that were Liegers there,
that durst once strike a *Lanous* in *Bantam*, and it was a common talke among all Strangers and o-
thers, how we stood at defiance with those that hated vs for our goods, and how little we care
for them. Likewise, how we neuer offered any wrong to the meanest of all Strangers and al-
lowe how we were generally beloued of all the better sort: they would say, it was not to loath the
Flemmings, nor with another Nation. And all the while I was there, I neuer heard, that euer
the *Flemmings* gave a *Lanous* so much as a box on the eare, but many times fowle of the *Chineses*,
who will very seldom make any resistance, yet it is of truth, they are mortally hated, aliue of
all sorts of *Lanous*, as *Chineses*.

Now eueray day they looked for their shipping, and haue little Pepper, nor knew not where
to buy any, for the *Chineses* would sell them none, so long as we would giueas much as they And
more then that; for when all our Ruks was layd out, some of them sold vs Pepper to be paid
when our ships came, not knowing when they would come, nor we neither at that time, but so
we guessed. If they would haue gone to the *Flemmings*, they might haue had ready money,
a great thanks. They therefore bought what they could by rezayle in the Markets, sending it to
a *Chineser* house by Boate in the evening, but the charge consumed the gaine.

About this present time, the Emperor of *Damack*, who not many years before for tyran-
ie had bene depoyed by the Kings treachourts, going by Sea from *Bantam*, to another Towne
vpon the Coast, was by one of his finnes flaid in his Bed sleeping.

The *Chineser* will mingle vitally their Pepper in the night if you leave it with them, or put in
dull, or transport it, and we should be sure to find that which we had not liked, at one mans ye-
ster day, now in another mans house, a good distance off, and the next night after at another
house, as who should say, it was another parcell, and the olde Ware-houle where it lay first
should be shut, or a parcell of better Pepper in it.

In Nouember, and the beginning of December, we were busied both in building and getting
in, and making cleane of Pepper, the fourteenth of December, came in a *Dutch* Pinnace, who
told vs of the death of our late Queene, and of the great Plague and Sicknesse, that had bene o-
ver all Christendome, which strooke more terrou to our mindes, then all the troubles we had
passed, but they could tell vs no newes of our ships, which caused vs much to doubt, only they
told vs, the King of *Scots* was crowned, and that our Land was in peace, which was exceeding
great comfort vnto vs, altho they told vs of the peace that was likely to be betwixt *England* and
Spaines. In all the *Dutch* Fleet, and because we heard of no Letters for vs in the Pinnace, I made
hate, and went aboard the *Dutch* Admirall to bid him welcome, also to enquire for Letters, the
which we found in their Vice-Admirall. The two and twentieth of December, by means of
some of our friends, *Princes* that was the principall that vndermanned our house, being decried
and taken, haue learne long in the Mountaines, and for want of food, was forced to repaire to
certaine houses neere the Towne, from whence he was brought to the rich *Chinas* house, so loone
as I heard of him, I sent Master *Twenford* to the Protector to certifie him of it, and wiiall to tell
him, we would shortly execute him, for since the time that this mischief happened, I neuer
went out of sight of our house my selfe, but once, vntill our ships came in, the which once was
when the Protector croited vs, so that then I was contrayned, and my feare was to great, that
I thought all would be burnt, before I should come backe againe, likewise three times euer weeke,
I used to search all the *Chineses* houses round about vs, for feare of more vndermining.

¶ V.

¶ V.

Generall Middletons arrivall, the sicknesse and death of many. Quarrells betwixt
Ours and the Hollanders, begunne by Captaine Severin, a Dutch-
man, and the King of Bantams circumcision,
and pompous Triumphes.

THE fame day towards Euening, we desired our Ships comming into the Road, to all
our extraordinary great ioyes; but when we came aboard of our Admirall, and sawe
their weaknesse, altho hearing of the weaknesse of the other three ships, it grieved vs
much, knowing that *Bantam* is not a place to recouer men that are sicke, but rather to
kill men that come thither in health. At my first coming aboard, I found our General, Captaine
Henry Middleton, very sickly and weaketo whom I made relation in briefe what troubles we had
passed; also I certified him neuerthelesse, we had lading ready for two ships, which was some con-
tent vnto his mind, very much grieved for the weaknesse of his men. They had hardly fittie
found men in their foure ships, and of the sicke men a number died. Also of those that came thir-
ther in health, many neuer went out of the Road.

The foure and twentieth day, our Vice-Admirall, Captaine *Colthrust* came a shore, with
some other Merchants: on which day we executed this Villaine which we had lately taken. Ha-
ving now slaine the fourth principall, and one more was killd for stealing of a woman: at my com-
ming away there remained foure alive, of which, two were at *Lacura*, one with *Mandelike* the
traytor, and one with *Cay Sanapary Lama*, which we could not as then come by. The same day,
our Vice-Admirall being accompanied with vs there resident before, and also some other of the
new Merchants, went to the Court to certifie the King, that our General had Letters from the
King of *England*, with a present for him, and more to tell him our General was weary, hauing
been long vpon the Seas, and so loone as he was a little refreshed, he would come himselfe to see
him, and also to deliuer the Letters, and the Present.

The five and twentieth, being *Christmas* day, we dined aboard our General: but I should haue
spoke before of a Council that was holden on Sunday, being the three and twentieth day,
wherein it was thought of all, that the *Dragons*, and the *Assenion* were fittie to goe for the
Molucces, for diuers reasons which need not here be reheard; and the *Hellier*, and *Susan* to lade
Pepper and to be dispatched home. And the same weeke after, we were busied in getting of fresh
victuals, Herbs, Fruits, and Flowers, for the recovery of our men, which were most pitiful-
ly payed with the Scurvy.

The one and thirtieth day, our General came on shore, and being accompanied with all the
Marchants that were in health, and diuers others, he went to the Court, and deliuered the Kings
Letters and Present, the which were as followeth: One faure Bason and Ewre, two faure stan-
ding Cups, all parcell-gilt, one gilt spoone, and fixe Muskets with their furniture: the which
were kindly receiued. A day or two after our General spent in visiting our chiefest friends, as the
Schinder, the Admirall, the rich *Coyms*, and also gaue them Presents, who very thankfully re-
ceiued them. After this, we fell all to worke, both ashore and aboard, to packe vp, and take in
goods for the *Molucces*: but after our men were a little recored of the Scurvy, the Fluxe took
them, so that we continued still very weak in men, in to much, that it was vnpossible in mans
iudgement, that euer we should be able to accomplish our businesse in that manner.

On Monday, being the seuenth of January, the *Dutch* Fleet, being nine tall Ships, besides Pin-
naces and Shugers, set saile for *Amboyna*, and the *Molucces*, so that we rested very doubtfull a long
time, whether our ships should get any lading in those parts that year; by reason of their number
of shipping which was gone before ours. Neither could our Ships possibly goe looner, by means
of our weaknesse.

The tenth of January, the ships that were bound home, began to take in Pepper, but they
were so oppressed with sicknesse, that they could make no dispatch. The eighteenth day, our
ships hauing taken in all the goods which we thought meet for those parts, set saile for the I-
lands of *Banda*, hauing their men for the most part extreme weak and sicke: but how they
spent their time vntill their returne to *Bantam*, I must referre to their owne reports. Presently
after the departure of these ships, the protector sent vnto vs to agree about Customes, the which
we had thought we had knowne since our first shipping departed; but he asked many duties, which
we neuer heard of before, & because I would not grant to pay thē, he commanded the Porters they
should carry no Pepper: wherefore to prevent that this should not be a hinderance to vs in lading
our ships (for we had hinderance enough beides) I was forced to agree with him, to pay in hand
according to that rate as our ships paid before, and to let the full agreement rest vntill the returne
of our General, and he thought he did vs great kinde here. It pleased God to take away
the two Masters of these two ships which we were now a lading, *Samuel Spencer*, Master of the
Hellier, and *Hubback*, Pery, Master of the *Susan*. Also *William Smith*, the principall Masters
mate

English ship-
ping, one, and
their weaknes.

Bantam vn-
healthfull.
Henry Middle-
ton General.

Captaine Col-
thrust.

Letters from
King James.

Dragons sent to
the *Molucces*,
Men sicke of
the Scurvie.

Presented to the
King.

Fluxe succced
died the *Schoo-*
bute.

Much sicknesse.

The *Assenion*
sent to *Banda*.

Death of many

the prettiest Boyes we could get, and also two proper tall *Jauns* to beare Pikes before them. Multer *Tierse* had a very prettie Boy, a *Chinese* Ionne, whose Father was a little before slaine by Theues: this youth we attired as gallant as the King, whom we went to present these things, and to make a speech to the King, signifying to him, that if our number had beene equal to our good wils, we would have presented his Maestie with a faire better shew.

Fire-works.

Hollanders Vanities.

The King and diuers others about him tooke great delight in the Comies. Also our men carried some Fire-works with them, which were very rare matters to the young King and his play-fellows, but the women cryed out, for feare they would let the Court a fire.

The *Flemmings* gave a prettie which they can easily bragge off, in small matters, they doe not spare to bragge very much of their King, meaning *Grace Maurice*, whom they call in all their parts at every word *Raisa Hollanda*. Much quarrell arose betwixt our men and them, the *Flemmings* in drinke still beginning and braiuing, and vsually getting the worst. I had much to doe to refrayne our men, which yet was necessary considering we had a great charge of goods, the charge of which lay vpon me. Also we were but badly housed, and in a dangerous Countrey, likewise if we gaue them blowes, it was likely, a number of them would come vpon vs: we being but few could not defend our selves without shedding of blood, the which would require vengeance. They were about a hundred men in the Houle, Ship, and Flye-boat, which (no doubt) would haue come vpon vs hauing such an occasion, and wee but thirteenth in a Straw-houle.

King of Lacra's pompe & homage.

The eighteenth of Iuly, the King of *Lacra* came in to present his shew before the King of *Bantam*, also to giue his present, and to doe his homage, the which was performed the three and twentieth of Iuly in this manner. In the morning early, the King of *Bantam's* Guard (which was on this day an extraordinary number) were placed in files, their Pikes set vpright in the ground, and their shot lying in order, and euery man fitting by his Armes, being clothed in red Coates. About eight of clocke my selfe with some other of our Merchants and men went to see this shew, and taking vp our standing neere the Kings Pageant, the Kings Guard would often bid vs sit downe, but we would answere, they must first bring vs a forme: for indeed there is no Nation fit to stand in the Kings or any great mans presence, if as they be neere them. Wee and the

Standing a token of honour, sitting of submission, contrary to our Customs.

Flemmings were commanded by the Officers to sit downe, as well as the rest, but wee were too stout (knowing they had no such Commission) to stoop vnder their yoke: but for other Nations they would bang them if they refused, although the ground and place where they should sit were neuer so durty. But the *Jauns*, who cannot indure to haue any stand our them, would remoue a good distance from vs, and many of the Kings Guard forlocke their Weapons, and would goe sit afaire off, neither can they indure that one should lay his hand on their head, the which is not for any point of Religion, as some would affirme, but only of mere Pride. Many times, when I haue come into a *Chinese* houle, where *Jauns* haue sat in the floor, I sitting downe on a Chist, as our order was, they haue all flart vp, and ranne out at doores: the *Chinese* would tell vs, if any other Nation should doe so, but we or the *Hollanders*, they would stab them, but they durst not meddle with vs.

Many prettie Kings.

Cowardly Jauns.

But now to my former matter. About nine a clocke the King was brought out in the same manner, as I before haue mentioned, some two hours after the King of *Lacra* came, hauing a guard of some hundred persons about him: so toone as euer hee came in sight, the Kings Guard all rose vp, and euery man proued his Weapon, the which wee had neuer seen before when any shew came in, so that it should seeme that there was great feare, not that the King of *Lacra* would offer any violence, but there was a number of other prettie Kings, who had great troupes of men, the which Kings were his mortall Enemies, wherefore fearing they might rise against him, we plainly perceived the King of *Bantam's* Guard, had their charge to be ready to defend the King of *Lacra*, if such a matter should happen. When hee came neere the innermost file of the Kings Guard, he could not pale to the King but hee must needs goe thorow a ranke of these prettie Kings, whom hee knew did most deadly hate him, wherefore fearing the cowardly stab, which is vici amongst that Nation, he began to looke very gally, and wildly on it, although he is as stout a man, as any is in all those parts: pale then hee would not, but sat downe, vpon a Leather that was layed on the ground, the which euery Gentleman hath carryed after him for that purpose. So soone as he was set, hee sent to the King, to know if it were his pleasure, he should come vnto him, whereupon the King sent two of the principall Noblemen about him, to conduct him to his presence, and after the King of *Lacra* had done his cyeleuance, the young King embraced him, and welcommed him according to the Countrey order: after this the King of *Lacra* sat downe in a place appointed for him. All this while there was some other prettie shewes presented.

King of Lacra's Present.

About twelue a clocke came his shew and presents. The Souldiers came in order as I haue before declared, being about three hundred in number, then followed by many women with Calbes and strange Fowles both aloue and artificiall, and likewise many strange beasts: amongst which was one furious beast called by them a *Marchan*. This beast is somewhat bigger then a Lion, and very Princely to behold if they be at libertie, they are spotted white and red, hauing many black streakes which came downe from the reins of his backe vnder his belly. I haue scene one of

them jump at the least eightheene foot, by many mens estimation for his pray. They doe kill many people neere the Towne of *Bantam*, and many times the King and all the Countrey, goeth hunting of them, not only in the day time, but in the night. This *Marchan*, which I now spake of, was in a great Cage of wood, which was placed vpon Trucks of old carriages, and being drawne in with Buifles, he lay for all the world like a Traytor vpon a hurdle. There was drawne in like manner a huge Gyant, which by our estimation, might be some thirtie foote in height: also a Deull came in, in like order: more there was drawne in a Garden hauing many dozens of hearbs and flowers in it. In the middle of which Garden, was a Fille-pond, wherein was diuers sorts of small Fishes, and all sorts of Fishes which they doe know in those partes, were brought in either aloue, or artificially made. Amongst their things, came in many Maskers, Vawters, Tumblers, very strangely, and salugiously attired, which did dance and shew many strange feates before the King. There was drawne in likewise a very faire bed-head, whereon was a faire quilted bed: also eleuen boulters and pillowes of Silke, embroidered with Gold at the ends. The posts of the bed-head were very curiously carued and gilted, with a faire Canopy wrought with Gold: A number of other pretty toyes, were brought in and presented. Last of all, came in his youngest Ionne, riding on a Chariot, but it was drawne with Buifles, which mee thought was very vildely. Indeed they haue but few horses, the which are small Nags. I neuer saw any of them put to draw, but only to ride on, and to runne at tilt, after the *Barbary* fashion (as I haue heard some *Barbary* Merchants say) which exercise they vie euery Saturday towards Euening, except in their time of Lent, which is a little before ours.

A huge Gyant and a deull. A garden and fish pond.

Maskers and Tumblers.

The second day after this shew was presented, being Friday, and their Sabbath, the King was carried on his Pageant to Church, where he was circumcised. His Pageant was borne by many men, it was reported to me by the Kings Nurse, foure hundred: but I think he lied, for me thought there could not stand so many vnder it.

A Chariot drawne by Buifles. Horlesiew & new vied to drawe.

King of Bantam circumcised.

The fourth and twentieth of Iuly, our Generall came into the Road from *Ternate*: so soone as we discerned the shippe, and knew her to be the *Dragon*, I tooke a Prow and went aboard to bid him welcome, who declared to me the dangers they had passed, and also of the vnkind dealings which he had of the *Hollanders*, albeit hee feared some of their lues. Neuthelesse, he told mee hee had (though with great paines and turniole) gotten a good quantitie of Cloues to

The Generall returns from Ternate.

wards his lading, the which was good newes to vs, wherefore wee gaue God hearty thanks for all, especially that he had brought him thither againe in safetie, not doubting but within short time, we should be able to furnish him with the rest of his lading. The eight and twentieth day, came in the great *Encas* of *Holland* from *Ternate*: Also the same day the King of *Lacra* came to see our Generall.

§. VI.

40 Further quarrels betwixt the English and Dutch, with other accidents.

THE first of August in the afternoons, our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, being very buisie in the Ware-houle, taking an Inuentaire of the remainder of prize-goods, and all other goods, there was word brought that the *Flemmings* had wounded two of our men, the which we saw come bleeding in at the gate. Our Generall commanded euery man to get him weapons, with all speed, and to lay them ouer the pates foundly, the which presently was performed: himselfe could find no weapon ready, wherefore hee tooke up a barre of Iron, but finding that too heauy, he came into the streete only with a small Cud-gell. The *Flemmings* were charged home to their owne gates, one was runne quite thorow the body, what became of him we could not certainly tell, yet some said hee escaped it, two more lost their armes, the Merchants with diuers others of their houles came with shot. The *Flemmings* Merchants came to our Generall, but hearing that their men began, they answered that they had but their darts: and after they had drunke a Cup o' Wine, they kindly tooke their leave of our Generall, and all the rest of the Merchants, and so departed. Newes was presently carried to the Court, how the *Flemmings* and we were by the eares, and that there was twoaine. Some about the King, asked whether they were *English* or *Flemmings*, which were slaine, and whether being male, that they were *Flemmings*: they said, it was no matter if they were all slaine. In this broyle, I thank God, we had no man hurt, but two, the which was done before the complaint came, neither had they any great harme: one hauing a slash ouer the hand, the other a stab vnder the side with a knife, which was not very deepe: this was the first time, but it was not long, but we were at pell mell againe, and againe, where the *Flemmings* lped as they did now.

English wounded by the Dutch.

Dutchmen tried with their fellowes coward.

The eleuenth of August, came in two ships from *Cambaya*, who had taken great wealth from the *Portugals*, the same day came in one ship from *Ternate*. The sixteenth day, came in the *Assen* from *Banda*: The eight of September, the *Dutch* Merchants inuited our Generall, and all

Ships from Cambaya. The Assen from Banda.

The twentieth day of August being Munday we weighed, and set sail out of the Road of *Saldania*, the wind Southerly, and we stood to the West-ward.

The three and twentieth of December, being Sunday, we came to anchor in *Bantam* Road, where we found five *Holland* ships, and three or four *Pinas*es.

The eighteenth day of January, we set sail out of *Bantam* road, with the *Dragon* and the *Ascension*, but they parted at *Amboyna*. The General went with the *Dragon* to the *Malacca*, and the *Ascension* (commanded M. *Colbrunn* was Captaine) for *Banda*; and the *Heitor* and the *Susan* landed Pepper at *Bantam*, and set sail from thence about the middle of February.

The twentieth day of February, the *Ascension* arrived at *Banda*, and anchored in four fathoms and an half, by *Nora*, which is the chiefest place in those Ilands. From the South-part of *Amboyna* to *Banda*, the course is East by South, to the South-ward thirty leagues: the latitude of *Banda* is four degrees, forty minutes, and the going in is to the West-ward. There is a very high hill that burneth continually, and that Hill you must leave on the Larbord-side, and the other great Iland on your Star-board side. The going in is very narrow, and you cannot see it till you come within half a mile: but beare not to stand with the Iland, that the high Hill is on, while you come within two Cables length of it; for so you must do, and then you shall have about twenty fathomes; and then stand along still by that Iland about a Cables length from it, if the wind will give you leave, and then you shall find shallower water, eight, seven, six fathoms, and in the very narrow of all, you shall have five fathomes, and so that depth untill you come into the Road.

By Gods helpe, a man may goe in without any danger, keeping neere unto the aforementioned Iland: it is somewhat shallow on the Star-board side, in the narrow of the going in, but that will shew it selfe. There are two small Ilands, one called *Puloway*, and the other *Puloria*, and they lie about three leagues to the West-ward of the going in: there is no danger about them, but may be very well perceived. You may leave those Ilands on which side you please, either at your going in, or coming out.

About the middle of March, here we found the wind to be variable, and so continued till the middle of April, and then it continued, and stood betweene the East and South-East, four months to our knowledge. But it doth vie to continue five months, as the people of the country say, and likewise five months betweene the West and North-West, and the other two months variable. Here in the darke Moones it is given much to gusty weather, and much raine. Here we stayed one and twenty weekes, and six dayes, in the which time we had eleven men died, and most of the Fluxe.

The one and twentieth day of July, 1605, being Sunday, we set sail from *Banda*, the wind at East South-East, and we stood to the West-ward. The two and twentieth day, we fell with the South-end of *Burro*, the wind at East South-East.

The seven and twentieth day we fell with *Defelem*, and then we came about the South-end of the Iland, leaving seven Ilands on our Lar-board side. We stood close by the wind to the North-ward, faire by the maine Iland of *Defelem*, to cleare our selues of a small Iland and a shoal, that lieth off the South-West part of *Defelem*, and leaving this Iland, and all the other shoals on our Larbord-side, we stood North, North-West, along the West side of *Defelem*, while we came in five degrees and tenne minutes; then we steered West eighteen leagues, and fell with the point shoal that lieth off the South-West end of *Defelem*: And the very Souther-most part of that shoal, lieth in five degrees, and being cleare of that, we stood to the West-ward.

The sixteenth day of August, we came to anchor in *Bantam* road. The first day of October being Sunday, we set sail out of *Bantam* road, with the *Dragon* and the *Ascension*.

The fifteenth day of November, latitude thirty one degrees, forty eight minutes, the wind North North-West, chicke foggy weather. This day about tenne of the clocke in the morning, we came within a ships length of a Rocke, or funken Iland: the water shewed upon it very browne, and muddie, and in some places very blue, and being a ships breadth or two to the North-ward of it, we saw the water by the ships side very blacke and thicke, as though it had been earth, or grosse sand boyling up from it. The variation in this place, is one and twenty degrees from North to West decreasing.

The sixteenth of December, West nine leagues, latitude thirty four degrees, and twenty minutes. This day in the morning we had sight of the land of *Ethiopia*, distant from vs some twelve leagues.

The fixe and twentieth day, latitude thirty four degrees, thirty minutes. Now being in the latitude, and in the sight of Cape *Bona Esperanza*, and within one league of it, we steered North-West, and North North-West, and North, and as the land lay about the Cape.

The seven and twentieth day, we came to anchor in *Saldania* road, where we found our Admirall, and the *Heitor*, which ship the *Dragon*, our Admirall, met withall seven dayes before, driving up and downe the Sea about four leagues off the Cape *Bona Esperanza*, with tenne men in her. All the rest of her men were dead, which were in number three and fiftie, which died since

since she came out of *Bantam*, which time was nine moneths: being in great distresse, lost company of the *Susan*, three months after she came out of *Bantam* road, which ship (the *Susan*) was neuer heard of since. Here we came to anchor in seven fathomes, hauing the low point going in North-West by West, and the Sugar-loafe South-West, $\frac{1}{2}$ a point to the West-ward, the point of the breach of *Penguin* Iland North-West by North, and the Hill betweene the Sugar-loafe and the low point, West South-West, the peak of the Hill to the East-ward of the Table, South by East.

The sixteenth day of January in the morning, we set sail from *Saldania* Road, and went to the Northward of *Penguin* Iland, betweene that and the *Agaya*. When we had the Iland South from vs about one mile and a half, we were founded, and had ground twentie fathomes, white Corall, and Whiffles of shells. When we were cleare of the Iland, we stood off West by South, and West South-west, while we brought the Iland South-east by East off vs, now being about fixe of the clocke in the after-noonne, we had sight of the *Heitor*, comming out to the Southward of the Iland, for we left her at Anchor when we weighed. Now the wind being at South, we stood all night to the West-ward, close by a wind, in the morning following we had lost sight of the *Heitor*, and then we steered away North-west with a low fall while noone, being the seventeenth day thinking to get sight of the *Heitor*, but we could not.

The first day of February, West to the Southward sixteen leagues of Latitude, sixteen degrees and twenty minutes: this day about one of the clocke in the after-noonne, we had sight of 20 *Saint Helena*, bearing West to the Northward from vs, about twelve or thirteen Leagues.

The second day West, and West by South four Leagues, then hauing the Iland West from vs about eight or nine Leagues, the wind at South-east we lay off and on, to the Eastward of the Iland, most part of the night, and in the morning following, we stood to the Northward of the Iland.

This day about twelve of the clocke, we came to anchor in the Road of *Saint Helena*, our Land anchor lay in seventeen fathomes, our shippe rid in twentie fathomes, blackish, gruesly sand. We had one point North-east of vs, and one sharpe Hill like a Sugar-loafe (with a Crooke on the top of it) that bare North-east by East. The Church in the Valley South-east. In this Valley there are many Trees likewise, the high-land South-east up from the Church, and all the 30 Valley besides is full of Trees: the other point of the Land South-west to the West-ward. Wee moored South-east, and North-west. Our anchor in the offing lay in one and twenty fathomes.

The third day at night being Munday we had sight of the *Heitor*, comming about the South end of the Iland, but could not fetch into the Road, yet stood to the North-ward as neere as she could lye, the wind at East.

The four and five dayes, our Boates went out to helpe to get her into the Road, but they could not.

The first day at night being a little wind, we towed her in with our Boates, into thirtie five fathomes, one mile and a half from the shore, bearing from vs South-west by West, distant about two Leagues.

The eleventh day, we set sail from *Saint Helena*, the wind at East North-east, and we steered North-west, this North-west part of the Iland lyeth in the Latitude of sixteen degrees, and in seven degrees, forty five minutes of Variation. Note this, that the Church that bare South-east of vs, when we were in the Road, standeth in the bottome of the fift Valley from that point that bare North-east of vs.

We came to anchor in the Downes, on the fixth of May 1606, where we rid eight dayes for a faire wind.

CHAP. VI.

*A Journall of the third Voyage to the East India, set out by the Company of the Merchants, trading in those parts: in which Voyage were employed three Ships, viz the Dragon, the Hector, and the * Content, and in them the number of three hundred and ten persons, or thereabouts:*

written by WILLIAM KEELING, chiefe Commander thereof.

* The Content, held no concern with the Dragon and Hector, whose Voyage you shall have by itselfe. This Journall of Captaine Keeling and that of Captaine Hawkins, written at Sea-Leisure, very voluminous in a hundred sheets of Paper; I have benehold in to shorten as to expresse only the most necessary Obligations for Sea or Land Affairs.

10

§ I.

Their dissters and putting backe for Sierra Leona, and what happened till they departed from Saldania.



Prill the first 1607, the *Dragon* and *Hector* were fallen as low as the Downes: and after their departure from thence their hopes were by divers dissters lo fallen downe, and crossed, that after they had passed the Line in the beginning of June, piercing foure or five degree of Southerly Latitude, they were informed by Guis, Calmes, Raines, Sicknesse, and other Marine inconveniences to returne Northward: and missing the Ile of *Fernando de Loronha*, certaine of nothing but vncertainties which much amazed them, The Generall on Iuly the thirtieth, having consulted with *Taserner* the Maister, and hearing his and were that they must bee driuen to returne for *England*, the whole Company expecting no other (all which to recite would at once both becalme and beforme the Reader) they consulted for their best course, wherein (you shall have it in his owne words) we had some speech of *Sierra Leona*. I, having formerly read well of the place, sent for the * Booke, and shewed it my Maister, who as my selfe, tooke good liking to the place. Whereupon, my Company beginning to bee grievously disfasted, we, without hope to get *Fernando de Loronha*, (water being our speciall want, and a watering place lo nigh) I called a counsell: and after Dinner propounded what was fittest for vs to doe. They were generally of opinion, that we had no reason to stand to the South any longer, for many reasons: and demanding their opinions, concerning a place of watering, *Churchward*, *Sandage*, and *Taserner*, opined *Maya* the next, how much without reason, I leave to iudgement. *Earning*, *Pokham*, *Molmense*, and my Maister, held *Sierra Leona* fittest; and my selfe, the Author thereof, for many causes. Wherefore, we concluded to seeke for *Sierra Leona*. I acquainted my Company with our determinations; to their great comfort.

* M. Hakluyt books of Voyages of great profit. This I used the Company, as Sir Th. Smith affirmed to me, 30000 pounds, which they had bin indebted: I concluded to seeke *Sierra Leona*. Many Bowres, a signe o'land, Currens, Sight o'land.

This morning the fourth of August, we saw many Flowres, a signe of Land, and this evening we had ground from twentie eight to sixteen fathome Ozy, but no sight of Land. I hoied out my Schiffe, and sent her to ride neere vs, to prove the let of the Current: the found by the Log-line, the Current to let South-east by East two miles watch: howbeit the Schiffe rode wind-ward. We steered all this morning East, and East by South, and had from thirte to twentie, and ten fathome water: no sight of land, and the greatest depth was Ozy, the least a grosse yellow sandie ground.

About nine of the clocke, we espied the land, being a round plot of meane altitude, bearing North-east from vs, about eight leagues.

We were at noone in the latitude of seven degrees and fiftie five minutes, and have steered all day East, sometimes North, sometimes South-ly, one point, as our water deepned or shoaled: for we had oftentimes ten fathome upwards, and at the next cast feuen fathome vnder pittie ground. And when we found shoale water, as we bare vp North-ly, we deepned, instantly (a peiwester that we borrowed upon the shoales of Saint *Anna*, alias *Madera Bomba*) I allowt six yesterday at noone, fourteen leagues East, and five leagues West, land by South, and South by West, and South by East.

In the after-noon we had nine, ten, eleven and twelve fathome water. The first land prone *Illa Verde*, being a very round land, and a notable marke, for whosoever is bound for the place, from the Southwards.

Illa Verde a very round land.

The

About feuen in the evening, we anchored in twentie fathome water, hard sand, having steered six leagues or more North-east, and North North-east, the South part of *Illa Verde*, bearing East off vs: and the Cape of *Sierra Leona*, being a low point North by East, about eight leagues from vs: but the said land ouer the said Cape, is very high land, and may be seene in a cleere, fiftene leagues off.

About fixe in the morning, we made saile for the Roade, and had no leffe then sixteen, fifteen, ten or nine fathomes, till we were North and South with the *Rocke*, (which lyeth to the Westward of the Cape of *Sierra Leona*) about 1. 1/2 miles; and one mile from the neereft (shore) within halfe a mile thereof, we had then, feuen fathome very good shoaling, betwene 10 vs, and the *Rocke*. And soone after we had passed the *Rocke*, we had twentie fathome water, and shoaled to eightene, sixteen, twelue, and ten fathome, all the way into the Roade, borrowing very neere the South shore. For there is a land lying off the North shore about two miles, one league from the South shore, whereon the Sea breaketh. We read in ten fathome water, good ground, the point of *Sierra Leona*, bearing West North-ly, the North point of the Bay North West-ly, and the foreland beach or Sand, North, North-east.

Note, that coming in, when we were North and South with the *Rocke*, it bare with the South point (for *Sierra Leona* is the North point of the South land making the Bay, or Riuer) and *Illa Verde*, North by West and South by East.

This afternoon, being anchored, we espied men to weave vs a shore. I sent my Boate, which 20 leaving two Hoistages, brought foure *Negroes*, who promised refreshment.

My Schiffe founded betwene vs, and the foreland Beach, and found faire shoaling, having two fathome water, within two Beats length of the Beach.

Note, that all the Observations of the Variation, since our coming from two degrees of North latitude to this place, proved erroneous for each distance, having reference to any Meridian Easterly thereof, there must be added thirte leagues, and from such as are referred to Meridians Westerly, must be subtracted thirte leagues. For it appeareth by our falling with the land, that the ship was lo much more Westerly, then we supposed our situes; my selfe notwithstanding the said error, being as much, if not more Westerly, then any of our Mariners. However, I with every man to trust to his owne experience: for, Instruments may deceiue, even the 30 most skillfull.

The Iewenth, there came *Negroes* of better semblance, aboard with my Boate (for whom, as for all other, we were faine to lease one of my men, for two of them in hostage) who made signes, that I should send some of my men vp into the Countrey, and that they would stay aboard in hostage. I sent *Edward Buckbury*, and my Seruant *William Catterell* with a Present, viz. One course Shirt, three foot of a barre of Iron, a few Glasse Beads, and two Knives. They returned towards night, and brought me from the said Captaine, one small earring of Gold, valued at feuen, eight, or nine shillings sterling: and because it was late, the Hoistages would not goe a-shore, but lay aboard all night, without pawne for them.

I sent my Boate, and fetched five tunnes of fresh water, both very good and easie to 40 come by.

The eleuenth, I went a-shore a fishing, where the people brought their women vnto vs, but feared, we would carry them away. I gave some trifles, we bought good store of Limons, two hundred for a penny Knife, wind at East.

The twelfth, I went but tooke little fish, wind from North-west to South, rainie weather. The thirteenth, It rained without intermission: we got fish enough for a meale.

I bought an Elephants tooth of sixtie three pound *English*, for five yards blue Callico, and feuen or eight pound of Iron in barre.

The fourteenth, I kept aboard, all day rainie.

The fiftenth, I went and tooke within one hour and a halfe, six thousand small and good fish 50 *Caullos*.

After noone, with Captaine *Hawkins*, and a conuenient Guard, I went ashore, and to the Village, where we bought two or three thousand Limons. We esteeme it a faire day, wherein we have three hours dry ouer head.

The sixteenth, I licenced our weekly Workers to recreate themselves with me ashore, where in our large walke, we found not past foure or five acres of ground sowed with Rice: the superfluous of the ground is generally an hard *Rocke*.

This only day, hitherto, we had faire weather.

The seuenthenth, It was all day faire weather. I appointed making of Limon-water.

The twentieth, *John Rogers* returned and brought me a present of a piece of Gold, in forme of 60 an halfe Moone, valued at five, six, or feuen shillings sterling. Here reporteth the people to bee peaceable, the chiefe without state, the landing two leagues vp, and the chiefe Village eight miles from the landing.

The two and twentieth, We went a-shore, where we made fix or feuen *Barricas* full of Limon-water. I opened the Companies Firkin of Knives to buy Limons withall.

The

The *Rocke*,

A land on the North shore,

Sierra Leona.

Note,

A special note. Variations.

Good admonition.

A good watering place.

Six thousand fishes taken in an houre an halfe. Weather.

Limon-water.

The seventh of September in the after-noon, we went all together a shore, to see if we could shoot an Elephant: we shot seven or eight bullets into him, and made him bleed exceedingly, as appeared by his track, but being neere night, we were constrained aboard, without effecting our purposes on him.

The eighth day. The best Road and watering place is the fourth Bay, to the East-ward of the point *Sierra Leone*. It floweth neereff West South-west, within where we rode: and the water highest upon a Spring-tyde at the least, twelue foote.

After noone, the wind came at West South-west, and wee anchored in ten fathome water, *liba Verde* bearing from vs South-east $\frac{1}{2}$ South, and the point of *Sierra Leone* North-east by East $\frac{1}{2}$ Easterly, about three leagues from vs, where wee found the flood to set North-east by North, a strong tyde.

I haue at no time obserued the Sunne in the Road, howbeit I haue sundry times purposed the same, both aboard and ashore, but the Master made the Road by his obseruation, in eight degrees and thirtie fixe minutes of North Latitude, and the point of *Sierra Leone*, bare neereff West about a league or four miles off. The Master also made the Variation to bee one degree, fittie minutes North-east; but my Instrument was out of order, and I had no time to mend it.

The fourteenth in the morning, we wayed the wind all Easterly: but about eight it calmed, and we drue to the North againe: after with the ebbe, drue to the South-west by South, toward night, the flood being come, we anchored in $15\frac{1}{2}$ fathome water: the point of *Sierra Leone* bearing North-east by East, about seven leagues off vs, we haue not had lesse then ten fathome water, all day. They found a Current setting North by West, on the sixteenth day.

The fiftieth of December, About two in the after-noon, we saw the land, the Table at *Saldania*, very plaine, and flood in to make it, till three, then I caused the Master to steere East South-east, and South-east by East, to put about the Cape: what time sicke, and whole, desired to get into *Saldania*. Whereupon wee were vp for *Saldania*, and about noone wee got into the Road anchoring in $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathome water: the West point bearing West North-west, the land North North-west, and the Sugar-loafe South-west.

The Westernmost Cape Land, and *Penguin* land bare South by West, &c. There is a breach South of the land, about a mile distant.

Betweene the land and there are seven miles distance. The Sugar-loafe and the Ile, bare South by East, and North by West. From the West point of the Bay, halfe a mile off is a flat, The Westernmost South land, and point of the Sugar-loafe, beareth South South-west, and North North-east.

There is another breach, which lyeth East South-east from the land halfe a league off. As soone as I was anchored, I sent a shore, finding the people very bold, but deare. I found ashore these words engrauen vpon a Rocke, viz. The four and twentieth of July, 1607. Captaine *David Middleton* in the *Consent*.

The one and twentieth, I went ashore, where we bought a hundred and two sheepe, twelue Bullockes and two Calues, whereof I allowed the *Hellor* a proportionable share, and this continued diners dayes in which they bought much Cattell.

II.

Their departure from *Saldania*, and what happened after till the shippers parted company.

THE first of January, 1607. by Sunne rising we were both vnder saile, and by fixe in the Evening, we were tenne leagues West Southerly from the South point of the Bay. The nineteenth we shipped much water at the Helme port, and at the hole asbait in my Gallery, about two after mid-night, which wee some of our bales of cloth. Latitude thirty five degrees, twenty two minutes, I allow thirteene leagues South South-East wind, East North-East, and North-East, fixe leagues drift South, and three leagues North-East wind all Westerly. Our too great quantitie of kintledge goods, maketh our ship to labour maruelously: wherein the Company must haue speciall care, another Voyage.

The twentieth, I aired and dried our cloath, also oyled the Companies peeces and blades. I strenghtened the cales of Calicoes, &c. I allow thirtie leagues North-East as we steered, wind at South-West and South. This afternoone, contrary to expectation, and to the admiration of all our Mariners, we saw the land, bearing North North-West, about twelue leagues off, we in the latitude of thirty four degrees. And surely, but that I had many deare experiments of the strength of the Westerly current in my last voyage, I should likewise aduise: albeit I am more Westerly then any, by reason I doubted currents for causes before noted, being by reckoning an hundred leagues more Easterly, then then the sight of land approueth vs.

The

The two and twentieth, Latitude thirtie four degrees, four minutes. I allow thirtie three leagues East by North, Northerly, wind South and South South-West. But by this reckoning, the ship should haue been in thirtie three degrees, twelue minutes, and wee had her fittie more South, caused by the Current. Whereby it is euident, that such as depend vpon their dead reckoning, and judgement, without respect had to the currents, must needs make intollerable errors. I bring the ship to her latitude vpon a South line, in her distance Easterly.

I must acknowledge, that in judgement the Current must be of greater power hereabouts, the land falling away suddenly North-East, and South-West, and we opening the gut. And I presume, that as we come more Easterly, past the middle of the gut, we shall find the Currents force diminished.

The twentieth fift, latitude thirty four degrees fittie one minutes. Judgement alloweth for three watches, nine leagues North-East by East, wind South-West, and for two watches, fixe leagues South wind, all Easterly, and East North-East: yet note, how we are continually carried to the South, contrary to reasonable judgement.

The fixe and twentieth, latitude thirtie five degrees, twentie eight minutes. I allow thirteene leagues South South-East wind, at East North-East: so I do not finde that the Current vlieth such violence as before, except we should be carried by the frame, as much Westerly off the South, as I allow her Easterly thereof, which would raise or depress the Pole, in the same proportion: but herein our variation (being well obserued) will retolue vs.

The fiftieth of February, we saw the land bearing East, about eight leagues from vs, and as I deme, in the latitude of twentie four degrees, twenty minutes. We stood in till after fixe a clocke, at what time, being within foure leagues of the shore, we flatted, the *Hellor* being too neere a ferme for vs to stay. Where we tacked, we had no ground at eightie or ninetie fathomes, no great marvell, for it is low smooth land.

About noone, we were thwart of two small Ilands, seeming to make a good road: wherefore not knowing our latitude, we stood off till we could obserue, it being high noone. Note, we could haue no ground at fixtie fathomes within two miles of the shore.

The eighteenth, latitude twentie three degrees, thirty seven minutes: wherefore we stood in againe, supposing this to be the place we sought: but coming neere the shore, and hauing sent both Schifves a head, they found but fixe fathome water: for which, we anchored in tenen $\frac{1}{2}$ fathome water, sandy ground, about one in the afternoone, the two Ilands and breach bearing South Westerly, a mile from vs.

There is an Inlet about three leagues from vs East Northerly, which the Master supposeth to be *S. Augustine*, and we purpose to search the same. I called a Councell, where we resolved to make some small stay at *S. Augustine*. Variation in this place, is fiftene degrees, and thirtie minutes.

Variation againe obserued this morning, is fiftene degrees, twentie fixe minutes, but I was faine to obserue ouer the Land halfe a degree high: otherwise, I should haue made somewhat more variation, and to these two obseruations, I resolve great trust. It floweth East.

The nineteenth, we weighed this morning, and in the weighing brake one of our anchors, through defect therein. And surely, the matter deserveth much blame, but I referre me for the particulars, to a Certificate which I purpose to make thereabout.

We steered for the above-mentioned seeming Harbour, or Bay, and found, from whence we weighed, from tenne, twelue, to twentie fathome: and coming neere the point, in the height of the Bay, we had no ground at an hundred fathomes, till we came very farre into the Bay (our Schifves being before vs, and hauing ground) and then we had from thirtie to eight fathome, and further in deepe water. We anchored in eightene fathome, and laid another anchor in forty fathome, the South shore being the deepest water, the other, being by the coming downe of riuers made shallow.

The twentieth, we had seutient fathome water at the ship, the ground oaze. The land beareth West by South, and North of vs: to the North are certaine holds, and a breach, bearing North-West of vs: so that we are but five points of the Compass, open to winds: but the road is very pitty ground, and deepe water: and there runneth a strong frame downe the riuer continually. Captaine *Hawkins* came aboard me, with both our Schifves strong, I sent a shore, my selfe being ill at ease. Toward night he returned aboard, without hauing scene any people; but their fresh tracke in diuers places. They left some beales and trifles in a boat which they found, to allure the naturalls. He affirmeth little likelihood of refreshing here: but my fishers from the other side, tell me of Beasts bones good store, and bones huene had flesh.

George Evans, one of the *Hellors* Company, was shewly bitten with an *Aleatara*. I filled all speed in filling our water, and in the meane time, purpose to seeke for refreshing. It floweth here neereff East, and highest much water.

The one and twentieth, we eysied foure Naturalls, I sent to present them beales, &c. they promised by signes store of cattell the morrow.

The two and twentieth, seeing people I went a shore, where we found a subtil people, their bodies

George Evans bitten by an *Aleatara*. *Vari.* 15. 16. *Tide.* *Anchor brake.* *S. Augustine.* *George Evans* bitten by an *Aleatara*. *Vari.* 15. 16. *Tide.* *Anchor brake.* *S. Augustine.*

from vs. It lyeth very dangerous for men bound through by night, not having knowledge thereof. We could discern no vnklihood of a passage, between the two Northernmost Iles, but it is not a league broad. The Southernmost Ile is the biggest. Of the two Southernmost Iles, the West part of the North, and the East point of the Southernmost, beare North and South ten leagues distant. The Breach lyeth from the Easter end of the Northernmost of the said two South Ilands, South-east halfe the Channell ouer.

Note.

The sixe and twentieth, we were half way betweene *Priamu* at *Tecu*, about three leagues from the shore where I noted *vs.* The two *Hammocks* of *Tecu*, with the high land ouer them, beare North and by West, and South by East $\frac{1}{2}$ a point Easterly. There lyeth a shoale foure mile from the shore, bearing South and North with the high land of *Tecu*. Wee had foure fife fathome water, $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from the shore, we then bearing North-east by East from the Road of *Priamu*. There is an Iland about foure leagues from the said Road, North-east and South-west. The three Ilands of *Priamu*, lye South South-east, and North North-west being distant each from other about a mile. Afternoone we got into *Priamu* Roade, and I saluted the Towne with fife Peeces of Ordnance.

Iles of Priamu, Priamu.

Prefests.

The Gouverneur sent me a Goate. I presented the Gouverneur with three yards of Stammel cloth, one blue Callico, one piece flocked, one Barrell, and two Sword-blades. The Gouverneur sent me a Goate. The Messinger spake good *Portuguese*, to whom I presented one blue Callico. There came another of *Achen*, by whom I had good conuersation in *Arabique*, by whom I had great hope of good trade.

I went ashore where with mu hadoe we bargained for Pepper.

Crafting drawing.

The nine and twentieth, I went ashore betimes, shooting feuen Peeces of Ordnance, and 20 comming to the Gouverneurs house, he presented me with a *Buffalo*, and appointed me to make price of Pepper with luxury chiefe men. Where being set downe among sixtie persons, they first propounded that I must weigh such Pepper as I bought of them in the Towne: Whereabout we had much speech, I desiring to weigh vpon the Iland, but they would weigh in the Towne.

They demanded fiftie Dollers the *Babar* for Pepper, which much displeased me. For the *Achen* man had willed me to offer but sixtine Dollers, howbeit there was craft in dawbing: for he being a Merchant, would have ingrossed much Pepper, before I should have bought, and after would have sold it at his owne price. After much time, and many words, we accorded at 24 Dollers the *Babar*, besides sixe per Cento, Customs. I refused to pay two other Customes, or rather Exactions. The one of a hundred and sixtie Dollers, the other not much lesse: whereto, with 30 much sode, I consented, and Writings were drawne betwene vs.

Trecherous offer of a Merc.

The last night a man speaking *Portuguese*, lay aboard mee, who in the behalfe of the late Gouverneur Wife, by him titled Queene, desired my ayde in taking the Towne, offering mee the one halfe thereof. To whom (not vnacquainted with the finnellie of *Mooris*) I refused to intermeddle, it not being answerable to my Prince, and this morning sent him ashore.

Notes of Priamu.

I sold Cloth to *Nakbada*, for a hundred fiftie nine Malle of Gold. The Towne and bounds of *Priamu* yeeld not yeerly about fife hundred *Bahars* of Pepper, but with parts neere adjoining, as *Passaman*, *Tecu*, *Beroofe*, and the Mountaines ouer the Towne are made two thousand fife hundred *Bahars* yeerly: which quantitie will lade two good shippes, and may be bought very good cheape, if a Factorie haue meanes to buy all the yeere. But their Harzest is only in August and September, and is fetched away by them of *Achen* and *Iana* only, the *Gusierats* not being permitted to Trade there, & by the King of *Achen* his expresse commendement. So that a ship (touching at *Sumatra*) had buyall, especially blue Callicoes, white Callicoes, blue striped, and checkered Snuffes, and some small and fine Pintoes leaving a Factorie, shall lay the best foundation for gaine, against another yeere, that euer I have heard off: I say, against another yeere, for that I see not, how ships can go to *Cambaya*, and come thither time enough in one yeere. And in such case the King of *Achen* his Letter must be procured, for our safetie proceeding in their parts.

Good counsel.

The eighteenth of September, In the morning we made saile, the Lord prosper vs. The nineteenth, At noone, we were West North-west from the point, to the South of *Priamu*, ten leagues we figured to the East-ward of *Ila de Tristez*.

Note.

The twentieth, before day, we saw an Iland, a head, and steered East South-east, to go cleere off it: we went to the Eastward of it foure leagues, the Ile *Sumatra* being seuen leagues from vs.

Notes.

The one and twentieth, I allow sixe and twentie Leagues South-east by South, we were within sixe or seuen leagues of *Sumatra*, and West from vs about foure leagues was another great Iland: so that Naugation vpon this Coast is carefully to be performed, for wee find no such Iles proection. Latitude three degrees, twentie minutes, I allow eightene leagues South South-east winde 60 Northely.

Iland.

Wee being nine or ten leagues from *Sumatra*, haue seene another small Iland to Sea-board of vs, three or foure leagues off.

The

The first of October, 1608. Latitude fife degrees and thirte minutes, I prick by the Land, being twelue leagues from vs, and haue gone faster to the South then by reckoning.

The second, we saw land in the morning, which we made for the Salt Iland, but it proved a round *Hammock* vpon *Sumatra*. We haue made almost no way, yete at noon in fife degrees and fiftie fife minutes, by help to the South. The third, we saw the Salt Ile bearing Northeast by North, some foure or fye leagues from it. It lyeth in latitude fife degrees six minutes. Wee were when we hit the land, within foure leagues or lesse of the South land: whether Ilands (which I thinke) or *Iana*, is here from vs East, South-east wind all night, fresh at West and North-west.

Note the South land are Iles, and lye the Wester part, with the Salt Iland (or roundest and 10 highest Iland of the Straights mouth) South-west by South, &c.

The next of the South Ilands, being the Westermost of them, is sixe leagues distant from the Salt Iland.

The Salt Iland, lyeth halfe Seas ouer, and the distance twixt *Sumatra* and the Souther land is twelue or fourteene leagues.

The Salt Iland, with the point including the whole Bay, wherein is *Bantam* Roade, lye East North-east, and West South-West (which I should haue set first.)

The Salt Iland with the highest South land of *Sumatra* (it being a round *Hammock*, and with the North-west point of *Iana*, to the East-ward of the foure Ilands, which I formerly call the South land) beare East South-east, and West North-west. The *Hammock* of *Sumatra*, and point 30 of *Iana*, being about twentie leagues distant.

This evening, we had the Salt Iland, foure leagues North from vs.

The fourth, in the morning we were within fife or sixe leagues of the point, including *Bantam* whole Bay, East North-east from vs. There are before wee come to the said point two Rockes full of Trees, bearing each with other North and South foure miles distant betwene which two we steered. The Southernmost lyeth very neere *Iana* and the Northernmost halfe way and more, betweene the point of *Bantam* and another low ragged Iland, which (with other two to the Northward of it) beare with the Northernmost Rocke, West South-west, and East South-east, betwene which Ilands we do not know of any passage.

Note that that ragged Iland maketh the Straight, and we came to the South thereof.

30 We got into the Road of *Bantam* where we found sixe *Holland* ships, whereof two were almost laden with Cloues, and two were to be laden with Pepper.

I found thirteene *Englysh* aliue, whereof foure were Merchants. I receiued a Letter from Captaine *David Middleton*.

The sixt, I paid *White* and *Tegin* the two *Chineses* their wages, and releasd them.

The twentieth, I called my Merchants, and hauing formerly resolved to returne with the *Dragon* for *England*, vpon speciall considerations, I now questioned concerning the employment of our Pinnae not yet finished: where we concluded that *Browne* and *Sidall* should goe in her for *Banda*.

40 *John Hearne*, *John Saris*, and *Richard Savage* to remaine at *Bantam*. Also, that so soone as the Pinnae could returne from *Banda*, *John Saris* should goe in her to *Singueadon* vpon *Borneo*.

The fifteenth of November, I sent for *Iagues Lermite*, and discouered vnto them a purpose in the *Iaguer*, to cut their throates whereof I vnderstood very particularly.

The two and twentieth, the Ambassadors of *Sum* came to visit mee, and dined with me. Hee affirmed that a thousand Cloues red, would vent in his Countrey in two dayes, and great quantitie yearly; they clothing their Elephants and Horses therewith.

Gold is there abundant, and worth (as hee reporteth) three times the weight in Silver, beeing good Guld. There are also precious stones in quantitie, and cheape. And that their King would account it, one of their greatest happines to haue commerce with so great a King as his Maiestie of *England*: with whom, as hee vnderstood, the King of *Holland* was not comparable.

50 The eight and twentieth, I tooke leave of the King, the Gouverneur, the Admirall, the old *Sabandars*, *Iura Baffa*, *Tanyong*, and of the *Hollanders*, with purpose to be aboard the morrow.

The nine and twentieth, I went aboard for altogether.

The second of December, within night, our Merchants came aboard, bringing a Letter from the King of *Bantam*, to his Maiestie of *England*, and two *Picolls* of *Canton*, in present vnto him.

The twelfth, we eysed a Sayle, which proved the *Helior*, yere wee got out of the Straights. She had no Captaine hee remaining at *Surat*, I vnderstood, that the *Portugals* had taken eightene *Englysh*, whereof diuers of our Factors, and goods to the value of nine thousand Dollers.

60 The fourteenth, we got into *Bantam* Roade againe, forced to a longer Voyage or losse of reputation.

The sixteenth, there came a small *Flemming* from *Amsterdam*, with newes of peace, betwene *Spain*, *France*, and the *Netherlands*: and that his coming was to desist from their purpose to *Malacca*.

Note. Salk Ile, in the straight of Sunda.

Note.

Wee straited at Bantam.

Confession, and counsel, to send the Pinnae for *Banda*.

Vent of red Englysh cloath in Siam.

The King of Holland.

Kings Prefests.

Helior, M. ind. Nav. Captaine of the Helior left at Surat.

Newes of peace twixt Spain and the Netherlands.

to Javan.
to Javan.
A chored in
the middle of
Banda.

Our Kings
Letters and
Provisions to
Rice.

Minfon.

Oristan.

Lanter.
Our Kings
Letters.

The Hollanders
Spice.
No eat the
Hollanders.

* Aschard.

Three Hollan-
ders.
Loose of 74.
Hollanders.

Notes second.

Accorded for
Spice with the
Banda's list.

Cattee Bands.

Accord with
Pulaway.

Six Hollanders.

April the first.

1699.

An English
house.
Two Hollan-
ders.
Note.

the round lie to the North, bareth South by East five leagues distant. Pulaway with Pulerin, East South-east, and West North-west, three leagues off.

The eight, we got into the road or harbour of Banda, where the people and Hollanders came to welcome us. There is a small flat Island lyeth to the North of Pulawin East end. Pulaway and the entrance of the Harbouroff West North-westly, three leagues distant. The two points of the Sound beate North $\frac{1}{2}$ East, &c. one $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant. He that is bound in, must borrow on the North side, close vnder the highest Hill. We rode in six $\frac{1}{2}$ fathome water, the Souther entrance being West South-west one mile off vs, Nera one mile North, and the low point of the round hill, West one mile. The Hope was put to the East, and came Plotted in the morrow.

The ninth, I went ashore, and delivered his Majesty's Letter to Nera, together with a Present; being the best gilt cup with a cover, the best Head-piece and Gorget, and one of M. Buckers Pieces, which cost twenty hue Dollers. It was received with the most State that hath been knowne; but they would bethinke themselves for our house till to morrow. The Hollanders shot five Chambers at my landing, and five at my going aboard. I dined with them. They report, that the East Monlon bloweth eight moneths, and beginneth twixt the first and tenth of May.

The eleventh, we agreed for the building of our house. The one and twentieth, I went to Oristan, to have conference with the people, where I promised to be at Lanter the Sunday following.

The five and twentieth, in the afternoon, I was called, and went to Lanter, where I delivered the Kings Letter, the small gilt cup with a cover, the faire gilt Target, one Piece stocked, and a Barrell, which they received reipitidly.

Nakbada (China (as the Hollanders Spie) came aboard mee in the night, to counsell me to speed. Where the Dutch have a Factorie, let no man looke for better measure, large gifts being better regarded than good dealing.

The thirtieth, they of Lanter demanded Streepinang one hundred and fortie rials of eight, and I required leave to sell my cloath, as I might, with a publicke price making. The Priest was sent from the State, to demand payment of Rooba, Rooba, where we traded: which I denied, except upon condition the whole Country would bind themselves to lade me with Mace and Nuts, within four moneths. At one hundred Dollers, he took me to 'be chery, I answered, that perceiving they deferred time till the Hollanders annuall (which was now in suspence, the Monlons being almost spent, and already some East winds come in) I would not give past ninetie rials: so wherewith he took his leave, hauing as for north an our-side, as rough in mind.

The sixteenth, there came in three *ten Hollanders*, without anchoring, shot thirtie, sixteen, and nine pieces of excellent Ordnance. Two of these shippes came from Ternate, hauing lost Paul Van Carden their Admirall, with fiftie four men taken by the Spaniard, who would hearken to no other ranfome for him, except the Fort of Machian, by him formerly taken, might be resigned. The Dutch offered fiftie thousand Dollers for him.

The seventeenth, the Hollanders visited me by St. Brewer. The eighteenth, the Hollanders of the two last shippes, came to visite me, and I supped with me. But an Englishman reported, that they meant to surpris vs ere a moneth expire.

The nineteenth, the States sent againe for Rooba, Rooba, which I refused to pay, so they sent againe, to tell me, that now they are together: but except I would exceed one hundred Dollers, I should lose my labour and not trouble my selfe. I sent them word againe, that though I laded not a graine, I would not give above one hundred. They sent foone after to call me, where after long dispute, we accorded at one hundred Rials, Rooba, Rooba, three hundred and eightie Dollers, and Streepinang fifty Dollers, besides Pistols, a dutie to the four Sabandares, of four peeces Sarafis, or Malasian Pintadoes.

We received a Beame and weight, the Cattee poize ninetie nine Dollers, and in the haberdize, five pound thirtie $\frac{1}{2}$ ounces: so our Rials are too light.

The twentieth, this day we began to weigh, and the Hollanders coming ashore, made price at one hundred, with four hundred Rooba, Rooba, fiftie Streepinang, and foure cloathes.

We payed the Hollanders vnder-hand price, else we must have bene idle. The three and twentieth, I made a secret accord with the Chiefe of Pulaway, to send a Factory thither, and were constrained to lend them three hundred Rials, and give Streepinang one hundred Rials, with foure Malasian Pintadoes.

The foure and twentieth, the Dutch hearing of my accord with Pulaway, sought to prevent me. The nine and twentieth there came five great shippes Hollanders, into the Road, whom I saluted with nine Peeces, answered with three: besides two small Pinnacles.

The first of April, received by the Hope I nam Pulawin, 225, 4 Cattees, Mace, and 1307. 4 C. Nuts, which Mace call bought by him I marked with B. for distinction.

The fourth, I went aboard to cure mine eyes, which by the heat of Nuts, watching, &c. was very sore. I left the house and goods with A. A. with Spalding. There arrived from the Moluccas two small Hollanders. Note, that now the winter is coming, bloweth hard Easterly.

The ninth, the Dutch Admirall, Peter Williamus Vanboef, went ashore to Oristan. The Fleet

shot tortie Peeces of Ordnance: his ship but five. He delivered a letter from Ceunt Maurice, without present, whereof when the people demanded answer was made: that they had care, but it was not yet accorded what it should be, This I vnderstood.

The tenth, the Sabandar at my request, sent for the same Letter, which being in Portuguese, I persufed, and found it only an authentick Instrument, binding the Prince and State, to confirme what their Admirals and Councils should accord with other States. It was written in Paper, sealed vnder the Contents, and left open for all.

The eleventh, we began to bring our Nuts aboard, thereto contraind by the Dutch: their meaning was, to goe ashore within a day or two: so that we could neither lift the belt, nor let them lie long enough in fivate.

The twelfth, this night after the first watch, the States sent foure men to request my company ashore instantly, which I refused to doe till morning.

The thirteenth, I went betimes ashore, where the Sabandar of Nera came to visite me, and then after much talke, I propounded (as I had sundry times formerly done) the formall delivering of Banda, to the vie, and in the Name of his Majesty of England, our Soueraigne, before the Hollanders did land, or begin their purposed Fort. They seemed to like well thereof, and concluded to be chary thereabout, and give me answer to day: but I doubt their inconstancies.

The fiftenth day, the Dutch went ashore, twentie Boats, one thousand and two hundred men: the Naturals fled.

The eighteenth, I went ashore, and sent for some Hollanders of note, to speake with mee, to whom I made knowne many wrongs I had received since their coming in: wishing redrefe, and affirming, that though we were not at present strong enough to right our felues, yet his Majesty of England, our Soueraigne, would permit his Subjects to sustaine any damage by their means, without speciall and found satisfaction.

I affirmed, that notwithstanding wrongs received, I could not chuse but Christianly aduertise them, that the people purposed to paye in their water, and to that end warned me not to drink patience. He thanked me, and hauing bene with their Admirall, requested me from him, to haue patience concerning Rice, till he had consulted therein. (Necessitie hath no Law.)

The twentieth, I went ashore to fetch the Rice, in part of Datan Puteh his debt to the Company: but the Hollanders had dishonestly taken the same, notwithstanding the Admirall promised that I should haue it. Thence I went among the Lanars, to haue bought some Rice, who generally affirmed, that the Hollanders had straightly charged them, not to sell me any: neither durst they, though I offered five Dollers the Coyone more then the Dutch paid. At my coming home, I found him that the Admirall had formerly sent vnto me, whom I requested to tell his Admirall, that I esteemed his so taking my Rice, a great wrong: and that if he were a Gentleman, he would not permit his bale people to abuse me as I walked among them. Whereto was answered, that he was a Weauer. I reprehended the reporter, being an Englishman lusing them, who affirmed, that his owne people spake so of him generally. Thence I tooke my Prow, and went to Labatacca, where I found such small doings, as was not fit to keepe people thereabout: wherefore I appointed them to come away in the Skiffe, which I would send for them and their goods to day.

The two and twentieth, I went to Comby, where the Dutch did vs much wrong, euen in our yard: whereof hauing sundry times complained without redrefe, is argument, that it proceeded by order from the Chiefe.

The foure and twentieth, they began their Fort.

The five and twentieth, a Dutch Pinnacle from Pulaway, would give me no newes of Bromie there. I manned my Skiffe, and went to Pulaway, where I found little Spice. The people desired me to stay at Ayre Putee, promising to lade me, offering to ensh among vs: the penaltie of death, to such as would tel one Cattee of Spice to the Hollanders, I seemed to distrust their words, hauing once before deceiued me: whereupon they offered to pale writings and oaths. I questioned the bringing of it aboard, which they refused, fearing the Dutch. I offered to send one Englishman in each Prow, and to runne the hazzard if the Dutch took it: but they would not hazzard their people.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning, putting into my Boate foure Suckles of Mace, and many Nuts, with three Chiefe, to consider what to doe: by the way the Chiefe affirmed, that if we would not deal with them, their Spice should rot vpon the trees, and they would all dye, ere they would deal with the Hollanders. But they are wicked, and faithlesse. Morer, neither know I what to doe. Forby going for the Moluccas, I must loose two thousand Dollers owing here, and trade there vncertaine: and staying two moneths more here, will preuen: going to the Moluccas: At last we agreed.

The nine and twentieth, the Chiefe being counted, after many protests, they made mee a writing to deal with me onely, for all their Spice at Pulaway, and Pulawin, and at Ayre Putee, Ayre Putee, and not to feele or part with the Hollanders one Cattee thereof.

The Hollanders offered twelve thousand Dollers among the Country, to make their peace, and

M. m. c.
the same

Note.

Note.

The Hollanders
much wrong
vs.
Dutch Fort be-
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fed signes, which we should make to the Country against them: Wherein I made iust protests to the contrary.

They affirmed vs to haue made signes two nights together, and said, that many Depositions were taken thereupon: (a signe of their purpose to quarrell with vs.) Also, that one of my men yesterday being in their Fort demanded, why we made signes to the Country? (should answer: that we had reason so to doe, the Country being so much inleaded vnto vs, and the Dutch hindring vs what they can. Which importune, I had no patience longer to hearken vnto, but panned my hand that they could not proue any thing, first or last: wishing them to take their courses. Howbeit, that I might vterly prevent all cause of mistrust in them of vs euen in the whole World's opinion: I offered to goe ride in *Labuan Lame*, where I might neither know their Rings, nor could I make signes to hurt them.

The eighteenth, in the afternoon the Dutch sent many of their chiefe aboard me, who at first demanded kindly, whether I continued in my former determination of lading here? whereunto I answered yea. Whereupon they desired me to take some course to goe hence in friendship, I answered, that now Spise was ready, I hoped to get hence within twentie dayes laden, and in friendship. Many reasons passed betwene vs: but when they saw my purpose, they delivered me a note from their Vice-Admirall and Councill, wherein were forged as many vntueth as lines. The Copie whereof followeth.

The Dutch their note, fraught with as many vntueth, as to few lines may well containe: shewing their ingrate affectiōs, for all Christ's helpe by our Nation performed

THe Generall Master William Keeling, May please to know, that it hath bene by our Depu- ty preferred vnto him, that if he should goe to transport our vs, the Debt remaining among the Bandanese, and then in friendship visitation from the Roade, which himselfe heretofore hath partly made reason of to some of vs: are refused to dole with him in that behalf. And al- beit, this reasonable proffer, to eke out quarrels by vs to him mentioned; yet hath the Generall afore- said, denied to accept the same. Notwithstanding we haue sufficient occasion enough, with good reason to com- mand him, with his said ship, to withdraw from forth this Roade, and out of our Fleet al- so, without the command of the Artilery of the Fortresse of Nallan: and that the fore-said Generall may understand the reasons which moued vs to the same we haue at large remonstrated the same, as followeth.

vnto them. &c. together with their selfe worthelesse ouer weening.

The eight of April, 1609. The Worshipsfull Admirall *Peter Williamson Van Hoef*, being anchored with his Fleet, in the Ilands of *Banda*, and there vnderstanding of the Merchants of the vnted East India Company, how they were through the Inhabitants of *Banda*, daily contrayned and molested, and also sometimes dispossessed of their Clothes and Merchandizes, which they hold for themselves at such rates as they pleased, falsifying for them, as and when they thought good: and so remayned indebted so much, as their debt vnto the Generall East India Company, amounted vnto aboute twentie thousand Riāls of eight, without intention to redoutent the same. And further that our Liegers, concerning their lues, haue euer lued in very doubtful estate, fearing, least daily they would vntimely practice their ends, as appeared few yeares past, they haue murdered our Merchants, and forcibly taken other some, and after their custome, made Heathens of them.

Wherefore the Admirall afore-said was moued by all friendly means, to make a Castle or Fortresse, whereby our Liegers, and Merchandizes, might rest in better safety, both against the *Portugall*, and against all other our Enemies: which by most of the chiefe *Oran-Cayes*, was con- descended vnto. And thereupon, haue we proceeded to the building of a Fortresse, upon the Iland *Nygra*. Which Fortresse, being about halfe finished, the Admirall *Van Hoef* abouted, first procured a Conuention of the chiefe *Oran-Cayes*, and Councill of the Ile of *Banda*, to meet with him, and other of his Councill at *Ratoo*: and there to haue entred in treatie of a friendly accord and contract together. To which effect, the said Admirall appointed the *Fisfall*, or Iustice of the Fleet, besides other of good account, as Hostages, to continue at *Keyacke*: that there- by, they, the rather or with lesse feare might come to the Admirall afore-said, and his Councill.

Thus the Admirall, with diuers of his Councill, together with a Company of his Soldiers, the two and twentieth of May, 1609, came to *Ratoo*, the nominated place of Conuention; their being a *Bandanese* approached vnto him out of the Woods; who told the Admirall, that the *Oran-Cayes*, and other chiefe of the Iles, were nere there in the Woods, but were so timorous of the Soldiers, that the Admirall had with him, as they feared to come vnto him: and therefore prayed him and his Councill to come vnto them. The Ad- mirall vnderstanding the report, passed towards them, together with his said Councill, and left his Soldiers at their appointed place. And being entred amongst them, hee found the Woods replenished with armed *Black-Moorees*, *Bandanese*, and *Oran-Cayes*, who instantly incircled them, and without much doubt betwene them passed, were by them treacherously and villainously massacred, and gave euery of our chiefe, no lesse then twentie wounds. This Stra- tegie thus perished, they presently assaulted the Company of Soldiers, intending to haue forced them with the like lawes. But they partly in feare, and doubt of some treachery, armed them-

The building of this Fort, how it was li- ked of the In- habitants, the Premises de- clare. Besides, they propha- nized their Bu- riall ground to this purpose, an odious ab- homination to the *Bandanese*. And how va- luntarily it is that they would ad- mit a Fort to e- puate their liberties, and thence their *Madid* to pro- phane their Religion? Their practices since may a- waken the Readers Ob- seration. The two and twentieth of May, 1609. The Admirall and Councill of the *Nollan- ders* flaine.

themselves, and stood in their defence, and encountered one another, so as in fine they betooke themselves to their best refuge, with losse of some of their chiefe, and so fled vnto *Cack*: and there haue murdered the *Fisfall* or Iustice afore-said, with the rest of the hostages, besides diuers others of our people, who were walked into the Woods, to gather *Coco Nuts*: inasmuch, as at that time, were murdered about forty of ours by the *Bandanese*, contrary to their oathes and promises. All which, prouoketh vs to execute and practise all reuenge possible, toward the inhumane treacherous *Bandanese*: which occasions pricke vs forward, to prosecute this present bloody warre against them. Then followed many presumptions of his assistance of the *Bandanese*, by English Powder and Munition, by signes, &c. which I omit. They conclude on those suppositions.

10 We, by vertue of our Commission, and Patent of his Princely Excellency, command the foresaid Generall to withdraw with his ship from forth our Roade out of our Fleet, and without the command of the Artilery of the Fortresse of *Nallan*, within the time of five daies, after the date hereof. And in that we haue conquered, by force of Armes, the Iland *Nygra*, so doe we also pretend, and hold the Roades thereabout depending, as the Roade of *Labuanca*, &c. to bee vnder our command: and will not permit any (the time that we warre with the *Bandanese*) to anchor there.

This by vs ordained, past, and absolutely refused vpon by the Vice-Admirall, and residue of the Councill in the shippes of *Hollandia*, vpon the Roade of *Banda*, the eight and twentieth of Iuly, 1609.

10 Simon Iohnson Hoef, Jacob de Bitter, Hen: Van Bergell, Iohn Cornelissen Wiff, Will: Iacobsen, Simon Martens, Kuffer Tomasson, Mariabon. 1609. Peter Bahuc. 1609. Will: Vanderwur, alias, Secret.

Whereunto I briefly answered by word, that I could not answer my so goinge place (lading being now ready) to my Country: and that vntill I were otherwise commanded then by words, I would ride here till I were laden, which would be within five and twenty daies at the vttermost. They affirmed, that this their signification to me, was answere. Whereunto I applied, that oftentimes rash men threatened to kill, which they durst not for life performe. I shot five parting Peeeces.

10 The nineteenth, I sent away my Schiffe for *Pulaway*, to know of riding there. *Van Bergell* came aboard to search the Boate: I willed him to tell the Vice-Admirall, that I would leaue a Factorie at *Pulaway*, in case of constraint: and without constraint I would not hence.

The twentieth, about one this morning, my Schiffe returned from *Pulaway*, without note of our debts, or Inventory of goods, the principall causes of my writing. He onely aduised, that the people were willing to pay their debts, if we could stay fiftene or twentie daies: also offered vs their best Roade at *Pulaway*. The Dutch and we came to some accord for the time of our stay, and for our debts, the Monion also inuited vs thereto, and the Trade which already we had.

The first of August 1609, peace generally published twixt the Dutch and Country, is an vncomforable argument, of the *Pulaway* breaking with vs. The Dutch sent me a Letter of credit, for the receipt of my debts left at *Banda*, payable at *Bantam*. The *Hollanders* this evening, shot an hundred and fittie Peeeces of Ordnance, for ioy of peace. Vpon the Gouernours earnest treatie, I went to see the Dutch Fort, whose square may be

40 I thought in circa, whereof eight very good Bruste Demanons, fote, hauing thirtie Peeeces of them.

The fourth, I sent my Boat to fetch away goods, wherein came a Seruant of *Nakhela Gue- ner*, by whom I vnderstood that the *Pulaway* were refused to let me haue no more Spice, except some little, to shadow their wrong vnto vs: wherefore I sent the Boat againe for *Bromie*. I being farre by the Towne, I shot five Peeeces, the better to procure my people thence: they not perceiving that we tooke any displeasure at their ill dealings. I sent againe for *Bromie*, which Boat flying long, I shot two severall warning Peeeces. When upon M. *Bromie* came aboard me, but not *Spalding*: affirming, that they would not let him come, before I came alone. Wherefore I stood againe to the Eastward, and coming somewhat nere the Towne, the King of *Mitchoff* came aboard me, to redeme his pawne, and brought *Spalding* and the three Dutch aboard mee, more thanks to the loue of his good pawne, than their hostilities.

The tenth, I weighed an halfe hundred by our ordinary *Banda* Beame, and it weighed nine & Cattees, whereby the Cattee appeareth to weigh five pound, fourteene & ounces halfe deposite. I weighed also the single Cattee, which made five pound foureteene & ounces halfe deposite.

The eleventh, we anchored nere *Macassar* vpon *Celebes*, I being very desirous to goe thither, hoping vpon reports, to finde Cloues there for Cloth.

The twelfth, I sent my Schiffe armed, to inquire of the place, who returning, heard that *Macassar* was yet & a daies sail to the North: and that three moneths since, there was a Dutch ship lost in sight of the Towne: vpon which dangerous report, we gaue out the search of *Macassar*.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in *Iaccarra*, where we found the *Banda* and *Engel- sen*, two Dutch shippes, hauing bene eight daies there: who brought our people (in the *Hope*) and their goods from *Ambogno*.

Iuly eighteenth, 1609.

The first of August, 1609. Peace betwene the *Hollanders* and the *Bandanese*.

Perdity of the Ilanders.

The King of *Mitchoff* com- ing aboard.

Banda waights.

Macassar vpon *Celebes*.

A ship of *Hol- land* lost before *Macassar*.

They arrive in
the Road at
Bantam.

Factory at
Bantam.

October 1609.

Storme.

Note.

Variation thirty
degrees.

December the
eight 1609.

Terra Donatelli.

The latitude
and description of the
Island.

Cape Don
Agulhas.

Note.

The six and twentieth, coming neere the point, we met a Prow with *Rafle Heerne*, sent by Master *John Saris* to me, who had readie three thousand four hundred eighty one bagges of Pepper. We got betimes into the Road, and *John Saris* came aboard me in a Dutch Boat.

The thirteenth, vpon the Kings request, I sent five and twentieth armed men to make him pasture, which he willed in honour of his hauing the last night, made conquest of his Wues virginities.

The three and twentieth, hauing taken in there foure thousand and nine hundred bagges of Pepper, I questioned the leauing of a Factory, where to we accorded.

The feuen and twentieth, I appointed the Factory at *Bantam*, (viz:) *Augustine Spalding*, Factor, at fiftie pound sterling a yeare: *Francis Kelle*, Chirurgion, fortie five shillings a month: *John Paris* portie shillings a month: *Robert Neale*, twentie nine shillings a month: *Augustine Adrell*, foure and twentie shillings a month: *Edmund Lampre*, twentie shillings a month: *William Drimer*, twentie shillings a month: *William Wilson*, two and twentie shillings a month: *William Lemuel*, sixteene shillings a month: *Philip Baderdy*, sixteene shillings a month: *Francisco Damago*, twelue shillings a month: *Iuan Seraan*, ten shillings a month: *Adrian*, Master *Townes*, Boy, ten shillings a month. I also hired fixe persons to goe with vs for *England*, and make all possible speed.

The nine and twentieth, we ended with the Gouernour about our customes, with much ado. The thirtieth, we deliuered the Companies businesse from *Saris* to *Spalding*, giuing him speciall charge of the Dutch infolency and hate towards vs, and therefore to haue little to do with them.

The second of October, 1609. I went and tooke my leaue of the Gouernour, and desired his fauour to our Factory, which he promised in seeming hartly.

The third, betimes I came aboard for adue, hauing visited all my friends.

The first of November, 1609. About the distance fixe hundred and fiftie from *Bantam*, we were in five and twenty degrees South Latitude, hauing foure and twenty degrees variation and foure and twentie daies running it.

The nine and twentieth, we had all day an hard gale of wind, which towards night prooued a storme, at West South-west from the North-ward, and put vs to try with our maine corse, continuing all night, and the next day. Wherein (as sundry other times before) we haue found a report of *Linscho* to be true, that generally all Easterly winds coming about to the North-ward, if it proue raine, presently the wind cometh about to the West South-west, and there bloweth. We were in two and thirty South when the storme tooke vs, and had about thirteene degrees variation, and vponward.

The eight of December, 1609. We tell betimes in the morning, with *Terra Donatelli*, some fixe leagues off vs, the Wester part where the variation was about eight 4. degrees. We were at noone vnder thirteene degrees, and feuen and twentie minuts of Latitude, were standing South South-East (wind at South-west) vnder 1. w. lankes.

We met a *Hollander*, and vnderstood by them, that the *Erasmus* (a ship of the Fleet, which made homeward, at my arriuall with the *Dragon* at *Bantam*) being very leaky at Sea, and the rest of the Fleet, following her, steered for the land *Mauritius*, and there vnder the said *Erasmus*, leauing the goods there, with fixe and twentie persons to guard the vaine, till it might be sent for, the rest of her company being now in this ship.

That vpon *Mauritius* were two hauens; the one, called the North-west, lying vnder twenty degrees, somewhat less; the other, the South-East in twenty degrees and fiftie minuts, all kind of refreshments being there: to bee had as Fish, Turtles, Manatees, in great abundance, Fowles infinite, and Goates, newly by them brought thither, in some reasonable number, Hogs also, and the place very healthfull. The land is betweene thirteene and fortie leagues in circuit: and the variation there being one and twentie degrees the North-westing. They came from *Bantam* in May, were a month getting *Mauritius*, stayed there foure monthes and an halfe, and haue bene fixe weekes thence, whereof seuentene daies with contrary winds.

The two and twentieth, we were in Latitude thirty hie degrees, twentie eight minuts, and within seven leagues of the Cape *Agulhas*, which riseth like two Iles, we being South-East of it: but coming more thwart like three Ilands, two Bayes North making three perpendicular points low, and beeing round. We found about seauen in the evening, and had feuentie feuen fathome water, Oazy ground, being South off the shore, about five leagues the most, and as I gesse, newly got to the Westward of the Flats shoaldell.

I observed the Sunnes setting, and found small variation, hauing eight and twentie 4. degrees (South of the West) Azimuth, our latitude being about five and thirteene degrees, and fixe and twentie minuts.

A man bound home vpon this Coast, finding no weather for obseruation, either for latitude or variation, may boldly and safely keepe himselfe in fixe fathome water, and thely ground: and when he findeth Oazy, is very neere Cape *Don Agulhas*: and when he looketh ground at one hundred and twenty fathome line, he may resolute that he hath past the said Cape, provided hee be within the latitude of thirty fixe degrees.

The

The three and twentieth, we steered all night, West by North, and West North-west, a fresh gale Easterly, and in the morning, saw the land all along, about eight or ten leagues from vs high land. About noone, we were neere Cape *Buona Speranza*, hauing runne twixt Cape *Don Agulhas* Cape *Dr Bantam* and it, in seuentene houres. We got within three leagues of the Sugar-loafe, and stood off and *Speranza* on sight.

The eight and twentieth, I receiued by the Dutch Boate fixe sheepe (the fattest that euer I saw) from the land: the tale of one of them was eight and twenty inches broad, and weighed five and thirty pound weight.

I receiued of the Dutch a Maine Top-sayle (whereof we had extreame want) and deliuered them a note to the Company, to receiue twelue pound twelue sheeles for the same: besides, their promises to vs for other wants, are very honest and Christian-like. We tooke fat sheepe left on *Peewig* Iland, and set leane in their room: I left a note also there of my coming, and the state of my company, as others had done before.

The tenth of January, in the morning, we were vnder sayle homeward. Note, that all the time we haue bene here, the wind hath bene Westerly, and Southerly: and the two former times that I was here, at the same season, it blew storme Easterly.

The twentieth, we passed the Southerne Tropicke, about noone. The Dutch came and supped with me: thot three parting Peeces.

The thirtieth, before day, we saw S. *Helena*, hauing steered sixtie fixe leagues West in that latitude. We rode on the North-west part thereof, a mile from the shore, North-west from the Chappell, in two and twenty fathome sandy ground. The land may lie truly two hundred and feuenty, or two hundred and eightie leagues to the West-ward, from the land of *Seiphe*, we were faine to steere close in vnder the high-land, to get ground, the bancke being steepe too, and without no anchoring.

The ninth of February, we weighed, and made sayle home-ward: hauing receiued aboard here, for refreshing, nineteen Goates, nine Hoggies, and thirteene Pigges.

The sixteenth, we saw the Ile *Ascension* feuen or eight leagues West South-west from vs.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning, the wind being Westerly, and reasonable faire weather, we altered with the Dutch (who had made a Wait vpon his Mizen Mast-head for vs.) He told vs, that he had but eight or nine men standing, the rest sick, and fixe and forty dead. A grieuous chastisement vnto them, and to vs, a neerer sufficiently acknowledged mercy: that they who offered to spare me ten or twenty men, or more vpon occasion, should so generally decay, and we loose no one, nay euerie one in good health.

Toward night, at my Companies earnest sute, considering our leake, with many other iust causes, on our part, besides our want of meanes to aide them, though we should accompany them: they hauing (without any our speech or motion to the like end) desired vs to acquaint such Dutch, as we should meete with their distress, that they might take the best course for their ayde, we made faile, and lett them not without sensible and Christian griefe, for our want of meanes to helpe them, Latitude forty hie degrees and fixe minuts.

The first of May, 1610. We had very faire weather, wind South-west, latitude forty nine degrees, and thirteene minuts.

The second, betimes in the morning, the wind came at South, and blew an hard storme, which put vs into our fore-courts.

Toward night, we spake with a *Lubecker*, who told vs, that *Silly* bare East by North (thirteie eight Dutch miles, which is fiftie leagues) from vs: and the weather being faire, we made faile. I told them of the distressed Dutch.

The ninth, in the morning, *Beachy* was North North-East, three leagues from vs.

The tenth, about Sun-set, we were anchored in the Downes.

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May 1610.

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Chariie.The Mogoll
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man.M. Will. Bar-
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the West Indies.The Kings Ri-
pendary wages
and honorable
Pensions to his
Nobles.Iesuicall
Christianitie.

sense of the people: receiving very kindly the Letter of me, viewing the Letter a prettie while, both the Seale, and the manner of the making of it vpon, he called for an old Iesuite that was there present: to read it. In the meane space, while the Iesuite was reading it, hee spake vnto mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the contents of the Letter, which I told him: vpon which notice, presently granting and promising mee by God, that all what the King had there written, he would grant and allow withall his heart, and more if his Maiestie would require it. The Iesuite likewise told him the effect of the Letter, but discommending the stile, saying, it was badly penned: writing *Vestra* without *Majestas*: my answer was vnto the King, and if it shall please your Maiestie, these people are our enemies: how can this Letter beill written, when my King demandeth fauour of your Maiestie? he said, it was true.

Perceiving I had the *Turkish* Tongue, which himselfe well vnderstood, hee commanded me to follow him vnto his Chamber of Prefence, being then risen from that place of open Audience, desiring to haue further conference with me: in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came forth from his women. Then calling mee vnto him, the first thing that hee spake, was that hee vnderstood that *Moorcheban* had not dealt well with me, bidding mee bee of good cheere, for hee would remedie all. He should I feeme, that *Moorcheban* enemies had acquainted the King with all his proceedings: for indeed the King hath Spies vpon every Nobleman. I answered most humbly, that I was certaine, all matters would goe well on my side, so long as his Maiestie proceeded mee. Vpon which speech hee presently sent away a Post for *Surat*, with his command to *Moorcheban*, writing vnto him very earnestly in our behaues: conuincing him to be none of his friend, if hee did not deal well with the *English*, in that kind, as their desire was. This being dispatched and sent, by the same Messenger, I sent my Letter to *William Finch*, wishing him to goe with this command to *Moorcheban*: at the receipt of which hee wondered that I came safe to *Agra*, and was not murdered, or paysoned by the way, of which speech *William Finch* advertised me afterward.

It grew late, and having had some small conference with the King at that time, hee commanded that I should daily be brought into his presence, and gaue a Captaine named *Honabachan* charge, that I should lodge at his house, till a house were found convenient for me: and when I needed any thing of the King, that he should see my Solicitor. According to command, I referred to the Court, where I had daily conference with the King. Both night and day, his delight was very much to talke with mee, both of the Affaires of *England* and other Countries, as also many demands of the *West Indies*, whereof hee had notice long before, being in doubt if there were any such place, till he had spoken with me, who had been in the Country.

Many dayes and weekes being past, and I now in great fauour with the King, to the griefe of all mine enemies, clyping my time, I demanded for his Commandment or Commission with Capitulations for the establishing of our Factory to be in mine owne power. His answer was, whether I would remayne with him in his Court, I replied, till shipping came: then my desire was to goe home, with the answer of his Maiesties Letter. Hee replied againe, that his meaning was a longer time, for he meant to send an Embassador to the King of *England*, at the coming of the next shipping: and that I should stay with him until some other bee sent from my Nation, to remayne in my place, saying this: They staying would be highly for the benefit of thy Nation, and that hee would giue me good maintenance, and my being here in his presence, would bee the cause to right all wrongs that should be offered vnto my Nation: and further, what I should see beneficiall for them, vpon my petition made, hee would grant: swearing *By his Fathers Soule*, that if I would remayne with him, hee would grant me Articles for our Factory to my hearts desire, and would neuer goe from his word. I replied againe, that I would consider of it. Thus daily inticing me to stay with him, alleging as is aboue written, and that I should doe service, both to my naturall King and him, and likewise hee would allow me by the yeare, three thousand and two hundred pounds sterling for my selfe, and so yearly, hee promised mee to augment my Lining, till I came to a thousand Horse. So my first should be four hundred Horse. For so the politie of *India* haue their Tides by the number of their Horses, that is to say, from forty to twelve thousand, which pay belongeth to Princes, and his Sonnes. I trusting vpon his promise, and seeing it was beneficiall both to my Nation and my selfe, being dispofessed of that benefit which I should haue reaped, if I had gone to *Bantam*, and chat after halfe a dozen yeeres, your Worships would send another man of sort in my place, in the meane time, I should fasten my Neefe, and doe you kruise: and further perceiving great injuries offered vs, by reason the King is so farre from the Ports, for all which causes aboue specified, I did not thinke it amisse to yeeld vnto his request. Then, because my name was something hard for his pronunciation, hee called me by the name of *English Cham*, that is to say, *English* Lord, but in *Persia*, it is the Title for a Duke, and this went current throughout the Country.

Now your Worships shall vnderstand, that I being now in the highest of my fauours, the Iesuites and *Portugall* (Ipe not, but by all means sought my overthrow: and to say the truth, the principall *Mahumetans* neere the King, envied much that a Christian should bee so highly vnto him. The Iesuite *Peniere* being with *Moorcheban*, and the Iesuite here, I thinke did little regard

their *Malesand* Church matters, for studying how to ouerthrow my Affaires: aduice being gone to Gasky by the Iesuites here, I mean in *Agra*, and to *Padre Peniere* at *Surat* or *Cambaya*, hee working with *Moorcheban* to be the *Portugall* assistance, and the Vice-Roy sending him a great Present, together with many Toyes vnto the King with his Letter. These presents and many more promises, wrought so much with *Moorcheban*, that hee wrote his Petition vnto the King, sending it together with the present, aduertising the King, that the suffering of the *English* in his land, would be the cause of the losse of his owne Countries, neere the Sea-Coasts, as *Surat*, *Cambaya*, and such like: and that in any case hee entertaine me not, for that his ancient friends the *Portugall* murmured highly at it: and that the fame is spread amongst the *Portugall*, that I was General of ten thousand Horlemen, ready to giue the assault vpon *Dun*, when our shipping came.

The Vice-Royes Letter likewise was in this kind: the Kings answer was, that hee had but one *Englishman* in his Court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee hath not pretended any such matter: for I would haue giuen him Lining neere the Sea parts, but he refused it, taking it neere me heere. Thus was the Kings answer, vpon which answer, the *Portugall* were like made Dogges, labouring to worke my pallage out of the World. So I told the King, what dangers I had passed, and the present danger wherein I was, my Boy *Stephen Grauer*, instantly departing this World, my man *Nicholas Vissit* extreme sick, and this was all my *English* Company, my selfe beginning to fall downe too. The King presently called the Iesuites, and told them that if I dyed by any extraordinary casualty, that they should all rue for it. This said, the King was

very earnest with me to take a white Mayden out of his Palace, who would giue her all things necessary with flaes, and hee would promise mee shee should turne Christian: and by this meanes my meates and drinckes should be looked vnto by them, and I should lue without feare. In regard the was a *Moore*, I refused, but if so bee there could bee a Christian found, I would accept it: At which my speech, I little thought a Christians Daughter could bee found. So the King called to memorie one *Maharique Sha* his Daughter, who was a Christian *Armenian*, and of the Race of the most ancient Christians, who was a Captaine, and in great fauour with *Eker Padashia*, this Kings Father. This Captaine dyed suddenly, and without will, worth a Malle of Money, and all robbed by his Brothers and Kindred and D-bts that cannot be recovered: leaving the Child but only a few Jewels. I seeing there was of so honest a Descent, haue passed my word to the King, could not withstand my fortunes. Wherefore I tooke her, and for want of a Minister, before Christian Witeffes, I married her: the Priest was my man *Nicholas*, which I thought had bene I will, till I met with a Preacher that came with *Sir Henry Middleton*, and hee shewing in the error, I was new married againe: soouer after I liued content and without feare, the being willing to goe where I went, and live as I liued. After these matters ended, newes came hither, that the *Afgenian* was to come by the men of her Finalls, that was callt away neere *Surat*, vpon which newes, I presently went to the King and told him, craving his Licence, together with his Commission, for the setting of our Trade: which the King was willing to doe, limiting me a time to returne, and be with him againe.

But the Kings chiefe Officer *Abdal Hassan*, a man enuious to all Christians, told the King, that my going would be the occasion of warre: and thus harme might happen vnto a great man who was sent for *Goa*, to buy toyes for the King. Vpon which speech, the Kings pleasure was I should stay, and send away his Commission to my chiefe Factor at *Surat*, and presently gaue order, that it should be most effectually written. In fine, vnder his great Seale with Golden Letters, his Commission was written, so firmly for our good, and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently, and sent it to *William Finch* before it came there, newes came that the *Afgenian* was callt away, and her men failed, but not suffered to come into the Citie of *Surat*. Of that likewise I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that great Captaine *Moorcheban*, my enemy: and gaue me another commandment for their good viage, and meane to be wrought: to save the goods, if it were possible. These two commandments came alio together, to the great joy of *William Finch* and I, admiring much at these things. And now continuing these great fauours with the King, being continually in his light, for the one halfe of four and twenty houres during his day and night, I wanted not the greater part of his Nobles that were *Mahumetans*, to be mine enemies. For it went against their hearts, that a Christian should be so great & neere the King: and the more, because the King had promised to make his Brothers children Christians, which two yeares after my coming hee performed, commanding them to be made Christians. A while after came some of the *Afgenians* Company vnto me (whom I could haue wished of better behaviour, a thing pryed into by the King.) In all this time, I could not get my debts of *Moorcheban*, till at length hee was sent for vp to the Kings to aduise for many faults, and tyrannicall In-justice, which hee did to all people in those parts: many a man being vndone by him, who petitioned to the King for Iustice. Now, this Dogge to make his labour, sent many bribes to the Kings sonnes, and No-le-men that were neere the King, who placed in his behaile. After newes came that *Moorcheban* was approached neere, the King presently sent to attach all his goods, which were in that abundance, that the King was two months in viewing of them, every day allotting a certaine quantitie to be brought before me:

The practice
of the *Portugall*
againe out
Trade.Lying, a great
stratagem.The Kings an-
swer.

Nicholas Vissit.

Maharique Sha
an Armenian
Christian,
Eker Padashia.Hee desired a
Christian
Gentlewoman
to Wife, shee
came out
with him for
England, but he
dying by the
way, shee was
after married
to Middleton.The Finalls of the *Afgenian*
call away neere *Surat*.
The Kings
Commission
in the favour
of the *English*
vnder his great
Seale with golden
Letters.The *Afgenian*
call away.The greater
part of the
Kings Nobles
are *Mahumetans*.Some of the
Afgenians Co-
pany vnto me
Alexander
sheweth the
General, and
to Agra.

and what he thought fitting for his owne turne he kept, and the rest deliuered againe to *Mocrebchan*. In the viewing of these goods, there came thoe Peeces and Collett, and Head-pence, with other Presents that he tooke from me for the King of mine owne, not suffering mee to bring them my selfe: at the sight whereof, I was so bold to tell the King what was mine. After the King had viewed these goods, a very great complaint was made by a *Banius*, how that *Mocrebchan* had taken his Daughter, saying: she was for the King, which was his excuse, deflowering her himselfe: and afterwards gaue her to a *Brammen*, belonging to *Mocrebchan*. The man who gaue notice of this Child, protested her to passe all that euer he saw for beaustie. The matter being examined, and the offence done by *Mocrebchan*, found to be true, hee was committed to prison, in the power of a great Noble-man: and commandement was giuen, that the 10 *Brammens* his priuy members should be cut off.

Before this happened to *Mocrebchan*, I went to visite him diuers times, who made me verie faire promises, that he would deale very kindly with mee, and be my friend, and that I should haue my right. Now being in this disgrace, his friends daily solliciting for him, at length gaue him cleere: with commandement, that he pay euery man his right, and that no more complaints be made of him if he leued his life. So *Mocrebchan* by the Kings command, paid euery one his due, excepting me, whom he would not pay, but deliuer me my Cloath, whereof I was desirous, and to make, if it were possible, by faire means, an end with him: but he put me off the more, delaying time till his departure, which was shortly after. For the King had restored him his old place againe, and he was to goe for *Goa*, about a faire ballace Ruby, and other rare things promi- 20 sed the King.

§. III.

The Mogols inconstancie, and Captaine HAWKINS departure with
S^T HENRIE MIDDLETON to the Red-Sea: Thence to
Bantam, and after for England.

AL my going and sending to *Mocrebchan* for my Money or Cloath, was in vaine; I being abused so basely by him, that I was forced to demand Iustice of the King, who commanded that the Money be brought before him: but for all the Kings command he did as he listed, and doe what I could, he cut me off twelue thousand and five hundred *Mamades*. For the greatest man in this kingdom was his friend, and many others holding on his side, murmuring to the King, the suffering of *English* to come into his Countrey: for that we were a Nation, that if we once let foot, we would take his Countrey from him. The King called me to make answer to that they said: I answered his Maiestie, that if any such matter were, I would answer it with my life: and that we were not so base a Nation, as these mine enemies reported. All this was, because I demanded my due, and yet cannot get it. At this time 40 those that were neere fauourites, and neere vnto the King, whom I daily visited, and kept in withall, spake in my behalfe: and the King holding on my side, commanded that no more such wrongs be offered me. So I thinking to vife my best in the recovery of this, intruding the head Vizir that he would be meanes that I recoue not to great a losse; he answered me in a threatening manner: that if I did open my mouth any more, hee would make me to pay an hundred thousand *Mamades*, which the King had lost in his Customes by entertaining mee, and no man durst adventure by reason of the *Portugall*. So by this meanes I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this Money was swallowed by both these Dogges. Now *Mocrebchan* being comman- 50 ded in publicke, that by such a day he be ready to depart for *Guzerat*, and so for *Goa*, and then come and take his leave, as the custome is: in this meane time, three of the principall Merchants of *Sarar*, were sent for by the Kings commandement, and come to the Court about affaires, wherein the King or his Vizir had employed them, being then present there when *Mocrebchan* was taking his leave; this being a plot laid both by the *Portugall*, *Mocrebchan*, and the Vizir. For some fixe daies before a Letter came vnto the King from the *Portugall* Viceroy, with a Present of many rare things. The Contents of this Letter were, how highly the King of *Portugall* tooke in ill part the entertaining of the *English*, he being of an ancient amitie with other complements: and withall, how that a Merchant was there arrived, with a very faire ballace Ruby, weighing three hundred and fiftie Rottees, of which stone the pattern was sent. Upon this newes, *Mocrebchan* was to be bated away, at whole command to take his leave together with *Padre Pereira*, that was to goe with him, the above named Merchants of *Sarar* 60 being then there present. *Mocrebchan* began to make his speech to the King, saying, that this and many other things, he hoped to obtaine of the *Portugall*, to that the *English* were disannulled: saying more, that it would redound to great losse vnto his Maiestie and Subjects, if hee did further suffer the *English* to come into his parts, Vpon which speech he called the Merchants before 10 the

A Letter from
the Viceroy of
the East-Indies
to the Mogoll,
against the
English.

A speech of
Mocrebchan to
the King a-
gainst the
English.

the King, to declare what losse it would be, for that they best knew. They affirmed, that they were like to be all vnioone because of the *English*, nor hereafter any they could come into this countrey, because the *Portugall* was so strong at *Goa*, and would not suffer them to goe in or out of their Ports; and all their excuse was, for suffering the *English*.

These speeches now and formerly, and lucre of this Rone, and promises by the Fathers of rare things, were the causes the King ouerthrew my affaires; saying, Let the *English* come no more: presently giuing *Mocrebchan* his commandement, to deliuer the Viceroy to that effect, that he would neuer suffer the *English* to come any more into his parts.

I now saw, that it booteth me not to meddle vpon a sudden, or to make any petition vnto the 10 King, till a prey while after the departure of *Mocrebchan*; and seeing my enemies were so many, although they had eaten of me many Presents. When I saw my time, I made petition vnto the King. In this space, I found a toy to giue, as the order is: for there is no man that cometh to make petition, who cometh empty-handed. Vpon which petition made him, he presently granted my request, commanding his Vizir to make me another commandement in as ample manner as my former, and commanded that no man should open his mouth to the contrary: for it was his pleasure that the *English* should come into his Ports. So this time againe I was a foote. Of this alteration, at that instant the Iesuite had notice: for there is no matter passed in the *Mogoll* Court in secret, but it is knowen halfe an houre after, giuing a small matter to the writer of that day: for there is nothing that passeth, but it is so written, and writers appointed by turnes, so 20 that the Father, nor I, could passe any businesse, but when we would we had notice. So the Iesuite presently lent away the most speedy messenger that could be gotten, with his Letter to *Padre Pereira*, and *Mocrebchan*, advertising them of all that had passed. At the receipt of which, they consulted amongst themselves, not to go forward on their voyage for *Goa*, till I were ouerthrown againe. Wherefore *Mocrebchan* wrote his petition vnto the King, and letters vnto his friend, the head Vizir, how it stood not with the Kings honour to send him, if he performed not what he promised the *Portugall*: and that his voyage would be ouerthrowne, if he did not call in the commandement he had giuen the *English* before. Vpon the receiving and reading of this, the King went againe from his work, esteeming a few toys which the Fathers had promised him, more then his honour.

30 Now being desirous to see the full issue of this, I went to *Hogis Iahan*, Lord General of the Kings Palace (the second man in place in the Kingdom) entreating him that he would stand my friend. He very kindly, presently went vnto the King, telling him that I was very hearty and discontent, that *Abdall Hassan* would not deliuer me my commandements, which his Maiestie had granted me. The King answered him (I being present, and very neere him) saying, It was true, that the commandement is sealed, and ready to be deliuered him: but vpon letters received from *Mocrebchan*, and better consideration by me had on these my affaires in my Ports in *Guzerat*, I thought it fitting not to let him haue it. Thus I was so crested, that I was in the kind of a rich Merchant, adventuring all he had in one bottom, and by casualties of stormes or pirates, lost it all at once. So that on the other side, concerning my liuing, I was so crested, that many times 40 for this *Abdall Hassan* his answer would be vnto mee, know wel enough you stand not in such need, for your Matter beareth your charges, and the King knew not what he did in giuing to you, from whom he should recieve. My answer was, that it was the Kings pleasure, and mine of my request, and seeing it is his Maiesties gift, I had no reason to looke it: for that time to time, he had mee haue patience, and he would find out a good liuing for me. Thus was I deliued withal by this mine enemy, in so much that in all the time I served in Court, I could not get a thing that would yield any thing, giuing me my liuing still, in places where Out-laws reigned: only once at *Lahor* by an especiall commandement from the King, but I was soone deprived of it: and all spent vpon charges of men sent to the Lordships. When that I saw that the liuing which the 50 King absolutely gaue me, was taken from me, I was then past all hopes: for before, at the newes of the arrival of my giuing, I had great hope, that the King would performe former grants, in hope of rare things that should come from England. But when I made Arre or Petition vnto the King concerning my liuing, he turned me over to *Abdall Hassan* who not only denied me my liuing, but also gaue order, that I be suffered no more to enter within the red rayles: which is a place of honour, where all my time I was placed very neere vnto the King, in which place there were but few men in the Kingdom before me.

Now perceiving that all my affaires were ouerthrowne, I determined with the Council of 60 of those that were neere me, to resolve whereto to trust, either to me well in, or well out. Vpon this resolution I had my petition made ready, by which I made known vnto the King, how *Abdall Hassan* had dealt with me, hauing himselfe eaten what his Maiestie gaue me: and how that my charges of so long time (being by his Maiestie desired to stay in his Court, vpon the fainfull promises he made me) were so much, that it would be my vtter ouerthrow: therefore I besought his Maiestie that he would consider my cause, either to establish me at formerly, or giue me leave to depart.

The Kings
commande-
ment vpon
false informa-
tion against
the *English*.

None make
petition to the
King without
some Present.

The red Rayles
a place of Ho-
nour.

His answer was, that he would leave, commanding his life content to be made mee, to passe freely without molestation, thro' out his Kingdome. When this Commandment was made, as the custome is, I came to do my obeysance, and to take my leave, in treating for an answer of my Kings Letter. *Abdall Haffan* coming vnto me from the King, in a disdainfull manner verbally dyed me: saying, that it was not the custome of lo great a Monarch, to write in the kind of a Letter, vnto a petty Prince, or Governour. I answered him, that the King knew more of the mightynesse, of the King of *England*, then to be a petty Governour. Well, this was mine answer, together with my leave taken.

twelve, together with a house, studying with all my endeavours to get all my goods and debts together, and to buy commodities with those Monies, that were remaining viz all the speed I could, to cleere my filde of the Countrey: staying only for *Nicholas Vilett*, to come from *Lebor*, with a remainder of *Indies*, that was in *William Trencher* power, who declined to goe out land, beinge past all hopes for ever imbarcking our selves at *Sarat*: which course I also would willingly have taken, but that as it is well knowne, for some causes I could not traueill throug *Turkey*, and especially with a woman. So I was forced to currie fauour with the Iesuites, to get mee a lease conduct or *Seguro*, from the Vice-Roy for *Goe*, and so to *Portingall*. And so I came to *England*: thinking, as the opinion of others was, that the Vice-Roy, giving his secure *Royall*, there would be no danger in my returne, but when my Wifes Mother, & Kindred saw that I was to carry my wifes Jewels, that they should neuer see her any more, they did so diffame me in thier my Jewels, that I was forced to yeld to vnto them, that my Wife goe no further then *Goe*, because it was so *Indies*: and that they could goe and come and visit her, and that, if at any time I meant to goe for *Portugall*, or any other where, that I leaue her that portion, that the custom of *Portugall* is, to leaue to thier Wives when they cye: vnto which I was forced to yeld to giue them content, to preuent all mischiefes. But knowing that if my Wife would goe with me, all would be of no effect, I effected with the Iesuite to lend for two *Secures*, the one concerning my quiet being, and free libertie of confidence in *Goe*, and to be as a *Portingall* in all Trades and Commerce in *Goe*: (this was to shew my Wife Parents.) The other was an absolute grant for free passage vnto *Portugall*, and so for *England*, with my Wife and child, and that no Customhouse should be put in to *Portugall*, or goe, when I pleased with free libertie of conscience for my selfe. This last *Securo* I should recurre at *Cambaya*, when at my departure for our shippes was not yett come, but was to come with the Carrauen of Frigats.

And this much more move. Fathers would have done for me, only to rid me out of the Country; for being clear of me they thought much more quietly *keep*. About this time, I had notice of the coming of three *English* ships; that were arriv'd at *Mocha*, and without failk their determination was to come to *Smyra*, at the time of the year: Iaving this Advertisement by *Nicholas Bingham* from *Tramport*, who departed from me some six weeks before, both for the recovery of certain Debts, as also with my Letter to our shipping, if it were possible to send it, advertise them of my proceedings.

In this time of my dispatching, news came of *Marcello's* return from *Goa*, with many gallant and rare things, which he brought for the King. But that *Ballase Rudy* was not for his turn, giving it my wife, or at the least, made his excuse for fear, that if he should give the *Porragall* his price, as when it came into the Kings power, it should be valued much less (which over-plus he had to be forced to pay, as he had done in former times, for other things) he left it behind him. And besides, I understood, that *Marcello* had not his full content as he expected of the *Porragall*. And likewise, at this instant, the Vizir, my enemy was thrust out of his place, for many complaints made of him, by Noblemen that were at great charges and in debt, & could not receive their luings in places that were good, but in barren & rebellious places: and that he had a benefit of the good places himself, & robbed them all. For these complaints and others, he had much ado to escape with life, being put out of his place, & sent to the Wars of *Deo*. Now one *Gaidib* being the Kings chief Treasurer (a man that in outward show made much of me, & was always willing to please me, when I had occasion to use him) was made chief Vizir: and his Daughter married with the King, being his chief T. *ene* or Paramour. This Vizir's friends and my self were great friends, he having been often at my house, and was now exalted to high Dignities by the King. Perceiving this alteration, and being certified of the coming of shipping, by certain adole, sundry ways. Knowing the craftiness of these *Moor*s, that without gifts and bribes, nothing would either go forward or be accomplished, I sent my Broker to seek out for Jewels, fitting for the Kings Sister and new Paramour: and likewise, for this new Vizir, and his spouse.

for this new Vizir, and his Iohnne.
 ... Now after they had my Gifts, they beganne on all sides to sollicite my cause: at which time
 newes came to *Agra*, by *Baniars* of *Diu*, how that of *Diu*, three *Englishe* ships were taken, and
 three dayes after other newes came, that they were at the Barre of *Surat*, Vpon which newes the
 great Vizir asked me what Ioy I had for the King, I shewed him a Ruby Ring that I had gotten:
 at the sight of which he bade me make ready to goe with him at Court time, and he would make

my Petition to the King, and told me that the King was already wonne. So to me more coming before his Gracendess, and my Petition being read, he presently granted mee the establishing of our *FaBrics*, and that the *English* come and freely trade for *Serats*: willing the Vizer that with all expedition my commendement be made, upon which grant the Vizer made signe vnto mee, to make obedience, which I did according to the Customs. But now what followed? A great Nobleman and nereft Favourite of the King, being the dearest friend that *Muradban*, and likewise *Abgal Hafiz* had, brought vs together for their child-hood, and Pages together vnto the King, began to make a speech vnto the King, saying, that the granting of this would be the viter overthrow of his Sea Coasts; and people, as his Maestie had beene informed by petition from the Subjects: belieues, that it stood vnwith his Maesties honour to contrarie that which he had promised; and that he had beene so long of late, and so long laboured for the *English*, knew not what he did; if knowing; he was not his Maesties frind, but his Maesties foe. This speech this Nobleman, my business once againe was quite overthrowne, and all my time and presents lost: the King answering, that for my Nation, he would not grant Trade at the Sea Ports, for the inconuenient that diuers times had bene scanned upon. But, for my selfe, it I would remayne in his seruice he would command, that what he had allowed me, should be given me to my content: which I denyed, vnlesse the *English* should come vnto his Ports according to promise, and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not fee me want. Then defining againe the answer of the Kings Letter, he cont. led a while with his Vizirs, and then sent mee his answer, I took mee my leave and departed from *Agas*, the second of November 1611. being of a cold and thoughtfull mind, and in the night I was troubled with the *Portingalls*, that for feare of my goods they would I paye me no more, on the other side the *Portingalls* by reason of the Warres to traell thorow *Desan* vnto *Masipatan*: by land, by reason of the *Turkes*, I could not see; and so to stay I would not amongst these faithlesse Infidels.

Torried at *Cambay*, the last of December, 1611, where I had certain news of the *English* ships that were at *Suez*. Immediately I sent a Footman vnto the ships with my Letter, with certain Advice, shewing for a truch, by the Fathers of *Cambay*, vnto me, that the Vice-Roy had in a readinesse prepared to depart from *Goa*, four great ships, with certaine Gallies, and Frigats for to come vpon them, and Treasons plotted agaiust Sir *Henry Middleton*: perion : of which news, I was wiled by the Fathers to aduise Sir *Henry* : which I found afterward to be but their p-Lice, to put him in feare, and so to depart, and withall, I wiled them to be well aduised. And for as my mths were to goe home, by the way of the *Portugall*, for so I had promised my Wife and her Brother, who at that priegnt was with me : and to delude him and the Fathers till I had notice for certain, that I might first get aboard without feare, which I was assured to know at the returne of my Letter : in the meane time, I did all that I could to dispatch her Brother away : who within two dayes after departed for *Agra*, not sup-cting that I had any intent for the ships. *Nicholas Effet* now departing from mee to lurney the way, being two dayes journey on his way, met with Captaine *William Storepgh*, Master *Fraunce*, and *Hugh Greete* sent by Sir *Henry* to *Cambay* vnto mee, which was no small ioy vnto mee. So

From thence we set saile on the thirtieth of January 1612. and arrived in Saldania Roade, the

He departed from *Agra* the second of November 1611.

**A fained poli-
cie of the le-
guis.**

Hee came a
 board the
 English Fleet.
 They depart
 with the English
 Fleet from Su-
 rat to Dabull.
 A Portugall Ship
 taken.
 1612. They ar-
 rive at the
 mouth of the
 Red Sea.
 The Fleet of
 M. Iohn Serris.
 They arrive at
 Tecoo in Sum-
 tra.
 They arrive at
 Batavia, Dec-
 ember. 1613.

Will. Fish de-
termined to
return over-
land for Eng-
land.

Nicholas Bay
ham.

Three English
ships at the
Barre of S.W. 1st.

The Expedition
arrived in Sal-
denia.
Many aduises
of the Author

one and twentieth of April 1613; and coming nere some two hundred leagues from the Cape, we had much foule weather and contrary windes. Here we found foure fayle of *Hollander*, that departed *Batman* a moneth before vs. There was great kindnesse betwixt vs, especially to me, in regard that they had heard much of my great estate in *India*, by an Agent of theirs, that was Linger at *Maliputan*. Some eight dayes after the Expedition came in, and brought me a Letter from your Worships, and deliuered it vnto me two dayes after their arrival. The wind coming faire, we departed from *Saldania* the one and twentieth of May, 1613.

Touching Forts, *Indies* Factories, &c. I haue omitted as not to fitting every Eye. Their departure from *Saldania*,

§ IIII.

A briefe Discourse of the strength, weals, and Government, with some Cu-
stomes of the great Mogol: which I haue both seene and gathe-
red by his chiefe Officers, and Over-seers of all
his Estate.

Infr, I begin with his Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights,
Esquires, Gentlemen, and Yeomen. As Christian Princes vse their degrees by Ti-
tles, so they haue their Degrees and Titles by their number of Horles: vntill the
those that the King most fauoreth, whom he honoureth with the Title of *Chan*, and
Immirza. None haue the Title of *Sultan* but his Sonnes. *Chan* in the *Persian* Language, is
much as a Duke, *Immirza* is the Title for the Kings Brothers Children.

They that be of the *Fame* of twelve thousand Horsemen belong to the King, and his Mother,
and eldest Sonne, and one more, who is of the bloud Royall of *Pachek*, named *Chan Azam*.
Dukes be nine thousand *Fame*, Marquesses five thousand *Fame*, Earles three thousand, Viscounts
two thousand, Barons a thousand, Knights four hundred, Esquires an hundred, Gentlemen fifty
Yeomen from twentie down-wards. All they that haue these numbers of Horsemen, are called
Manfidars, or men of Liuing, or Lordships. Of these there be three thousand, that is to say,
four be of twelve thousand Horle a-piece, and they be the King, his Mother, *Sultan Pernu*,
Prince, and *Chan Azam*. Of nine thousand Horsemen there be three, that is to say, *Sultan Chorem*,
the Kings third Sonne, *Chacharna*, and *Kelich Chan*. Of five thousand there be eigh-
teen, named *Hassif Chan*, *Chan Chan*, *Abdula Chan*, *Raga Manging*, *Ray Durga*, *Raga Sarung*,
Ramadas Rechuna, *Raga Bassu*, *Emir Vnera*, *Mubadot Chan*, *Chan Douran*, *Sedru Chan*, *Hoya*
Bey Mirza, *Mirza Cazi*, *Ertibar Chan*, *Abuljet Dekgny*, *Ielam Culy Chan*, *Sheik Ferid*.
Of three thousand there be two and twentie, to wit, *Chan Alem*, *Imirza Ereg*, *Imirza Dorab*, *Hoya*
Jahan, *Hoya Abdal Hassan*, *Mirza Gasibey*, *Mirza Shemchadan*, *Mirza Chaddulla*, *Saffer Chan*,
Kacmy Chan, *Mirza Chin Kelich*, *Saff Chan*, *Lalla Berjingdia*, *Mirza Zeady*, *Mirza Aly Echer-
chuly*, *Terbia Chan*, *Mirza Lashbary*, *Mirza Charnogly*, *Mirza Rustem*, *Ally Merdon Badur*,
Tudley Chan, *Abdulla*. The rest be from two thousand downwards till you come to twentie 40
Horle, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of these Horsemen, that receiue pay monthly, from
the King, there be five thousand, there be three thousand, to say, Fortes, Gunners, and men
belong to the Court and Campe, there be three thousand, to say, Fortes, Gunners, and men
Light bearers, Gardiners, Keepers of all kind of Beasts. All these be payd monthly out of the
Kings Treasure, whose Wages be from ten to three *Rupias*.

All his Captaines are to maintaine at a feuen-nights warning, from twelue thousand to twen-
tie Horle, all Horsemen three *Lecker*, which is three hundred thousand Horsemen: which of the
Incomes of their Lordships allowed them, they must maintayne.

The Kings yearly Income of his Crowne Land, is fiftie Crou of *Rupias*, every Crou
is an hundred *Leckes*, and every *Leck* is an hundred thousand *Rupiz*.

Candahar.

The compasse of his Country is two years trauell with *Carrauan*, to say, from *Candahar* to
Agra, from *Soughare* in *Bengala* to *Agra*, from *Cabul* to *Agra*, from *Decan* to *Agra*, from
Sarat to *Agra*, from *Tatta* in *Sinde* to *Agra*. *Agra* is in a manner in the heart of all his King-
domes.

His Empire is diuided into five great Kingdomes, the first named *Pengab*, whereof *Labor* is
the chiefe Seate; the second is *Bengala*, the chiefe Seat *Sonargham*; the third is *Malua*, the chiefe
Seate is *Ugman*; the fourth is *Decan*, the chiefe Seate *Brampror*; the fifth is *Guzerat*, the chiefe
Seate is *Amadahan*. The chiefe Citie or Seate Royall of the Kings of *India*, is called *Dely*, where
hee is established King; and there all the Rites touching his Coronation are performed.

There are fixe especiall Castles, to say, *Agra*, *Gualier*, *Nerner*, *Ratanboure*, *Haffier*, *Roughtrac*.
In every one of these Castles he hath his Treasure kept.

In

In all his Empire there are three Arch-enemies or Rebels, which with all his Forces cannot
be called in, to say, *Amberry Chapin* in *Decan*; in *Guzerat*, the Sonne of *Mazaffer*, that was King,
his name is *Bahador* of *Malua*, *Raga Rahana*. His Sonnes be five, to say, *Sultan Cosfiro*, *Sul-
tan Pernu*, *Sultan Chorem*, *Sultan Shoriar*, and *Sultan Bath*. Hee hath two young Daughters, and
three hundred Wiues, whereof foure be chiefe as *Queenes*, to say, the first named *Padajha Bar-
u*, daughter to *Kame Chan*; the second is called *Noore Mahal*, the Daughter of *Gasi Beige*; the
third is the Daughter of *Seinchan*; the fourth is the Daughter of *Hakim Humann*, who was Bro-
ther to his Father *Echer Padajha*.

His Treasure is as followeth, The first, is his generall Coine of Gold.

Inprimis, of *Serapins Echeri*, which be ten *Rupias* a piece, there are sixtie *Lecker*. Of another
sort of Coyne, of a thousand *Rupias* a piece, there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another
sort of halfe the value, there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of Gold of twenty *Tol*
a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne *Tol* a piece, there be five
and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five *Tol*, which is this Kings stampes of thiefe
there be fiftie thousand pieces.

A *Take* is a *Ru-
pia* Chalany of
Silver, and ten
of these *Takes*
are the value
of one of gold.

Of Silver, as followeth.

Inprimis, of *Rupias Echeri*, thirteene Crou every Crou is an hundred *Lecker*, and every *Leck* an
hundred thousand *Rupias*, is one thousand three hundred *Lecker*. Of another sort
of Coine of *Selm Sha* this King, of an hundred *Tol* a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of
fiftie *Tol* a piece, there is one *Leck*. Of thirtie *Tol* a piece, there are foure thousand pieces.
Of twenty *Tol* a piece, there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of ten *Tol* a piece, there are twen-
tie thousand pieces. Of five *Tol* a piece, there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a cer-
taine Monney that is called *Sawgy*, which is a *Tol* 3, of these there are two *Lecker*. Of *Lagaries*,
whereof five make fixe *Tol*, there is one *Leck*. More should haue bene coyned of this stampe,
but the contrary was commanded.

Here followeth of his Jewells of all sorts.

Inprimis, of *Diamantes* 13, *Batman*, these be rough, of all sorts and sizes, great and small:
but no lesse then 2 1/2 *Caratts*. The *Batman* is fifty five pound weight, which maketh eight
tie two pounds 1/2 weight *Englishe*. Of *Ballace Rubies* litle and great, good and bad, there are
single two thousand pieces. Of Pearle of all sorts, there are twelue *Batmans*. Of *Rubies* of all
sorts there are two *Batmans*. Of *Emeraude* of all sorts, five *Batmans*. Of *Ejime*, which
stone cometh from *Cathaina*, one *Batman*. Of stones of *Emer*, which is a red stone, there are
five thousand pieces. Of all other sorts as *Corall*, *Topasse*, &c. There is an infinite number.

Ejime a pre-
cious stone
coming
from *Cathaina*.

Here followeth of the Jewells wrought in Gold.

OF Swords of *Almaue* Blades, with the Hilts and Scabbards set with diuers sorts of rich
stones, of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of
Poniards there be two thousand. Of *Saddle Drummes*, which they vse in their Haw-
king, of these there are very rich ones of Gold, set with stones, five hundred. Of Broo-
ches for their heads, wherinto their Featherers be put, these be very rich, and of them there are
two thousand. Of *Saddles* of Gold and Silver set with stones, there are one thousand. Of
Tankes there be five and twentie, this is a great Launce covered with Gold, and the Fluke set
with stones, and therein instead of their colours, are carved, when the King goeth to the
warres, of these there are five and twentie. Of *Kataphers* of Plate, for to shadow him
there be twentie. None in his Empire dareth in any fort haue any of these carryed
for his shadow but himselfe, of these, I say, there are twentie. Of *Chaires* of Plate,
there be five, to say, three of Silver, and two of Gold: and of other sorts of *Chaires*, there
be an hundred of Silver and Gold, in all an hundred and five. Of rich Glasses, there
be two hundred. Of Vases for Wine very faire and rich, set with Jewels, there
are an hundred. Of drinking Cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made
of one piece of *Ballace Ruby*, and also of *Emerald*, of *Ejime*, or *Turkey* stone, and of other
sorts of stones. Of *Chaines* of Pearle, and *Chaines* of all sorts of precious stones, and *Ringes*
with Jewels of rich *Diamants*, *Ballace Rubies*, *Rubies* and old *Emeralds*, there is an infinite num-
ber, which only the Keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of plate, as *Dishes*, *Cups*, *Basons*,
Pets, *Beakers* of Silver wrought, there are two thousand *Batmans*. Of Gold wrought, there are
one thousand *Batmans*.

Ejime stones
of *Cathaina*.

T r

Here

Here followeth of all sorts of Beasts.

Or Kishmir.

OF Horses there are twelve thousand. Whereof there bee of *Persian* Horses foure thousand, and of *Turkie* Horses six thousand, and of *Kishmir* two thousand, all are twelve thousand.

Of Elephants, there be twelve thousand, whereof five thousand bee teeth Elephants, and seven thousand of thee ones, and young ones, which are twelve thousand. Of Camels there be two thousand. Of Oxen for the Cart, and all other seruises, there be tenne thousand. Of Moyle there be one thousand. Of Deere like Buckes for game and sport, there be three thousand. Of Ounces for Game, there bee foure hundred. Of Dogges for hunting, as Grey-hounds and other, there be foure hundred. Of Lions tame there are an hundred. Of Buffaloes, there be five hundred. Of all sorts of Hawkes there bee foure thousand. Of Pidgeons for sport of flying, there be ten thousand. Of all sorts of singing Birds, there be foure thousand.

Of Armour of all sorts at an hours warning, in a readinesse to arme five and twentie thousand men.

His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his Cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few Elephants Royall, and all other expences particularly, as Apparell, Victuals, and other petty expences for his house amounts, to fiftie thousand Ropias a day.

The expences daily for his Women by the day, is thirtie thousand Ropias.

All this written concerning his Treasure, Expences and monthly pay is in his Court, or Caste of *Agra*; and every one of the Castles above nominated, haue their severall Treasure, especially *Lahor*, which was not mentioned.

The Cutoffme of this *Mogoll* Emperour is to take possession of his Noblemens Treasure when they dye, and to bestow on his Children what he pleaseth: but commonly he dealeth wnto the child, possessing them with their Fathers Land, diuiding it amongst them: and vnto the eldest Sonne, hee hath a very great respect, who in time receiueth the full title of his Father. There was in my time a great *Indian* Lord or Prince, a Gentle named *Raga Gagnat*, vpon whose goods the Kings (seizing after his death, he was found (besides Jewels and other Treasure) to haue fixtie thousand Ropias in Gold, and every *Maone* is five and fiftie pound waight. Also his cutoffme is, that of all sorts of Treasure, excepting Coine, to pay of all sorts of Beasts, and all other things of value, a small quantitie is daily brought before him. All things are severally diuided into three hundred and fixtie parts. To that hee daily teeth a certaine number, to say, of Elephants, Horses, Camels, Dromedaries, Moyles, Oxen, and all other: as also a certaine quantitie of Jewels, and so it continueth all the yeere long: for what is brought him to day is not scene againe, till that day twelue moneths.

He hath three hundred Elephants Royall, which are Elephants whereon himselfe rideth: and when they are brought before him, they come with great iollitie, haueing some twentie or thirty men before them with small Strengers. The Elephants Cloth or Covering is very rich, eyther of Cloth of Gold, or rich Velvet: hee hath following him his three Elephant, his Whelpes or Whelpes, and foure or five yong ones, as Pages which will bee in number some fixe, some seuen, and some eight or nine. These Elephants and other Cattell, are dispersed among his Nobles and men of sort to ouer-see them, the King allowing them for their expences, a certaine quantitie: but some of them will take a great deale more then their allowance cometh vnto. These Elephants Royall eate tenne Ropias every day in Sugar, Butter, Graine, and Sugar Canes. These Elephants are the goodliest and fairest of all the rest, and tame withall, so managed, that I saw with mine eyes, when the King commanded one of his young Sonnes named *Sharia* (a Child of seuen yeeres of age) to goe to the Elephant to bee taken vp by him with his fist: who did so deluelling him to his Keeper that commanded him with his hook: and hauing done this vnto the Kings Sonne, he afterwards did the like to many other Children. When these Elephants are shewed, it they who haue the charge of them bring them leane, then are they checked and in disgrace, vntill their excuse bee the better: and so it is with all things else in that kinde, that every man strueth to bring his quantitie in good liking, although hee spend of his owne.

When hee rideth on *Progresse* or Hunting, the compasse of his Tents may bee as much as the compasse of *London* and more, and I may say, that of all sorts of people that follow the Campe, there are two hundred thousand: for hee is provided, as for a Citie. This King is thought to bee the greatest Emperour of the East, for Wealth, Land, and force of Men: as also for Horses, Elephants, Camels and Dromedaries. As for Elephants of his owne, and of his Nobles, there are fortie thousand; of which the one halfe are trayned Elephants for the Warre: and the other

The *Mogoll* here to eury man.

Raga Gagnat his wealth.

Daily suruey of the Kings wealth.

Elephants Royall.

The Kings Tents as large in compasse as *London*.

Forty thousand Elephants

these Elephants of all beastes, are the most vnderstanding. I thought good here to set downe this one thing, which was reported to me for a certainty, although it seemed very strange. An Elephant hauing journeyed very hard, being on his trauell, was mistruied by his Commander, and one day finding the fellow alleepe by him, put out of his reach, hauing greene Canes brought him to aide, split the end of one of them with his teeth, and taking the other end of the Cane with his snout, reached it toward the head of the fellow, who being fast alleepe, and his hands with him from his head (the vlt of *India* being to wear their haire long like Women) he tooke hold with the Cane on his haire, wreathing it thereon, and withall, haling him vnto him, vntill hee brought him within the compasse of his snout, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things are done by Elephants.

He hath also infinite numbers of *Dromedaries*, which are very swift, to come with great speed, to giue assault to any Citie, as this Kings Father did: so that the enemies thought hee had bene in *Agra*, when he was at *Amadour*: and he came from *Agra* thither in nine daies, vpon these *Dromedaries*, with twelve thousand choyce men, *Chan-channa* being then his Generall. The day being appointed for the battell, on a Iuddaine newes came of the Kings annuall, which stricke such a present feare into the *Guzerats*, that at that time they were ouerthrowne and conquered. This King hath diminished his chiefe Captaines, which were *Rasboores*, or *Gemiles*, and natural *Indians*, and hath preferred the *Mahometans* (weak printed men, void of resolution) in such sort, that what this mans Father, called *Eber Padashah*, got of the *Decan*, this King *Selim* hath, begetteth to loose. Hee hath a few good Captaines yet remaining, vpon his father highly esteemed, although they be out of fauour with him, because that vpon his rebellion against his father, they would not assist him, considering his intent was taught: for he meant to haue thorowed his Fathers daies, and before his time to haue come to the Crowne. And so that purpose, being in *Atadash*, the regall state of a kingdom called *Parah*, hee arose with eight thousand horse, intending to take *Agra*, and to haue possession of the Treasury, his Father being then at the warres of *Decan*: who vnderstanding of his Sonnes pretence, left his conquering there, and made hast to come home to saue his owne. Before the Kings departure to the warres, hee gaue order to his Sonne to goe with his Forces vpon *Aranna*, that great Rebel in *Males*, who coming to parle with this Rebel, he told the Prince, that there was nothing to be gotten by him but blowes: and it were better for him, now his Father was at *Decan*, to goe vpon *Agra*, and possesse himselfe of his Fathers treasure, and make himselfe King, for there was no man able to resist him. The Prince followed his counsell, and would haue prosecuted it, but his Fathers hast before, vpon notice giuen, preuented his purpose: at whole annuall at *Agra*, hee presently sent vnto his Sonne, that he make choyce either to come and fall at his feete, and be at his mercy to doe with him as he pleased, or to fit himselfe for the battell and fight it out. He well considering the valour of his Father, thought it meetest to submie himselfe, and stand to his Fathers mercy: who after affronts shewed him imprisonment, was loose released and pardoned, by reason of many friends, his Mother, Sisters, and others.

This *Selim Padashah* being in his rebellion, his father dispossessed him, and proclaimed heire apparent, his eldest Sonne *Cassro* being eldest Sonne to *Selim*: for his owne Sonnes younger Brothers to *Selim*, were all dead in *Decan* and *Guzera*: yet shortly after his Father dyed, who in his death-bed had mercy on *Selim*, possessing him againe. But *Cassro*, who was promoued here apparent, stomached his father, and rose with great troops, yet was not able to indure against the losse of many thousand men on both sides: but was taken, and remaneth still in prison in the Kings Pallace, yet blinde, as all men report: and was so commanded to be blinded by his father. So since that time, being now eight yeeres after, hee had commanded to put all his sonnes confederates to death, with sundry kinds of death: some to bee hanged, some spitted, some to haue their heads chopped off, and some to bee torne by Elephants. Since which time hee hath reigned in quiet, but ill beloued of the greater part of his Subjects, who stand greatly in feare of him. His Cutoffme is every yeare to be out two moneths on hunting, as is before specified. When hee meaneth to begin his iourney, if coming forth of his Pallace, hee get vpon a Horse, it is a signe that hee goeth for the warres: but if he get vp vpon an Elephant or Palanquine, it will bee but an hunting voyage.

My life in the time that I was one of his Courtiers, haue seene many cruell deeds done by him. Five times a weeke, hee commaundeth his braue Elephants to fight before him: and in the time of this fighting, either coming or going out, many times men are killed, or dangerously hurt by these Elephants. But if any be grievously hurt (which might very well escape) yet nevertheless that man is cast into the River, himselfe commaunding it, saying: dispatch him, for as long as hee liueth, he will doe nothing else but curie me, and therefore it is better that hee dye presently. I haue seene many in this kind. Againe, hee delighteth so to see men executed himselfe, and come in peces with Elephants. Hee put to death in my time his Secretary, only vpon suspicion, that *Chan-channa* should write vnto the *Decan* King, who being sent for and examined about this matter, denied it: whereupon the King not hauing patience, arose from his seate, and

Dromedaries counted. From *Agra* to *Amadour* in nine daies.

Selim rebellious.

*Or: *Rabidus*.Sultan *Cassro* proclaimed.Hee was not blinded, and is since (as you shall see in Six *Thaheers* relations) deliuered out of prison.

Cruell Executions.

Security.

with his Sword gaue him his deadly wound, and afterwards deliuered him to bee torne by Elephants.

China-machine.

Likewise, it happened to one who was a great friend of mine (a chiefe man, hauing vnder his charge the Kings Ward-robe, and all forts of mercery, and his *China dines*) this a faire *China dish* (which cost mettice Rupias, or fortie six Rials of eight) was broken, in this my friends time, by a mischance (when the King was in his progresse) being packed amongst other things, on a Cammell, which fell and broke all the whole parcel. This Nobleman knowing how dearely the King loued this dish about the rest, presently sent one of his trusty seruants to *China-machine*, ouer land to seeke for another, hoping that before he should remember that dish, he would returne with another like vnto it: but his euill lucke was contrarie. For the King two years after remembered this dish, and his man was not yet come. Now, when the King heard that the dish was broken, he was in a great rage, commanding him to be brought before him, and to be beaten by two men, with two great whips made of cords: and after that he had receiued one hundred and twenty of these lathes, he commanded his Porters, who be appointed for that purpose, to beate him with their small Cudgels, till a great many of them were broken: at the least twenty men were beating of him, till the poore man was thought to be dead, and then he was halld out by the heeles, and commanded to prison. The next day the King demanded whether he was liuing, answer was made, that he was: whereupon, he commanded him to be carried vnto perpetual prison. But the Kings Sonne being his friend, freed him of that, and obtained of his Father, that he might bee sent home to his owne house, and there be cured. So after two monthes, he was reasonably well recovered, and came before the King, who presently commanded him to depart the Court, and neuer come againe before him, vntill he had found such a like dish, and that he traueill for *China-machine* to seeke it: the King allowed him five thousand Rupias towards his charges; and besides, returning one fourth part of his liuing that he had before, to maintaine him in his traueill. He being departed, and fourteene monthes on his traueill, was not yet come home: but newes came of him, that the King of *Persia* had the like dish, and for pitties sake hath sent it him, who at my departure was on his way homeward.

Sultan Persia.

Likewise, in my time it happened, that a *Pattana*, a man of good stature, came to one of the Kings Sonnes, named *Sultan Persia*, to intreat him to bestow somewhat on him, by petition deliuered to one of the Princes chiefe men, at the deliuey whereof, the Prince caused him to come neere: and demanding of him whether hee would serue him; he answered, No, for he thought that the Prince would not grant him so much as he would aske. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow, and meanelly apparelled, smiled, demanding what would content him: hee told him plainly, that hee would neither serue his Father nor him, vnder a thousand Rupias a day, which is two pound sterling. The Prince asked him what was in him, that he demanded so much; he replied, make triall of me with all forts of weapons, either on horsebacke, or on foot, and for my sufficient command in the warres, if I doe not performe as much as I speake, let me dye for it. The houre being come for the Prince to go to his Father, he gaue out his talk, commanding the man to be forth comming.

Proud demand.

At night the Kings custom being to drinke, the Prince perceiving his Father to be merry, told him of this man: so the King commanded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wilde Lyon was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained, and led by a dozen men and keepers: and while the King was viewing this Lyon, the *Pattana* came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembered his Father. The King, demanding of this *Pattana*, whence he was, and of what parentage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages: his answer was, that the King should make triall of him. That I will, saith the King, goe wrastle and buffet with this Lyon. The *Pattana* answer was, that this was a wilde beast, and to goe barely vpon him without weapon, would be no triall of his man-hood. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him to buckle with the Lyon, who did so, wrastling and buffeting with the Lyon a pretty while: and then the Lyon being loose from his keepers, but not from his chains, got the poore man within his clawes, and tore his body in many parts: and with his pawes tore the one halfe of his face, so that this valiant man was killed by this wilde beast. The King not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horse-men in pay, being that night on the watch: for it is the custom of all those that receive pay, or liuing from the King, to watch once a weeke, none excepted, if they be well, and in the Citie. These men one after another, were to buffet with the Lyon, who were all grievously wounded, and it cost them all their liues. The King continued three monthes in this vaine, when he was in his humors, for whole pleasure sake, many men lost their liues, and many were grievously wounded. So that euer after, vntill my coming away, some fiftene young Lyons were made tame, and played one with another before the King, looking betwixt mens legs, and no man hurt in a long time.

Bloody experiments.

Likewise, he cannot abide, that any man should haue any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time, and that he hath the refusal thereof. His Jeweller, a *Bennian*,

Jewels and Gemmes.

named *Herranand*, had bought a Diamond of three Metregals, which cost one hundred thousand Rupias: which was not so closely done, but newes came to the King: *Herranand* likewise was befriended, being presently acquainted therewith, who before the King sent for him, came vnto him, and challenged the King that he had often promised him that he would come to his house: the King answered that it was true. *Herranand* therefore replied, that now was the time, for that he had a faire Present to bestow vpon his Maistie: for that he had bought a stone of such a weight, The King smiled, and said, Thy lucke was good to preuent me. So preparation was made, and to the *Bennians* house he went. By this means, the King hath ingrodd all faine stones, that no man can buy from five Carats yppwards, without his leave: for he hath the refusal of all, and giueth not by a third part so much as their value. There was a Diamant cutter of my acquaintance: that was sent for to cut a Diamant of three Metregals and a halfe, who demanded a small foule Diamant to make powder, wherewith to cut the other Diamant. They brought him a Chiefe, as he had, of three spannes long, and a spanne and halfe broad, and a spanne and halfe deepe, full of Diamants of all sizes and sorts: yet could he find neuer any one for his purpose, but one of five Rotties, which was not very foule neither.

He is exceeding rich in Diamants, and all other precious stones, and vsually weareth every day a faire Diamant of great price, and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come to wear it againe, he weareth not the same: that is to say, all his faire Jewels are diuided into a certaine quantitie or proportion to wear every day. He also weareth a chaine of Pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of Emerals, and ballace Rubies. He hath another Jewell, that cometh round about his Turbant, full of faire Diamants and Rubies. It is not much to be wondered, that he is so rich in Jewels, and in Gold and Silver, when he hath heaped together the Treasure and Jewels of so many Kings, as his forefathers have conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together; and all came to his hands. Again, all the money and Jewels which his Nobles heape together, when they die come all vnto him, who giueth which hees listeth to the Noblemens wiues and children: and this is done to all them that receive pay, or liuing from the King: *India* is rich in silver, for all Nations bring Coyne, and carry away commodities for the same; and this Coyne is buried in *India*, and goeth not out: for it is thought, that one in twentie yeeres it cometh into the Kings power. All the lands in his Monarchie are at his disposing, who giueth and taketh at his pleasure. If I haue lands at *Lahor*, being sent vnto the warres at *Decan*, another hath the lands, and I am to receive mine in *Decan* or thereabouts, neere the place where I am, whether it be in the warres, or that I be sent about other business, for any other country. And men are to looke well vnto their doings: for if they be found carde in neuer so little a matter, they are in danger of loosing their lands: and if complaints of Injustice which they doe, be made vnto the King, it is well if they escape with losse of their lands.

He is very severe in such causes, and with all severity punisheth those Capitaines, who suffer out-laws to give assaile vnto their Citie, without resisting. In my time there were some eight Capitaines, who had their liuing vpon the borders of *Bengalia*, in a chiefe Citie called *Pattana*, which was suffered to be taken by out-laws, and they all fled: but that Citie was againe restored by a great Capitaine, who was Commander of a Country neere thereabouts; who took all those Capitaines that fled, and sent them to the King, to give punishment vpon them at his pleasure. So they were brought before the King in chains, and were presently commanded to be shaven, both head and beard, and to wear womens apparell, riding vpon asses, with their backs backwards, and so carried about the Citie. This being done, they were brought before the King againe, and there whipped, and sent to perpetual prison: and this punishment was inflicted vpon them to my sight. He is severe enough, but all helpeth not, for his poore Rites or Clownes complaine of Injustice done them, and cry for Iustice at the Kings hands. They come to a certaine place, where a long rope is fastened vnto two pillars, neere vnto the place where the King sitteth in Iustice. This rope is hanged full of Bells, platted with gold, so that the rope being shaken, the Bells are heard by the King: who sendeth to know the cause, and doth his Iustice accordingly. At his first coming to the Crowne, he was more severe then now he is, which is the cause that the Countrey is full of outlawes, and thees, that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores, throughout all his Dominions, without great forces: for they are all become Rebels.

There is one great *Ragane* betwixt *Agra* and *Andanar*, who commandeth as much land as a good Kingdome: and all the forces the *Mogol* hath, cannot bring him in, for his forces are vpon the Mountains. He is twentie thousand strong in Horie, and fiftie thousand strong in Foote, and many of these Rebels are all his Dominions: but this is one of the greatest. There are many risen at *Candabar*, *Cabul*, *Maldan*, and *Sinde*, and in the Kingdome of *Beluch*: *Bengalia* likewise, *Decan*, and *Guzerat* are full, so that a man can traueil no way for his liuing. Their Government is in such a barbarous kind, and cruel exalting vpon the Clownes, which causeth them to be head-strong. The fault is in the Chiefe, for a man cannot continue halfe a yeere in his liuing, but it is taken from him and giuen vnto another: or else the King taketh it for himselfe, if he be rich ground, and likely to yeeld much) making exchange for a worse place: or as he is befriended of the Vizir. By this means he racketh the poore, to get from them what he can, who still

Costly to maintain.

At nine times the rich coffee of Diamonds.

Cause of so great wealth.

Those lands which are let pay to the king two thirds of the profit and of those which he purchaseth, one third remaineth to the king. In all the world is not more fertile land, then in some great part of his Dominions. Punishment of Cowards. A chiefe Citie called *Pattana*. He calleth *Bell* (as the *Mogols* do) of that which he putteth on, though perhap some of them were free Kings, as this *Ragane* or *Ragana* supposed, the true successer of *Pew*: whom *Decan* did conquer. He is brought, or rather rather (as they say) piteously can acknowledge the tribute to the *Mogol*.

and also with his head, very grauely, and doth thus three times. This done, he kneeleth downe coarsing the ground with his fore-head, which being once done, he is carried forward towards the King, and in the midway he is made to doe this reuerence againe then he cometh to the doore of the red rayles, doinge the like reuerence the third time : and hauing thus done, he cometh within the red rayles, and doth it once more vpon the Carpets. Then the King commeth him to come vp the staires or ladder of seauen steeppes, that he may embrace him ; where the King most iouingly embraceth him before all the people, whereby they shall take notice, that he is in the Kings fauour. The King hauing done this, he then cometh downe, and is placed by the Lieutenant General according to his degree. Now if he come in disgrace, through exclamations made against him, he hath none of these honours from the King, but is placed in his place till he come to his tryall. This King is very much adored of the Heathen Communitie, inasmuch, that they will spread their bodies all vpon the ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides. They vie many other poperies and superstitions, which I omit, leaving them for other Travellers, which shall come from thence hereafter.

Funerall feast
or Obitt for his
Father ?

Sumptuous
Sepulchre.

After I had written this, there came into my memory another Feast, solemnized at his Fathers Funerall, which is kept at this Sepulchre, where likewise himselfe, with all his posterity, meane to be buried. Vpon this day there is great store of victuals dressed, and much money giuen to the poore. This Sepulchre may be counted one of the rarest Monuments of the world. It hath bene this fouenteene yeares a building, and it is thought it will not be finished this seauen yeares more, meaning gates and walls, and other needfull things, for the beautifying and setting of it forth. The least that worke there daily, are three thousand people : but thus much I will say, that one of our Worke-men will dispart more then three of them. The Sepulchre is some 4. of a mile about made square : it hath seauen heights built, every height narrower then the others, till you come to the top where his Heries is. At the outermost gate, before you come to the Sepulchre, there is a most fairie Palace building : the compasse of the wall ioyning to this gate of the Sepulchre and gardens, being within, may be at the least three miles. This Sepulchre is some foure miles distant from the Citie of *Agra*.

CHAP. VIII.

The Voyage of M^r DAVID MIDDLETON in the Consett, a Ship of one hundred and fiftene Tuns, which set forth from Tilburie Hope, on the twelfth of March, 1606.

The 14. of Iuly
1607.



Eachored in the Roade of *Saldonia* all our men in good health : onely *Peter Lambert* the day before fell off the top-moist head, wherof he dyed.

The one and twentieth, the Captain and Master went to *Penguin* Iland, three leagues distant from the Roade, where wee saw such abundance of Seales and Pengwins, that it was admirable, for you may drie five hundred Pengwins together in a flocke, and thousands of Seales together vpon the shore. The Iland is not about some threemiles long, and some two miles broad : but in mine opinion, there is not an Iland in the world more frequented with Fowle and Seales then this Iland. It hath Pengwins, Willegese, Ducke, Drake, and Pellicanes, and diuers other Fowle, and after some pleasure taken there, we returned againe vnto our ship.

Hauing bought some Cattle, and ended all our businesse, and our men well refreshed, we weighed Anchor the nine and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the mornning, with very little wind, and came out of the Roade of *Saldonia*, our men in very good health, and loath to depart without the company of our Admirall and Vice-Admirall : but we were not certain of their arrivall there, which made vs make so little stay, so directing our course for *S. Lawrence*, so we left *Saldonia*.

The thirtieth day calme all day, till three of the clocke in the afternoon, and then we had a fresh gale at South-west, and we steered away halfe a watch South and by West, and two watches and an halfe South-East, and at tenne of the clocke at night the Cape *De Bona Esperanza*, bare North of vs, and all that night blew very much winde, and the Sea much growne : and the ship came betwixt twelve of the clocke at night, and twelve of the clocke next day, being the one and thirtieth of Iuly, nine and twenty leagues, all this day a very pleasant gale, sometimes raine, we came foure leagues from the Cape.

August 1. 1607
Cape Agulhas
North fifty
five fathomes.

The first of August we had very faire weather, sometimes gale, and sometimes calme, continuing so all day, and we steered away two watches South-East and by East, and three watches at East and by South, the wind variable, sometimes at South, and sometimes at South by East darke weather, and the ran some one and twenty leagues, then we were in five and thirty degrees, and twenty two minutes of height.

The

The seuen and twentieth of August, the winde at North-west, and we steered away East, and by South, and at two of the clocke, we saw the land of *S. Lawrence*, or *Madagascar*, by estimation some five leagues off, and then we steered away North, and by West, and at noone we obserued, and made the ship to be in twentie foue degrees, and fortie minutes, the variation at night sixtene degrees, and twentie three minutes.

The thirtieth, at five of the clocke in the afternoon, we anchored in the Bay of *S. Augustine*, in six fathome and an halfe, great grauell, and we were informed to goe to lee-ward, being to the roome-wards of the Roade before we could get in, by reason of a great breach that lyes off the bay, and then came in clofe vpon a tacke, and had in coming in seuen, five and an halfe, and five fathomes all the way, and came very faire by the breach, and rid in the Roade, with two Ilands in the wind of vs, and the breach both.

The one and thirtieth day, our Captaine with M. *Davis* went in our long boat to viewe the Ilands, and I my selfe as we went, founde clofe aboard the Breach, and had six fathomes. One of the Ilands is very small, as it were a banke of sand, and nothing on it: the other is about a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, and nothing vpon it, but some small store of Wood.

The first of September, 1607. we weighed anchor from our first place, and came within two miles of the mouth of the River, and rid in five fathome and an halfe, very fast ground, for where we rid before it was very foule ground, so that we brake one of our Cables in the weighing. I iudge it to be some three leagues from our first place, where we had very foule ground.

The twentieth day, hauing ended all our businesse, being prouided of wood and water, and all things else, we weighed anchor in the morning about five of the clocke, with the wind at East and by North a pleasant gale, and we steered away, coming out West, and West and by North, till we were cleare of the Breaches, and we brought to with vs foure Goats, three Sheep, and a young Heifer: here we found great plenty of wichalls, both Sheepe and Beetes for little value. This day we obserued some three miles from the Iland, before the Bay of *S. Augustine*, and we made it to be in twenty three degrees and fortie eight minutes of latitude, and after wee were cleare of the Breach, which lies to the North-ward of the Iland, we steered away South-South-west, and South and by West, sometimes with very faire weather, the wind at South-East, and by East a pleasant gale.

The eleuenth, a fresh gale at South-east, and South-east and by East, and wee stood into the shore till midnight, and then we saw a great breach, right a head hard by vs, but wee heard the rut before we saw it (God be praised) and so we tackd, and stood off againe presently. And at noone obserued, and made the Ship to be in twentie five degrees, and twentie two minutes of latitude.

The twelfth of November in the morning, we saw an Iland, and stood to make it, and found it to be *Jagana*, and came to the North-side of it the Iland is in length five leagues or thereabout: it lies East and by South, and West and by North: the Easter end is the highest land, and the West end is full of trees. It lies in latitude in nine degrees and an halfe, and the variation is foure degrees and thirteene minutes. So after we had made it, baving the wind at West-North-west, we steered away for the maine of *Sumatra* East and by South, and East South-east a pleasant gale, with very much raine: so the thirteenth day in the morning, we saw the maine land of *Sumatra* some foure leagues from vs.

The foureteenth, we anchored in *Bantam* Roade, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon, being Saturday, where we found the Merchants in very good health, and all things in good order. The next day our Captaine went on shore, and spake with M. *Tower* concerning the shippes businesse, and agreed to haue our Iron and Lead a shore which we brought with vs: which being effected, with some roomaging, and hauing fitted our ship in good order, and taken in Merchandise, and our Merchants for the *Moluccos*, with leave taken of the Merchants, we set saile from *Bantam* Roade the sixt of December, 1607. with little wind, and came out of the Roade, and anchored that night in sight of the high land of *Bantam*. The next day, weighed in the morning, and sailed with a prosperous wind till continuing faire, passing many Ilands, and sunken strange thing to vs in those parts, but one comfort we had, that God gaue vs a fayre wind, wherewith we layed merrily on our intended Voyage.

In the beginning of January, they arrived at the Moluccos. The rest of this Month was spent in entertainments and compliments betwixt Ours and the Spaniards, as likewise with the Moluccan Princes. So was the whole Month of February also. The reason was, The Spaniards durst not aduance trade till the Camp Master had given leave. And he in those broyles twixt him and the Hollanders, except Ours would doe or come to doe some piece of seruise, at least accompanying their ships for greater ssew (which our Captaine absolutely refused, being against his Commission) excused himselfe. Meane while they had priuy trade with the people by night, and were lowall and frolicke by day with the Spaniards, which both gaue and received kind welcomes. In the beginning of March, they were permitted open trade. But this within few dayes was countermanded, and we commanded to bee gone. And thus they spent the time till March the fouenteene, when they weighed anchor, and set saile.

Some

CHAP. IX.

A briefe Narration of the fourth Voyage to the East-Indies, with the two good Shippes, the Ascension being Admirall, and the Vnion Vice-Admirall, under the command of ALEXANDER SHARPEY General, and RICHARD ROUVLES Lieutenant General, with the discovery of the Redde-Sea in the Ascension.

§. I.

Relations of the said Voyage, written by THOMAS IOHNES.

IN an unfortunate hour, the fourteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1607, with the two tall Shippes, the *Ascension* and the *Vnion*, we weighed anchor at *Woolwich*.

The sixth of May 1608, having spent some daies in refreshing our men at *Mao*, we directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall, and so for the Case of *Bona Speranza* South-east, and by South, and South South-east. The Equinoctiall we pulled very speedily, and then you have the general wind, that bloweth continually between the South-east and South-east by East: so that the further you sayle to the South-ward, you shall finde the wind to Easter the more, as between the Equinoctiall and the Tropique of *Capricorne*. The eleventh day of June, in the Latitude of fixe and twenty degrees, being under the Tropique, we met with a Caracke that was bound for *India*, her name was the *Nave Palma*. This Caracke was cast away afterward upon the Coast of *Sesiale*, within twelve leagues of *Mosambike*: the Captaine of which said ship came Passenger home in the same Caracke that I came out of *India* in; being Admirall of the Fleece of foure sayle. So according to the custome of the Sea, having spent some complements in friendly manner, we departed from him, to follow our Voyage.

The thirteenth of July, we came to an Anchor in the Bay of *Saldania*, and staying there vnto the five and twentieth of September, in building of a Pinnalle (at which time the Westerly Monsoons haue done blowing, and then the wind bloweth more betweene the South and the South-east.) The five and twentieth of September, we came out of the Bay, and the six and twentieth of the same month, we were encountered with a mighty storme, at the South South-east, which blew so vehemently, that we split our fore-curse that night, and lost the company of our confort the *Vnion*, and our Pinnalle called the *Good Hope*, which we had built at the forehead Cape, and neuer heard of them afterward, only the Pinnalle excepted, which came to vs to *Aden* in the Red-Sea. Thus with contrary winds, hauing before neglected our season of time, we beate vp and downe the Sea in following our Voyages, vnto the eighteenth day of Nouember, before we could get the great Island of *S. Lawrence*. But there we beate two daies to get about Cape *De S. Roman*, but could not. This altered their minds, that they bore vp for the Island of *Camora*, which standeth betwixt the Island of *S. Lawrence* and the *Maine*, in the Southern Latitude of eleuen degrees. The fixe and twentieth day of October, we came to an Anchor on the West-side of the Island, in fixe and thirty fathomes water. Here we were vied of the King and people, with all the kinde of might be: but could get no fresh water; yet had marvellous good refreshing of Limbes, & some Hens, and *Coco Nuts*, which was a great comfort vnto vs. The last day of the said month we weighed Anchor, and departed from the Island of *Camora*, and directed our course for the Island of *Zanzibar*, minding there to relieue our wants of water. But through the default of our Master, we over-shot the Island of *Zanzibar*, and fell with the Island of *Pemba*, hauing almost runne ashore in the night before we did see it, the winds being by the East North-east, we cast about, and stood off till day, thinking it to be the Island *Zanzibar*. When it was day, we found a place on the South-side of the Island, hauing a Ledge of Rocks to the Eastward of vs, here we roade in feuen or eight fathomes water, being the feuenth day of December. The Latitude of the place is fixe degrees to the South-ward, being the South-west end of the Island. The eight of the said month, I went ashore to seeke for water, of which we could not fill about fixe Tunnes aday. We played our businesse with great recourse of the people, and familiarity with vs, but all was in treachery. Hauing almost done our businesse, and onely lacking some foure or five Tunnes of water to fill, being the eighteenth day,

Nave Palma a Caracke.

The Capt. hereof came bounden in a Caracke.

The Bay of *Saldania*.

Camora.

Pemba.

day, I went ashore to fill those empty Caskes with water, where against my coming they had laid an Ambush of some two hundred men, which brake out upon vs, yet, praised be God, we did escape their hands, only my Seruant *Iohn Harington* excepted, whom they tooke and murdered most cruelly, I not being able to rescue him. Also, they wounded a Seruant of *Iohn Moore*, being one of our Masters Mates; but the youth recovered of his wounds, being eleven in number. Also a little before they did put their treachery in practise, one of the chiefe of the came vnto me, desiring me to lend one of our men with him to fetch a present for our Generall, which I granted, but the fellow neuer came againe. The young-man that went was borne in *Greenewich*, his name being *Edward Church-man*, who afterward dyed in *Mombasa* of a bloody-fluxe, as I was credibly informed of the *Portugals*. Also, while we made our abode at *Pemba*, the *Portugals* were about to man a *Flemmisb Hulke*, (which had wintered in *Mombasa*) to come to take our Shippe: but hearing of the force of our shippe, they altered their minds. The people of this Island of *Pemba* be very cowardly people, and dare doe nothing of themselves without the inciting of the *Portugals*. We departed from thence the nineteenth day of the said month, determining to beate vp betweene *Pemba* and the *Maine* of *Melinda*, in hope to finde the Current the stronger. But that night (to our great dismay) we came aground vpon the Coast of *Melinda*, but at that very instant the wind did lander, so that with the backing of our Sayles a stern, our ship went off to our no little comfort: so that night we stood to the East-ward till day, our shippe (praised be God) hauing receiued no harme at all. When it was day, we saw certain shoules that lay off the Easter end of *Pemba*, that we could not weather. Then we cast about and stood to the North-ward: but in the end we had fight of three Barks of *Moores*, which in their language they call *Pangais*, which we gaue chase vnto with our Ship and Boats, and in the end fetched them vp: they stracke saile without any resistance, and with our Boates we fetched them all aboard our shippe, who were in number fifty men, or thereabouts. These *Moores* had thought to haue betrayed our shippe, as afterwards did appeare. For the chiefe of them being in the Cabbin with our Master, and our chiefe Merchant *William Rouse*, and my selfe, he with his long Knife which he had hid priuily about him, did stab our Master *Philip Grosse* so sore, that we had thought he would not haue liued: but contrary to the *Moores* expectation, I ended his daies in the place. The rest of the *Moores* likewise that were within the ship, did at that very instant put their Tragedy in practise, in stabbing of our Preacher, and one of our Merchants, but (praised be God) in a small time we vanquished them all, so that there did not escape about foue or fixe at the most, to carry newes of their fellows, being a iust reuenge for our former wrongs. For when they did put this wickednesse in practise, we had not aboard our shippe about fiftene or sixtene men at the most, all the rest being employed in our Boates. Afterwards, I was credibly informed by the *Portugals*, of the great lamentation which was made for these *Moores*, because they were of the chiefe Gentlemen of all the Coast of *Melinda*, and of the blood Royall. Now after the spoile of these Barks, we determined to stay no longer on the North side of *Pemba*: so we put out of the West-end of the Island againe, determining to beate vp for the Land of *Socotora*: but the winds hanging betweene the East, and East South-East, and finding small hopes of the Current, did altogether frustrate our determination. Then we determined to stand off to the South-ward, some two hundred or three hundred leagues, thinking to finde the windes at East South-east. But here likewise we were frustrate of our hopes. For in the Offing we found the wind to hang at the East North-east, and at the North-East, and by East, that we lay beating in the Sea, from the twentieth day of December, vnto the fixe and twentieth day of January, and then it was our good hap to meete with certaine Islands, which we named the *Desolate Islands*, because there are not any Inhabitants vpon them. These Islands are (at the least) some twelue or thirteene in number, and ought very diligently to be fought of them, that shall traualle hereafter, because of the good refreshing that is vpon them. Water is there in great abundance, also great store of *Coco Nuts*, great store of fresh Fish, and likewise store of Turtle-Doues, which are so tame, that one man may take with his hand twenty dozen in a day: also great store of Palmeto-trees, so that these Islands seemed to vs an earthly Paradise.

Hauing refreshed our selues at the aforesaid Islands, we determined to follow our Voyage, but still were crossed with contrary winds, vntill the thirtieth day of March, and then beganne the Westerly Monsoons, then we got the Land of *Socotora*. But hauing espied a Sayle which was bound for the Red Sea, we gaue chase, and in the end fetched them vp, being bound for *Aden*, being glad of his company we comforted with him, and determined to goe both in company together. This ship did belong to *Diu*: but hee told vs that hee did belong to *Sarat*, telling vs certaine newes of Captaine *Harington* and of his being at *Sarat*, whereof we were very glad. So thus we held on our determined course vntill the eight of April, at which time we came to an Anchor in the Roade of *Aden*, against the Citie. This Citie of *Aden* is vnder the Dominion of *Aden* the Great *Turke*, and is the Key of all *Arabia Felice*. The same day we came thither, the Captaine of the Caille came aboard of vs with twelue Souldiers to guard our Generall ashore: where when he came, he was receiued with all the honour that might be, not suffering him once

Treacherous people.

Melinda.

Three *Pangais* taken.

Wth Rouse stabbed.

Reuenge.

The *de'solate* Islands, not *de'solate* of *Coco* Nuts & other provisions.

Our Kings
Letters to the
Bishops of Zelan
on Swat.

Their Pinnace
came also to
Aden.
John Luffken
murdered.

Edward Hilles
lets on land in
S. Lawrence.

John Jordan and
Philip Glascock
goe up to Ze-
lan.

They passe the
Streights of
the Red Sea.

They arrive at
Moka, or Maba.

Septemb. 1609
Din.

They run upon
the shoales of
Camboja.

Ascension lost.

scarcely to treade on the ground, but mounted him upon a faire Arabian Horse, and so in triumph he was carry'd to the Governour of the Towne: where after kind entertainment, the Governour understanding that he had Letters from the Kings Maistie of England to the *Bashaw* of *Zelan*, whole abode is fifteene dayes journey up into the Countrey from *Aden*, whither they were lent.

We rayned in the Road of *Aden* untill the tenth day of May, and then our Pinnace the *Good Hope*, which we had lost before at the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, came to vs, having indured great misery, and they had murdered most shamefully their Master *John Luffken*, because (they said) he would not put in with the shoare to relieve them, being then at the Easterne end of *St. Lawrence* (but the chiefe cause was for his prouision) and the next day they put in with the shoare, and came to an Anchor where they got both water and other prouisions. But here they left my Seruant *Edward Hilles* behind them, who (as they said) going to cut wood, could not bee heard off. The parties that did the Murder, so soone as they came to vs had their reward, according to their deserts, being both executed aboard the Pinnace where they did the Murder, whole names were *Thomas Clarke* who was his Mate, and *Francis Driner* Gunner of the said Pinnace. Thus we rayned at *Aden* untill the fifteenth of the said month, and then our General and Master determined to goe for the Citie of *Moka*, which standeth vp higher in the Red Sea some fortie leagues or thereabouts.

But at our departure from *Aden*, the Governour did detayne two of our Merchants, whole names were *John Jordan* and *Philip Glascock*, and certain Cloath, and so sent them vp alonge thier to the *Bajba*, where when they came, they were welcomed kindly by the *Bajba* demanding of them, whether they had brought the Great *Turke* his Letter with them, they answered him not: whereupon he told them, he could not give them any leave to fettle a Factorie: but for the cloath which you haue heere, I will take this for a present, because your ship is the first of the *English* Nation, that euer came into these parts. And seeing you are come, I give you leave to sell your goods, and buy what you will, and so to depart at your pleasure Cufome free, because of the cloath which I detayne in my hands. Thus with much trouble, because the Westery Monsoon beganne to come in, and then the Current runneth out of the Red Sea in the end we passed the Straights being not above one mile and an halfe broad at the moft.

The cleuening of Iune we came to anchor in the Roade of *Moka*, where we were most kindly entertained, and the same day our Generall went ashore, where he was most louingly received. This Citie of *Moka* is the chiefe Staple for all *Indian* Trade. For all the goods that are brought to *Cairo* and to *Alexandria* come from thence. We layed in this Roade of *Moka* in trimming of our Pinnace untill the fixe and twentieth day of Iuly, and then our Generall and Master determined to follow their Voyage for *Camboja*, fore against the mindes of the Company, being the chiefe Officers of the ship. That night through the head-strongnesse of our Master, we lost two Anchors.

The fourteenth day of August we came to the Iland of *Sacotora*, where we had so much winde at South, and South South-east, that we were hardly able with our ship to keepe the shore, which our Pinnace not being able to doe, was blowne off, hauing not about two or three dayes victuals in her at the moft. Whilst we lay at this Iland of *Sacotora* to get in a Boates lading of water, and two or three Boates of stones for ballast, we had such forcible gusts of wind, that we broke two more of our best Anchors, hauing lost (as is aforesaid) two before in the Red Sea: so vehemently doe those South-west winde blow at this Iland. In that time of the yare, we now haue but two left to supply our vles withall. We layed at the Iland of *Sacotora* untill the twentieth day of August, and then we wayed and directed our course for *Camboja*.

The second day of September we fell with the Coast of *Din*, some eight leagues to the Eastward of *Din*, we here along the shoare some four leagues more to the Eastward, and then came to an Anchor head-land. The third day we sent our Skiffe ashore, where the people offered vnto vs, hauing certaine conference with them, as also buying of them sheepe and other things. They understanding that we were bound for *Swat*, one of them came aboard desiring of our Generall paffage to *Swat*, as also certifying our Generall, that the way was very dangerous, offering him for his pieces of eight, to fetch a Pilot which should conduct the ship safely to the Port. But (being ruled in most things by our Master) hee not regarding the words of the aforesaid *Moor* or *Banian*. The fourth day we wayed Anchor about three of the Clocke in the afternoone, at the last quarter Ebbring; (if we had taken the first quarter flood, we should surely haue had water ouer all those shoales) so that night we runne on the shoals, and threoke our Rudder off, and the next day being the fifth day of September, we lost our ship allo, that night we forsook our ship, and betook vs to our two Boats, being a thing most miraculous, that so many men should be faued in two such small Boates, we being at the least eightene leagues from the shore. Thus was this tall ship lost to the great hinderance of the worlshipfull Company, and to the vtter vndoing of all vs the poore Mariners, being altogether ouerthrowne with all the treasure and goods, both of the Merchants and the poore Companies, being so farre from our Native Countrey. We rayned vpon the Sea in our Boates, untill the sixth day about foure of the clocke

clocke in the afternoone, and then we discouered Land which we made vnto, with all the means we could possibly, intending the belt we could to fall with the Riuer of *Swat*. But note how the Lord did predestine vs, hauing as I said before, delivered vs from the danger of the Sea, hee would not now suffer vs to fall into the hands of our Enemies, I meane the *Portugalls*, who lay at that time at the Barre of *Swat*, with five layle of Frigates to take our Boats at our coming ashore, for they had intelligence of our Ships coming there. For contrary to our mindes, where we were kindly entertained of the Governour of the Towne. Heere we heard likewise of the coming of our Pinnace into the same Riuer, and of her kicking away by the *Portugalls*: but all the men had forsaken her, and were gone to *Swat* by Land.

The Governour of this Towne of *Gandewe* is a *Baniam*, and one of those kind of people, that obserue the Law of *Pythagoras*. They hold it a great sinne to eate of any thing that hath life or breath, but lue of that which the Earth naturally affordeth of it (like. They likewise honour the Cow and haue her in great estimation among them, and also obserue the ancient custome of burning of their dead. It hath likewise in old time bene a great custome amongst them, for the women to soone as their Husbands were dead, to burne themselves alue with him: but now of late yeres, they haue learned more wit, and doe not v[e] it so commonly. Yet those women that doe it not, haue their haire cut, and euer after are held for no honest women, for that they will not accompany their Husbands into the other World as they lay.

The fourteenth day we departed out of this Towne to trauell for *Swat*, which might bee some fortie miles or thereabout, and the ninth day came thither where *William Finch* keeping the Factory, met vs, but Captaine *Hemky* was gone vp to the King to *Agra*. This Citie of *Agra* is from *Swat* some thirtie dayes journey: thure the King is resident and keepeth his Court. Heere at *Swat* our Generall with our Company stayed till the latter end of September, and then himselfe with the rest of our Company went from *Swat*, and tooke their iourney vp for the Citie of *Agra*, to be trauell by the way of *Peris* for *England*. But I holding no fit course for mee, determined with my litle to take some other course for the getting into my Countrey. Whilst I was in many determinations, it pleased God of his goodnesse to send a Father of the Order of *Saint Paul* being a *Portugall*, who was come from *Camboja* to *Swat* by Land, with whom I came acquainted, he promising me, that if I would commit my litle into his hands, hee would find mee home into my Countrey, or at the leastwise into *Portugall*, which promise he did accomplish most faithfully. In company of this Father, my selfe and three more of our Company, (*Richard Melis* who dyed in the Caracke in the way homeward bound, *John Elmor* and one *Robert Fox*) departed from *Swat* the fourteenth day of October, and came into the strong Towne and Fortelle of *Daman*, where once againe I saw our Pinnace the *Good Hope*, that wee had built at the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*: from *Daman* wee came to *Chaul* from thence to *Goa*, the eighteenth day of Nouember. The ninth day of January we were imbarked in a Caracke called *Our Ladie of Pietie*, being the Admirall of the Fleet of foure layle, and departed the Coast of *India*, and the one and twentieth of March we fell with the land

in thirtie three degrees and an halfe, some five leagues Eastward of Cape of *Agulhas*, where wee lay with contrary winde, untill the second of Aprill, and then wee were incouraged with a mightie storme at the West South-west, which blew so violently, that wee were forced to beare vp five houres before the Sea, and then it pleased God to send vs faire weather. The fourth day of Aprill we fell with land againe in thirtie foure degrees and foure minutes. Then we lay druning to and againe in the Sea, with contrary winde, and in sight of the shore, so that wee were twice within three or foure leagues of the Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, yet could not possibly get about. Thus we lay druning to and againe in the Sea, and in sight of the shore, untill the nineteenth day of Aprill, and then it pleased God that we doubled the foreland Cape of *Bona Esperanza*, to our no little comfort, being in great dayre before, and fearing our wintering at *Mosambique*, which is a common thing amongst the *Portugalls*. The seven and twentieth of Aprill we passed the Tropicks of *Capricorne*, and the ninth day of May we came to an Anchor at the Iland of *Saint Helena*, which standeth in fifteene degrees of Southerly latitude: where we stayed untill the fifteenth of the said month in watering and then we weighed and directed our course for the passing of the Equinoctiall: and the second of Iune we passed the fame.

The fixe and twentieth of the said month we passed the Tropicks of *Cancer* with the winde at North-east, which the *Portugalls* call the general wind, and the sixteenth of Iuly we passed by the Westery Ilands by iudgment of the Pilot in the Caracke, being in the latitude of fortie degrees and odd minutes to the North-wards, we not seeing any land since our departure from *Saint Helena*. So (prayed be God) the third day of August, we made the Land of *Portugall*, being not about two leagues off the Rocks, to our no little comfort. And the same day we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Cadix*. In the same day imbarked my selfe in a Boat, and I went ashore, and so escaped the hands of the *Portugalls*. I rayned in *Lisbone* secretly untill the thirteenth day of the said month, and then I imbarked my selfe in a ship of London, with Master

Vu 2

Gods mercifull
Assistance.
Gandewe.

The Towne of
Gandewe.

Daman,
Chaul,
Goa.
Our Ladie of
Pietie.

Cape de Agulhas.

They doubled
the Cape of Bo-
na Esperanza.

The third of
August he v-
arrued at Li-
bone, 1610.

Steel.

Steed, which was thither bound. And the same day wee wayed Anchor in the Bay of *Wages* there was a Boat full of *Portugals* to have taken the Ship, and so to have carryed vs ashore, having had intelligence of our departure. But we setting *Wayle*, put forth to Sea, and escaped the danger, and prayed be God armed at our long desired home.

The sixteenth day of September, Anno 1610. It being two yeares and six monethes since our departure out of *England*.

§. II.

The report of WILLIAM NICOLS a Mariner in the Ascension which traueled from Brampport by Land to Masulipatan, written from his mouth at Bantam by HENRY MORIS, Sept. 12. 1612. The former and greater part is the same in substance with that of T.

IONES, and therefore omitted.

The Company divide themselves.

W. Nicols traueled to Masulipatan.

Mee arriveth at Masulipatan, & is kindly interested at the Hollanders House.

We arriveth at Bantam the 6. of Sept. 1610.

The Company departed from our Generall, notable to provide for them, and left the rest to stay by him being very sicke. Some went to one place, and some to another, and some backe againe for *Surat*. And I my selfe being one of them that were willing to take the best course for my selfe that I could, I told them I would traueil (God-willing) to *Masulipatan*, for I knew there was a *Holland* Factorie there, as I had heard at *Surat* before we came from thence. I could not finde any Christian to traueil our Land with me; and inquiring at *Brampport*; if there were any that would traueil to *Masulipatan*, I met with company which were traueiling that way: but it was such company that few *Englishmen* would traueil with them. For they were three *Indies*: but necessity hath no law. After I had agreed to traueil with them, I thought, if I traueiled with any money the *Dogges* would cut my throat. So I made away with all my money, and attired my selfe in the Habit of a *Turke*, and took my journey with those *Dogges*, without any penny of money in my Purse; and travelling with them, four monethes, had nothing to eat but only such food as the *Indies* gave me, and many times, when I was hungry they would give me no meat, so that I was enforced to eat such meate as they gave their Camels, and no better, and glad I could get it, nay, sometimes I was enforced to be in fee with the Camell Keeper to give me a little. In this miserable case I traueiled with these *Dogges* four monethes: sometimes they would say, come let vs cut this *Dogges* throat, and afterwards open his belly, for he hath eaten his Gold: two would have cut my throat, but the third was an honest *Dogge*, for he would not consent vnto it. So with many a weary journey and hungry belly, after a long and dangerous traueil we came safe vnto *Masulipatan*, where I presently discharged my selfe from these cruell *Dogges*, and came vnto the *Dutch* house where the Captaine vided mee very kindly, and gave me clothes, and meate and drinke five monethes before any shipping came there. At length there came three ships to *Masulipatan*, the one called the *Malacca*, the other the *Sunne*, and the third was a *Frigo*, which they had taken in the Streights of *Malacca*, and the *Sunne* and the *Frigo* being bound for *Bantam*. I intreated the Master to grant me passage, and I would labour for my passage, who told me very kindly, that he would not only give me passage, but would also give me wages: for the which I gave him great thanks, and so came aboard. Not long after, we set sayle from thence, and came to *Bantam* the sixth day of September, 1610. being Thursday, and came presently to the *Engl*.

In my traueil (with the three *Indies*) overland, these faire Townes I passed, which I bare in minde, for I could neyther write nor read.

First, after I came from *Brampport*, I came to *Jenaport*, from thence to *Huidare*, from thence to *Golacande*, and so to *Masulipatan*.

§. III.

The unhappie Voyage of the Vice-Admirall, the Union outward bound, till shee arrived at Priaman, reported by a Letter which Master SAMUEL BRADSHAW sent from Priaman, by HUMPHRY BIDLPH, the cleuents day of March, 1609. written by the said HENRY MORIS at Bantam, Sept. the fourteenth, 1610.

Tou have already heard of the passage of the two ships (the *Ascension* and the *Union*) from *England*, to the Cape *De Bone Esperance*, but after their departure out of the Roade of *Salamina*, and of their loosing one another in doubling of the Cape, as yet you have not heard. Therefore I thought good to make some relation thereof, as well

well as of the other, and that truly, as from other men report I have heard; and thus it was. After they had lost one another by stormy weather, in doubling of the Cape, the *Prise* in that storme sprang her *Maine-Mast*, and in the middle of the storme they were enforced to fish it againe: by reason whereof, they lost the company of their Admirall, and at last, being without hope either to meete with Ship or Pinnasse thereabouts, considering that the storme continued; they shaped their course for the Bay of *S. Augustine*, being vpon *Madagascar*. Where being arrived, they went ashore, and had good refreshing, and stayed there twenty daies, being in good hope to haue met our *Admirall* and the *Pinnasse* there, but all their hopes were frustrate. Then being out of all hope to haue their company, they set sayle from thence, and directed their course for *Zanzibar*, in hope to meete their Generall there: where being arrived, they went on shore, and at first were kindly entertained: but at their next going ashore, they lay in Ambush, and as soone as they landed, killed out vpon them, and killed the Purser presently, and one Mariner, and tooke one of their Merchants Prisoner; yet by great chance, they got off their Boate and came aboard. The names of them that were slaine, were *Richard Keme*, Purser, the Mariners name I haue forgotten, but the Merchants name that was taken Prisoner, was *Richard Wicham*: they put to Sea about the month of February 1608. with the winds at North-east and Northerly, iust against them as they should goe for *Socotra*.

Now after they had spent much time at *Sea*, and little or nothing in the way, (and the most part of the men very much troubled with the Scurvy) the Captaine purposed, and accordingly bare vpon the Helme for the North part of *S. Laurence*, determining to goe for the Bay of *S. Augustine*: but they fell on the West side of the Island, intending to recover their almost-lost men there, and spend the vnpromisable Moneth. Vpon which end of *S. Laurence*, they fell into an exceeding great Bay, which afterwards they vnderstood to be called by the Countrey people *Canquomorra*, a Countrey very fruitful and pleasant to behold. The very first view thereof, gave great content to all the men in generall: who no sooner arrived in the Bay, but within short time had conference with the Countrey people, and at first they professed them great kindnesse, but after it proved to the contrary. Whereupon Master *Kewler* the Captaine, and Master *Richard Reme*, chiefe Merchant, and *Jeffrey Carle*, with three others, which were attendant vpon the Captaine, adventured to goe ashore vnto the King; and that made them the more venturesome, because diuers times before, all the Merchants had bene ashore at the Kings Palace (in their Skiffe and long Boate) and spoke with the King, who professed them great kindnesse, and came aboard againe, as safe as if they had bene in their owne Native Countrey of *England*. *Samuel Bradshaw* had bene often employed about business vnto the King: yet (if pleased God) at this time, the Captaine had some other occasion of business for him, and so told him aboard (a happy time for him): for they no sooner came ashore, but they were betrayed by the Countrey people: but by the great Providence of the Almighty the Boates escaped, and presently came aboard, and informed them of all that happened: Where they no sooner had made knowne vnto them this out of the Ruer vnto them, that it was admirable to behold. The Master spake vnto the King vnto make the Ordinance ready, which was soone effected. This Fleet of *Indies* came rowing vnto their Shippe, as though presently they would haue boarded them: but by the diligence of the Gunner and his Mates, he made them retire, by sinking of some halfe dozen of their Boates, and they retired backe againe as fast, as if they had bene Sheepe chased by the Wolfe. But before we made such much malice amongst them, they came vp in the face of our Ordinance, and we thought verily they would haue taken vs all: for the fight continued (at least) two hours very dangerous, till we plagued them with our Ordinance: and then, he accounted himselfe happiest that first could cleere himselfe, and wee continually sent after them, as farre as the Ordinance would reach. After they were gone from vs in this first attempt, we stayed in the Bay five fourteen daies, being in good hope to recover our lost men againe, in which time we lost seuen men more through a *Lukaine* disease, which daunted us more then the malice of those *Indies*. The men which died, were they that wrought so lustily about the Ordinance in the fight, that within two daies they were all diuorced out-board. These cruell commings together, and no hope to recover our lost men, they thought it folly to make any longer stay there, and therefore presently made halt away. And being not thoroughly watered, they thought good to spend a little time in another place thereby: but before they could dispatch, they thought good against them the second time, with a great multitude of Boates, and many of them great vessels, and so thick pestered with men, that it was wonderfull: but they liked their first entertainment so well, that they cared not for coming too neere them the second time, but went all or tended purpose, and placed themselves to looke vpon the Ship. Then presently perceiving what their intention (where all the *Indies* late) and gave them a whole broad side for a farewell (which fell sooke their places, and gat out of their fight with as much speed as might be: From thence they tracked and stood off at Sea, leaving behind them fourteen men, seuen betrayed, and seuen that were

They arrived at the Bay of S. Augustine in Madagascar.

The treachery of the people of Zanzibar.

They bare backe againe: for S. Laurence.

The great Bay of Canquomorra, or Bantam.

Samuel Bradshaw.

The Captaine and five others betrayed.

Abundance of Prizes & great Boates.

Five Boates of the enemies destroyed.

A fight for two hours.

They stayed 14 daies longer in this Bay.

A second attempt was made by the enemies.

They depart from S. Laurence.

They fell upon
the Coast of
Arabia.

[illegible]

The lamentable successe of the said ship and Voyage, appeareth by the Letters following.

Lams Deo in Morlaix, the first of March 1611.

B^e Rother Hide, this day is come to our hands a Letter from Odwen, written by one William Bag-
get an Irish-man, dwelling in the same Towne, aduising vs of most lamentable newes of a Shippe of
London, called the Vinion, which is upon this Coast, about two leagues from the said Odwen: they found
the men of the Towne perceiving, sent out two Boates vnto her, and when they came thither, they found
that it was a Shippe come from the East-Indy: richly laden with Pepper and other goods, having in her but
only few men alive, of which few men, one is an In-law, and other three dead in the Shippe: which
fewe living men through feebleness, were not able to cast our-board, nor were we feare able to seek:
so the men of the two Boates haue brought the Shippe vnto the Roade of Odwen. As this Irish-man
writeth, they of the Towne haue vnladen the most part of the goods, and haue directed this Letter to some
English Merchants in the place, to repaire thither with all expedition, to see the ordering of the Ship
and goods, as belonging to the East-Indian Company. This Letter, is confirmed by one other Letter written
in French by the Bayliffe of Kimper, and directede one of this Towne, which I haue seen. And there-
fore we thought it good to send three Copes of this Irish-mans Letter, by three severall Barkes, to the
end that the Merchants may be aduertised, and give order that their good and Shippe may be safe, and
for as it to be doubted that the rude people will make a wracke of her. I think it not amiss: therefore, that
they send to the Court of France, to procure the Kings Authoritie, for I feare they will be much trou-
ble about the matter. In the meane time, my selfe, with George Robbins will ride downe to see what
state all things are, and doe the best we can in the Meane whiles, before I maye see fitting. The Ship
is reported to be of three or foure hundred Tunn, and hath three Decks, which we shall finde her
foreverly rified when we shall come there. The importunate writing both of the Irish-men and the Bayliffe
of Kimper, hath caused vs to take this journey: And we doe it rather in consideration of the Compa-
ny, presuming that they will consider our charge, because we haue both employed friends, and procured Mon-
ney in the place, to satisfie such as haue taken paines in finding of the Shippe and goods of need hit. Not-
withstanding, I would wish that they send some with expedition by way of Rouen, with wher prouision
of Money: for that this is no place of Exchange as you know, where Money may be had at an easie, I bid
rather give sutable power, than take this journey at this time, because I haue much goods upon my hands at
partly

I partly wrote to you in my last. The Masters name of the Shippe is Edmund White, the Masters Mate, Thomas Duckmanton, and the other Samuel Smith, and the Indian. They are in very pittifull taking, and in great want of Money, neither can they be, masters of their goods: therefore let them send men of good experience about this business. And they being in some baist ready to take Hoffe, I commend y^e to the Lords protection, resting your assured friend alwaies to command.

BERNARD COOPER:

Neglect no time in making this known
to the Company.

Directed to Master *Thomas Hide*, Merchant in *London*.

February 16 10. touching the *Vnion* at *Andierne*.

THE eighth day of February, I came over the Pale-head of Bourdeaux, and the eleventh of the same I lost my fore-mast, my Boat-jiru, and my Rubber: the same night I put into Oldyearne, the thirteenth day the French-men brought the Vision of London upon the Rocks: the fourteenth night I went aboard the Vision with my Boat, and the French-men had been aboard four daies: the same time I brought Samuel Smith on board, Thomas Duttonson, and the Master Edmund White. The fifteenth day I got William Baggett my Merchant, to write me a Letter to Morles; the eighteenth day the Letter was sent, and I paid two Crowns for the carriage: the twentieth, the Indian died, and the same day I buried him: the one and twentieth day, the Master died, and I buried him: the two and twentieth, came Master Roberts, and Master Couper: the five and twentieth, Master Couper and Master Roberts went to Morles. Again, the fourth day of March, William Coarey, the Hoof of Master Couper and Master Roberts: the fifth, I went aboard with my Boat, and William Coarey, as low water, I went into the Shippes both as in water, and I brought an Example of the worst People: the sixth day, I came from Old-yearne; the eighth, I came to Morles: the seventeenth, came Master Hille to Morles: the one and twentieth, I came from Mirles; the two and twentieth as night, I came into the Ile of Wight: the foure and twentieth, I came to Hampton: the eight and twentieth day, I came to London.

Your loving Friend,

WILLIAM WOTTON.

They found, after the spoils of the Britons almost two hundred Tonnes of Pepper, some Beniamin, and some China Silke, which they bought at Tschou in Sumatra, out of a Joppe of China. They touched outward bound at Saldania, where they stayed long in getting on. Shally or Ponnagie, they lost 40 near Rowlas in S. Laurence: they lost more men at Zanzibar, they loaded Pepper as Achern, Pitman, Pallman, and Tsecou: they there they Silke of a Joppe of China. In their returne, they met Sir Henry Middleton, having thirty six men in realgion, good state about them: they delivered unto him certaine Chefts of Silke: They mist the Ile of S. Helms, most of their crew, on this side Cape Verde: ten English, and four Guzarats, were taken out by a Barge of B. Holard a Scot. There landing in the Road of Andenne, and other matters are before set downe. The Shippe after the Pepper goods were taken out and dried was found by Master Simonton, a full Ship-wright, sent thither of purpose, to saue it if it might be, utterly unformecable: The Ordnance, Anchors, and other furnitures were saved.

50 Thomas Duckmant on the *Masters Mate*, Robert Wilton of Detford, Bullock the *Surgeon*, Iacob Peterion, and five English-men more remaine alive, of seuentie five that went out of England: three or foure Guzarats also came home alive.

8 IIII.

The Voyage of M. Joseph Salbancke through India, Persia, part of Turkie, the Persian-Gulfe, and Arabia, 1609. Written unto Sir Thomas Smith.

T Andene was the first Towne, where after the wracke and defension of the *Ascension*, we arrived, hauing a verry faire haven, and great store of shipping, whereof some are of fye hundred tunnes burthen. From thence we iournied to *Sobay*, a Village that consisteth altogether of spinners and Weauers, and there is much Calico coten cloth made.

* *Robert Conert* was his companion to Bagdad and had written a Treatise of this whole Voyage, which being printed I have omitted.
Subj.

Surat.

From thence we came to *Surat*, which hath been a Citie of great trade, and hath great store of shipping. Thole of the greatest burthen are laden not at the Towne, but are carried over the Barre with their ballast only, and there are laden. At an high water, they have fixtene foot over the Barre.

Nabon.

From *Surat* we travelled toward *Agra*, the principall Citie of the *Grand Mogul*, and came first to *Nabon*, where Sugar groweth in great abundance, and Cotton-wooll, and all manner of Graine. Here all kind of victuals are very cheape. Then to a Citie called *Dagat*, where are sold great store of Drugs, Pintados, and Calico-lawnes. Afterward we came to *Nabon*, where is a Market of all Braken wares, Shirts of malle, Swords and bucklers, Lances, Armour for Horses: also Cotton-wools, Cotton yarne, Pintados, Shalhes, and all manner of drugges. In this place cloth would be very vendible, because coarfe cloth is there exceeding deare.

Nabon.

From thence we proceeded to a Village called *Sayles*, where is store of Sugar, and fruites of all sorts. We departed thence to *Sadif*, a Garrison Towne. Here the River *Tynde* runneth downe to *Surat*. From *Sadif* we came to the great Citie *Brampt*, governed by *Can Canow*. This Citie standeth in eight and twenty degrees, where *Mukets*, *Snaphanes*, *Pistols*, *Petronels*, and *Swords* are very saleable. Woollen cloth in this place wil prouee a great commodity, as also cloth of Gold and Silver, Veluets, Broad cloths, and Bayes, because there are there so many Gallies. From thence we came to *Caddor*, and so to *Sambon*. Then we traualled to a great Citie, named *Canow*, where is much trading for Cloth, Swords, Shalhes, Pieces, and Armour, besides colours for Diers of all sorts. Here our clothes would sell well: for it beareth somewhat to the North-ward, and is very cold in January, February, and March.

Nabon.

About a dayes journey from this place, we passed ouer the great River *Ganges*, which runneth into the Gulfe of *Bengala*, ylling out of the North-west, and running directly East into the said Gulfe. From hence we set forward toward *Agra*, & spent eleven dayes traualling through a pleasant Country, and abounding with feuerall kinds of *Indian* commodities, and so arrived at *Agra*. *Agra* is a very great Citie, and populous, built with stone, hauing faire and large streets, with a faire River running by it, which falleth into the Gulfe of *Bengala*. It hath a faire Castle, and a strong, entrenched round about with a ditch. Hither is great resort of Merchants from *Persia*, and out of *India*, and very much Merchandise of Silkes, and Cloths, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamonds, and Pearles. The Diamonds are found in diuerse places, as in *Bisnagar*, in *Dehli*, and here at *Agra*. But Rubies, Saphyres, and Spinels are found in *Pegu*. In this Citie, with out all question, our richer Silkes and Veluets, but especially our clothes of light colours will sell very well, beeing a place of great trading, being not about twelue miles from *Faippore*, a Citie as great as *London*, and very populous; besides *Lahor*, and many other important Cities in this Kingdom.

Nabon.

At *Agra* we abode thirteene dayes, and then set forward toward *Hissan* in *Persia*, by the way of *Biani*, beeing but two Moneths journey, leauing the way by *Lahor*, which is foure Moneths journey. From *Agra* to *Biani*, we spent two dayes traull. *Biani* is the chiefe place for *Indico* in all the East *India*, where are twelue *Indico* miles. It groweth on small bushes, and beareth a feede like a Cabbage feed. Being cut downe, it lyeth on heapes for halfe a yeere to rot, and then by Oxen it is troden out from the stalkes, and afterward it is ground very fine, and then boiled in fornaes, and so forced out into feuerall sorts. The best *Indico* is there worth eight pence a pound.

Nabon.

From *Biani*, we spent eight dayes journey to *Merta*, passing by many Townes and Villages. In some of them there was foure of corne *Indico*, in others Calicoes, and store of Cotton-wools. Also to the Eastward of the faire River *Padder*, which runneth to *Guezerat*, and falleth into the Sea to the Eastward of the *Persian* Gulfe. In *Merta* there are three *Bassors* or Markets every weeke, where is sold great store of *Indico*, Cotton-wool, yarne, and Cotton cloth. From *Merta* or *Merta* we trauelled five and twenty dayes, through three chief Townes, *Rener*, *Bucker*, and *Saker*. *Rener* is a Towne consisting of husbandmen, and painfull people, who deale also in Merchandise, as Cotton cloth, *Indico*, and other commodities, and are a peaceable people to deale withall.

Nabon.

Bucker stands toward *Lahor*, where we received kind entertainment of the Gouverneur. Sword-blades are very good chaffer in this Towne: my selfe hauing experience, who might haue had ten pounds sterling for my Sword, the blade being but worth a Noble in *England*. Close by this Citie of *Bucker* runneth the River *Damiader*, which within eight dayes journey runneth into the River of *Synde*, which falleth into the Ocean Sea, between the Countreys of *Gandel* and *Guezerat*. On this River pass Barkes of forrie or hisse Tunnes, by means whereof, there is traffique vnto diuerse parts of *India*.

Nabon.

Saker is situated on an Island in the middle of the River, and consisteth most of Weauers and Diers, which serue the Countrey round about. At *Saker* we stayed foure and twenty dayes for a safe conuoy to *Candahar*, and passed to *Candahar* in twenty dayes, through many desarts and woods, and with no small difficultie. *Candahar* is a Citie of importance, which is frequented with Merchants out of *Turkie*, *Persia*, and the parts of *India*, and is governed by a Vice-roy. Here we abode

Nabon.

Candahar. *Saker* is situated on an Island in the middle of the River, and consisteth most of Weauers and Diers, which serue the Countrey round about. At *Saker* we stayed foure and twenty dayes for a safe conuoy to *Candahar*, and passed to *Candahar* in twenty dayes, through many desarts and woods, and with no small difficultie. *Candahar* is a Citie of importance, which is frequented with Merchants out of *Turkie*, *Persia*, and the parts of *India*, and is governed by a Vice-roy. Here we abode

about twelue dayes, and from hence set forward toward *Hissan* in *Persia*, and trauelled five dayes till we came to *Greer*, the first Towne in the Countrey of *Persia*, passing ouer the River *Saba*, which diuidenth the *Mogul* and the *Persian*. Here we paid a custome for our Cammels.

Greer is a frontier Towne, where the *Persian* had a Garrison of a thousand souldiers. From *Greer*, we spent eight dayes to the Citie *Parra*, passing through a vast Countrey, sometimes passing by Villages: one of most note was called *Uee*, for the store of Felts and Carpets made there, and for the plenty of Dates, and all sorts of fruits. *Parra* is a Citie of great traffique, but especially for raw silke. Here we rested two and twenty dayes only for a *Caraan*.

From *Parra* we spent eight dayes to *Ield*, a Citie of *Persia*, passing through a very desolate Country. Not farre from this Towne is *Pabanannu*, where is made great store of raw Silke: as also at *Godana* foure dayes journey off. From *Ield* we spent thirteene dayes to *Hissan*, passing by *Gora*, a faire Towne, where is store of raw Silkes, Quills, Silke-carpets, and *Turkeshes*. And so we arrived at *Hissan*. *Hissan* is one of the greatest Cities in *Persia*, where the King sometimes keepeth his residence. The people are indutious and curious in all Sciences, but especially in weauing Girdles and Shalhes, in making of Veluets, Sattens, Damasks, very good

Drummers, and *Persian* Carpets of a wonderfull hence. Here you may buy all manner of Drugs, and Spices, and *Turkeshes*, with store of Pearles, Diamonds, and Rubies, as also all sorts of Silkes, as well wrought, as raw. Here might be planted a profitable trade, if our ships with safetie might lade in the *Persian* Gulfe: where fiftie in the hundred may be gained from *Ormus* to *Hissan*, and that in eight dayes trauell: whereof I was thoroughly informed by diuerse Prisoners, and Merchants of the great Towne of *Faishah*. These commodities are to be carried from

England into *Persia*: Tinne, Copper, Brasse, also Carries for the Common people: Broad cloths for the Merchants and better sort of people, blacke clothes for womens garments, good Chamlets and Veluets died in graine, with purple colours, and fine reds: cloth of Gold and Tissue, Veluets embroyded with Gold: fine Holland cloth for the King and Sultans; Daggies, and Pistols, compleat harnesse, targets of steele, Shirts of malle, stone bowes, brasse and Iron Ordnance. The colours of Cloth must be Scarlets, Violets in graine, fine Reds, Blacks, browne Blues, *London* Rusts, Tawnies, Lyon colours, faire luelly Greennes, all which will be vented at *Hissan*, *Culshan*, *Cashin*, and *Tauris*, and other Cities in *Persia*. I am prouided, that *Hissan* shall vent a thousand clothes yearly. At *Hissan* I abode thirteene dayes, and spent a thirteene journey to *Bagdad*: which is a Citie about two *English* miles in compasse, seated on *Tigris*: neuertheless it is very populous, and of great traffique of strangers, being the way to *Persia*, *Turkie*, and *Arabia*. Here I embarked my selfe for *Balfara*; and was twenty eight dayes in passing downe the River; but it is to be done in eighteene or lesse, if the water be high. Many Islands are in this River, which I omit to speake of.

Balfara is a Citie neere vnto the *Persian* Gulfe, a mile and an halfe in circuit. All the buildings, Cattles, and Walls are made of bricke dried in the Sunne. The Turke hath here foue hundred *lanizaries*, besides other souldiers continually in garison, But his chiefe strength is of his Gallies, which are twenty foue or thirty in number, very faiffe and furnished with goodly Ordnance. To this port of *Balfara* come Monthly diuerse ships of forrie or fiftie tunnes from *Ormus*, laden with all sorts of *Indian* Merchandizes. Also there is great store of Wheat, Rice, and Dates, growing thereabout, with which they serue *Bagdad*, and all the Countrey, *Ormus*, and many Parts of *India*.

From *Balfara*, I passed by Sea to *Cutiffa*, on the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, governed by a Turke, but a rebell againt the *Grand Signior*; where is great plenty of sundry sort of fruites, as Dates, and *Babaram*, fixe dayes trauey from *Balfara*, and among the rest, to that famous Island *Pearles* foure moneths in the yeere; to wit, in Iune, Iuly, August, September. And here are the best Pearles, which are round and Orient.

From the Ile of *Babarem*, we layed to *Calara* on the coast of *Arabia Felix*, and so passed by land with Camels, to *Shirriff Din*, (with a purpose to haue gone to *Amau*) where one *Iohn White* an *Englishman*, which retained my company, was paynted to haue given some intelligence to Sir *Henry Middleton*, of our hard vidge before in those parts. But hearing that he was traitorously taken in *Mocha*, in the mouth of the Red Sea, and carried in chains vp to the *Basila* of *Sinan*, into the maine land of *Arabia*, I returned to *Lima* another Towne on the *Persian* Gulfe, and there embarked my life to luee passed to *Seetora*, an Island neere the mouth of the Red Sea: But I was taken by Pirates, and so was driuen to land at *Suar* or *Soar*, a coast Towne not farre from *Lima*.

At *Suar*, certain *Portugals*, whose Barkes were there cast away, informed the Gouverneur that I was a Spie, and prayed him to deliuer mee vp into their hands: who hauing obtained their request, carried me to *Asibo*, and so to *Malicate* or *Mifcan*, an Island, where they haue a small Garrison of some fortie men, besides their gallies, as also one Church, and two Friars. And here I had abiden for euer, if one Father *Drurie*, an *English* Iesuite, which I found there, had not procured my libertie.

From *Asibo*, I departed, and came to *Malicate*, a small Island, where they haue a small Garrison of some fortie men, besides their gallies, as also one Church, and two Friars. And here I had abiden for euer, if one Father *Drurie*, an *English* Iesuite, which I found there, had not procured my libertie.

Greer the first Towne of Persia.

The River Sabas diuidenth the Mogul and Persian Dominions.

Vee a Village. The Citie of Parra.

Ield a Citie. Pabanannu.

Goda a faire Towne.

Hissan the chiefe Citie of Persia.

Commodities to be brought to Hissan.

Commodities for Persia.

Bagdad.

Balfara.

Cutiffa in Arabia Felix.

The Ile of Babarem, where the best pearls are.

Calara a small Towne in Arabia Felix.

Shirriff Din an Englishman.

Lima a Port Towne in Arabia Felix.

Seetora an Island neere the mouth of the Red Sea.

Suar or Soar a coast Towne not farre from Lima.

Asibo and Malicate small Islands.

Father Drurie an English Iesuite.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

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Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

Father Middleton an Englishman.

ОГЛАВЛЕНИЕ.

From thence, I was conueied in chaines to *Ormus*, croffing the mouth of the *Persian* Gulfe, *Ormus* is an Iland in circuit about thirtie miles; and is the driest land in all the world: for there is nothing growing in it but faine: for their Water, Wood, Vintalls, and other necessaries come out of *Persia*, which is vnto the Iland about twelue miles from thence. The *Portingalls* haue a strong Caste here, which standeth nere vnto the Sea, where there is a Capitaine set by the King of *Spain*, hauing vnder him a conuenient number of souldiers, whereof some part remaine in the Caste, and some in the Towne. In this Towne are Marchants of many Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. There is very great trade of all sorts of Spices, *Drugs*, *Silkes*, cloth of silke, fine Tapistries of *Persia*, great store of *Peales*, as also *Hories* of *Persia*, which serue for all *India*. And all ships which passe from thence to *Goa*, wherein are horses, pay no cuome in *Goa*: but if they bring no horses, then they pay eigh in the hundred for their goods.

He was at
Sinde, which is
an excellent
place for our
Trade.
The best In-
dian

The faerie of
Sinde from the
Portugals.
A good vent
of all sorts of
Cloth.

From *Ormus* they sent me prisoner to *Goa*. And we lured first to *Smæ*, which lieth betwixt the Countries of *Guadæ* and *Gucerate*, having a great River called *Damidae* falling into it, which River cometh from *Lahor*, and so to *Bucher*, and *Suehar*. In these places is the best Indico soil. You may transport all the goods which the Country doth afford, by water to *Smæ*: where your shippes may ride as safely as in the River of *Thames*. The *Portugals* have no fort in this River.

The place, (by report of the Governour, who gaue me a Passe at my first being there to be a p[er]mit, that whioeuer should ret[ur]ne with these and these goods, I should be well entertained) doth vent forth all sorts in reasonable quantitie both fine and coarse, being all light co-
lores; Tissue, Laces, Iron, and Elephants teeth, and Spices of all sorts, especially Pepper and Cloves. The commodities that the Countrey doth afford in great plentie, and cheape price, are
fine Calicoes of many sorts, Pintadoes, Quills, Carpets, and other Silke in great plentie. Many
of these fluffes are very good for the trade at *Batavia*, and the *Molucces*. Besides, there is great
store of Opium, which is a very good commodity in *Batavia*, and those parts. And many other
drugs fit for our Countrey. The people are of a good disposition, and desirous of trade: victualls
are very good cheape: as tenn hennes for tenn pence, a good heifer a halfpenny. On the shore the
Portugals are kiben to the Countrey people: and if they do not behaue themselves well, they
are severely punished.

Ditt.

Passing this coast of *Sinde*, we arrived at *Diu* in the Kingdome of *Cambaya*. And it is the strongest Towne that the *Portugals* haue in these parts. It is but little, but well stored with Merchandise: for here they lade many great ships with diuerse commodities, for *Ormus* and for the Straight of *Mecca*, and other places: and these be ships of Moores and Christians. The Moores saille by *Daflent* next from the *Portingalls*.

For

From *Diu* we sailed for *Goa*, which is the principall Citie which the *Portingalls* haue in those parts, and it is gouerned by a Vice-Roy. It standeth in an Iland, which may be thirtie miles about, replenished with Orchards and Gardens, Palme trees, and some Villages. Here be Marchants of many Nations.

CHAP. X.

*The Voyage of M. DAVID MIDLETON to Iaua, and Banda,
extracted out of a Letter written by himselfe to the Company,
this being the fifth Voyage set forth by them.*

8. I.

Their affairs at Bantam, Botun, Bengaia.

April 24.
1609.
They arrived
at *Saldania*.
They arrived



By the alteration of the situation of the town, their debts were multiplied, and they were obliged to pay more for rent, whereas the ground had been given, and the houses built at the Companies charge.

CHAP. IO, §. I. D. Mid. at Botun. Hollander in Bengaia his life.

and three more of my Company with *Master Hemsworth* (as his desire wa-) being in a strange place, and knew none in the House. So I tooke such Commodities as I thought most vendible in those places whereunto I was to goe; and what hope was of making a Voyage, I trust *Captaine Keeling* hath long since made manifest, yet for all this, I must try their curtesie.

to take leave the eighteenth of December I took my leave of *Master Hemforth*, who was very loath to
say bebind me, but I perswaded him to be of good courage, and doubt nothing, seeing I was to
take *Master Spaulding* with me for his Language, and had no bodie to leaue in the Houle but him-
selfe: and told him that if the Gouverneur sent for him, he must tell him plainly that I had left
express order in any hand, not to yeeld to any of his former demands, yett hee might take what
he would, for he must deliuer him nothing. Then I let slide that evening for the *Mallacca* (as I
supposed) and the winds fauouring vs, the feuen and twentieth of the same, we passed the
Streights of *Defonam*, and being through them, lay becalmed tenne dayes, which was no small
griefe to me, in much hate under the Line, being dothfull of the Westely Monson, which (it
I thought) should haile me) would be the overthrow of my Voyage.

The eighth of January, we came before the Towne of *Boston*, and sent to know some newes, and there the King was gone to the Warres, and very few people in the Towne. So I anchored not, but we through the Streights the same day. The next day we saw a great company of *Carrackes*, which we imagined to bee the King of *Batavia* Armie, which proued to indeede. The King sent a small Prow (when we drew neere vnto him) to see what we were. I sent him word who

10 I was, and it proued me a winde, and wanting water I demanded whether there were anye newes
hand, the poore Jewe we where there was great flore of good water. Then I flood with
the place, and the King and all his *Carterell* came vnder fyle after mee, and came to an Anchorage
fare by sea, and fent out aboard in his owne name to bid mee welcome, and desired mee to tene
Master *Spalding* with the Messenger to come, and speake with him to heare some newes. The
King there was that I would ride all night, and in the morning hee would come, and fee the
King, and he, I proued calme, to ride well, and the next day the King came aboard, and I made
him, and all his Nobles a Banquet, and gaue the King a gift worthy such a person: and a
fine fited to be vnder fyle: then the King wept, and said I might thinke him but a Dissim-
bler. faine he had no Merchandize for mee for foure moneths before my comming. hee had his

30 le, leing he had no other habitation for me, for I could not live better my continuing, here na Houfe burned to the ground, where he had provided of every thing, somewhat, both Nuts and Mace, and Cloves, and great store of Sander wood as which I found full, and a great Ware-houfe full of the cloth of his Country, which is very vendible in most part of the Islands thereabout, and all the loffe which formerly he received, grieved him not halfe so much, as when I told him that I came, and had caufed the ship to be fitted of purpose to come and buy his Commodities, that he should provide for me.

that he would produce him to me. He therefore said, that I had kept my promise, and swore by the head of *Mahomet*, he would do as he desired. He therefore said, that I had kept my promise, and swore by the head of *Mahomet*, he would do as he desired. He therefore said, that I had kept my promise, and swore by the head of *Mahomet*, he would do as he desired.

M. Augustine
Spalding goeth
with him to
the Maluccas.
He departeth
for the Ma-

The streight of
Desolam.
The Ile of Bo-
town.

A Banquet
made to the
King of Botum,
and all his No-
bles.
Commodities
provided by
the King of
Botum.

The Ile of
Bangaia,
The *Hollanders*
fortifying
hateful to the
people.
The manners
of an *Hollan-
der*.

The good
health of her
people.

might) to get to wind-wards, but could not, the fireame carrying vs directly South, and ran so swift, that we lost fifteen leagues in two days. Then I was faine to alter my determination, forgoing for the *Meluccos*, and bare vp the Helme to goe for *Banda*, and might goe with a downe theate.

§. II.

Occurrences at Banna; Contesting with the Dutch: Trade at Puloway, and many perils.

Banda.

Injury of Hollanders.

Fifteen great Lunkes destroyed by the Hollanders.

Kindness of the Bandawasses to the English.

THe fifth of February, we got sight of the Ilands of *Banda*, and made all the fyle we could, to get neere before night: and drawing neere, I sent my Skiffe to hear some newes, of some of the Country people, who lent me word that the *Hollanders* would not suffer any Saylor to come into the Roade, but they would take all hee brought, (if it were such things as they stood in need of) and make payment at their owne pleasures: But if any Lunkes came and brought Commodities very vendible for the Country people, they were not permitted to have any speech with any of the Country: but the *Hollander* would bring them to the backside of the Caffe within Musket shot of their Ordnance, that one might not see his foot ashore, but they would find a Bullet at him: They had fifteen great Lunkes, which they kept in that manner. What hope is there to make a Voyage there, seeing they dealt so with all, that came into the Roade, and banished Captaine *Keeling*, not permitting him to stay to gather in his debts, but gave him Bills to receive his money at *Bantam*, as (I hope) from his owne mouth, your Worships have heard at large. Yet for all this, I stood into the Roade with Flgge and Ensigne, and at each Yard Arme a Pendant, in as comely a manner as we could devise. There came a small Pinnace of thirte Tunnes sent from the Gouverneur of the Caffe, thinking it had bene one of their Country ships: but coming neere vs stood into the Roade before me, after they had hailed vs, I could have no other speech with them.

As soone as I came thwart of *Lauter*, I saluted the Towne with Ordnance, and came to an Anchor within shot of their ships: then presently a *Dutch* Boate came aboard vs from the Gouverneur, to haue me come into the Roade, and come ashore to him, and shew him my Commission: I made answer, I was but new come, and to shew my Commission to the Gouverneur, or to make any man acquainted with these busineses, which belonged to the making of my Voyage, I would not. They further asked, whether I was a Merchant, or a Man of Warre? I answered I would pay for what I take: then they threatened me: who told them I was there, and would ride there, doe as they should please, I hoped I should defend my selfe: so they returned to the Caffe in a great rage. The *Hollanders* no sooner gone, but great store of the men of *Lauter* came aboard me, and bade me welcome. Then I understood the whole Estate of the Country, and the Country would be willing to deal with me, if I could procure leave of the *Hollanders*: so for they are now friends, but *Puloway* and *Polaroon* are at Warre with them.

Now knowing well, that in troubled waters it is good fishing, there being one of *Puloway* amongst them, I had priuate conference with him, and gave him money in his Purse, to certifye them of the Iland that I would give them money or Commodities for all their Spice, and that the *Hollanders* and I were like to be Enemies, and let them not doubt, but that I would get their Spice aboard, one way or other. In the meane season, there came another Boate from the Vice-Admirall, and the same Boate from the Caffe, with expresse Commandement from the Gouverneur to me to come in. Being dinner time, I caused them to stay dinner, and after dinner told them that I would ride there, and stand to the danger of the Roade: For I knew full well, that our Nations were friends in *Europe*, & for vs to be Enemies amongst the Heathen people, it were so not good, being Christians. Whereupon they told me plainly I must not ride there, and if I did, they would fetch me in perforce: I said I would ride there, till I found the inconvenience of the Roade (as by their speeches it was full ground) then would I come into the best of the Har- bour: for neither of our Princes giueeth any such authoritie to any of their Subjects, but that every man may ride, and goe at their owne perils. They said that the Country was theirs, then may I the more boldly (say I) ride heere, for we are friends: so they departed in displease.

This Evening I was about to land Ordnance vpon the side of an Hill, where we were, and began to fit the ship to fight with them that should molest mee: and sent our some to see what ground there was round about the ship, and it was all Rockes, so by no meanes the shippes could ground there: so we left our pretence of landing Ordnance. In the morning I sent my Skiffe with Mr. *Spalding*, and the principall of the ship with a Letter to the Gouverneur, and bad them lay nothing more then I had written, and make no long stay, but bring an answer presently, for we ride very bad: the Copie of which Letter hereafter followeth.

May

May I please your Worships with patience to consider. That whereas you haue diuers enemies (and few friends in this place) I being a Christian, if your Worships stand in need of any thing that I haue, I pray you make bold to demand it, and I will be as ready to performe it to my power. For whereas there is amitie betweene our Princes as before, I should be unwilling that our Subjects should be at variance here. Further, forasmuch as you command me to keepe under the command of the Caffe, I hope I haue that Priviledge that both Princes allow their Subjects, to come and goe at their owne pleasures, and stand in the danger of the Roade, at their owne perils. And whereas you demanded to see my Commission, I am a Gentleman, and willing to shew it upon equal termes, for if you would meete me secretly, as I would doe you, appoint our meeting on the water, in our Boates equally manned, or in any other convenient place, where I may be as neere my force as you are to yours. And whereas it is proposed that a contract is to be made with the Inhabitants of *Lauter*, and your Worships desire to see it, that you would allow it as so Indian for my money: then should I shew my selfe much beholding to your Worships, and quite more willing to deal with you then with them. Furthermore, forasmuch as you be as comely with the Ilands of *Puloway*, and *Polaroon*, my desire is to be refused, whether I may have their Spice without your hinderance. Thus desiring your answers to these particulars, and the same to be returned by Messengers, I bid you farewell, from aboard my ship, this fourth of February, 1669.

Yours in friendship, DAVID MIDDLETON.

All my Companies coming to the Caffe were brought to the Gouverneur, where they late in Council, so they deliuered my Letter: which being openly read they would send mee no answer but by word of mouth, yet delayed my Letter. They had determined by Council (having three great ships of one thousand tunnes a peece, and three Pinnaces of thirte tunnes a peece, that one of the shippes (being vnfruiteable) called the *Great Sonne*, should clap me aboard, and there let her selfe a fire: and had for the same purpose twome sundry persons to come and strike her fast with chains, and had put into her thirte Barrels of Powder for the same intent; which being manned out of the Caffe with all the ships, and boates, to take up the men when shee should fire, the *Great Horne* should come and ride within Musket-shot, and batter vpon vs, and the Frigots round about vs, to keepe vs doing on all sides. My folke seeing their speede little made to warpe out the *Great Sonne*, made small stay but came away, and told me what preparation was made to haue vs. I thought it fit to goe and speake with the Gouverneur my selfe, and before we would try it by Battaille, to see what hee would say to my selfe. And foraking my Commission with mee, I came to the Caffe, and was met at my landing by the Gouverneur, and all the principall men, that were in the Caffe and ships and was brought through a Guard of small shot of three hundred Souldiers, who giue mee three Volleys of shot, and the Caffe shoten Peece of Ordnance for my welcome: so we came to the Gouverneurs Chamber, where for vs two, there were Chaires set, the rest had formes, and after many Salutations, and Complements of welcome to the Caffe, I began, and said,

I vnderstand by my Company, which was with them before my coming, that they would not be perfwaded but that I was a Pirate, and had no Commission: and that it should appeare to the contrary, I came my selfe, and brought my Commission with mee, to manifest that I was no such person, but had the Kings Maiesties broad Seale to my Commission, and called to my mai for it, and shewed it them, reading the first line vnto them, and lapped it vp againe. Then they said, that they would see it all. I said, they should not while I liued. The Commission was mine, you all apparently fee more, it is not my Commission they should expect it. Wee would haue bin gone aboard, but were willed to stay awhile. So there passed wordes betwene vs, some sharpe and some sweet: but at the length they began to be more mild, & called for a Cup of Wine, then the Company rose all vp, drank a cup of Wine, and went to walke, and view the Caffe, the Officers whereof were very neat and very well furnished with Armour and great store of Munition.

Taking my time, I put in practice to see what money would doe (which often maketh Wilk-men blinde) that so I might attayne vnto my lading by large proffers. I offered one thousand pound to be fire to haue my lading, and to giue my chaine from about my necke to one to procure it, offering to pay more then they paid for their Spice. Having let this matter abroad, (knowing the ship to ride in danger) I told the Gouverneur, now they apparently saw, I was no man of Warre, I would bring in my ship: hee replied with the reitort, that all the friendship they could doe me, I should find them willing to pleasure me thereon. It drawing late I tooke my leave to goe aboard, at what time, the Gouverneur caused all the Ordnance in the Caffe to be shot off, and as I passed by the ships, they and the Frigots shot off, till I came aboard. The next day being the eighth of February, I brought my ship into the Roade, and rid vnto between their ships and the Caffe, and gaue them all my Ordnance, and was answered from the Caffe, and shippes, and Frigats with great store.

As soone as we came to an Anchor, the Gouverneur with all the chiefe of the Caffe and Ships came aboard of me: so I intreated them to dinner, to such as we could prouide, which they very kindly accepted: and after dinner the maine point (which was my lading) I could not by gifts, nor any meanes I might devise, haue any grant to buy one pound of Spice. And hauing prooued sundry meanes to induce them to heare reason, the Gouverneur told me plainly, he durst not giue

X x

me

Uncharitable purposes of the Dutch.

Commission shewed.

The might of money.

Dutch/crenatastie,

His purpose for Palmyra.

English resolution.

M. Spalding welcome.

The life of Ceran, Golegula.

The Hope-well.

They laid Spice.

me leave to deal for any Spice, vnder paine of losse of his head. I feeling no good to bee done in rising at an Anchor amongst them, determined to take in water, and take my Fortune: but they would not suffer my Boate to goe ashore for water, but they would send a man with vs, to see that we had no conference with any of the Countrey people. After I had water aboard, I sent Master Spalding to shew the Gouernour that I would be gone, and that I had sent him to acquiesce him therewith: for my selfe would not come out of the ship.

The Gouernour marvelled whether I would goe, the winds being Westerly: Master Spalding said, he knew not, so I warped till I could get Sea-room to let saile. The Gouernour sent three Pinnasses to go, out with me, and one came in a Boate aboard vs, sent from the Gouernour to command me, that I should not come neere any of those Islands: I sent him word I would not be at his commanding, for I was bound to Palmyra, as soone as possibly I can, and bode him send his ships to lend me away for I would quickly find the Frigates further from me. He went with one of the Frigates, and I called our men to get vp their small shot, and fit the milder to fight with their ships which were fitted, and their sails brought to the yard of purpose. I called all my Company to know their murther, and told them plainly that if they would stand by me, I meant to let vp my self, to make my Voyage at those Islands, let the Hollander doe what he could: and promised them, if any man were maimed, he should haue maintenance during his life, which (as it pleased God) I would haue performed: and further promised, that if they would fight it out, to give frankly amongst them, those things that were mine owne, which were in the ship. So with one consent, we were all willing to try what the Hollander would send out to drine vs away. The Pinnasses seeing my tolke to bring vp their small shot, thought it would be final to their ease to guard me any longer, and therefore bore vp for the Harbour. While we were a warping out, the Admirall had beene twice aboard the Pinnasses, and the Vice-Admirall, and the Lieutenant Gouernour of the Cattle also, what they did there I know not.

It fell calme, and the winds Westerly, and a great streame set to the East North-East, and we droue a great pace. So I manned my Boate, and sent Master Spalding away with Money, and my Purfers Mate, and five more, to goe, and certifye them of the land of Palmyra, that we had parted enemies with the Hollanders, and that I had sent him to know their minds, whether they would tell me their Spice, and I would give them Money for it: and would haue come my selfe, but would haue set the shippe in some place where the night ride, and then I would come eight or ten in the ship, or in a Pinnasse that I had with me to set vp. While my Boate was absent, there came two Prawes from Lantor, to know why I went away: I told them, the streame set the ship away: I would haue gone to Palmyra, if the streame had not lured me, and had sent a Factor thither to buy Spice: they said, they were glad that I went not away for altogether: then I prayed them to tell them if they would sell it me before the Hollander, that came to take their Countrey from them. One of them said, that hee would goe to the land and see my people, and then he would shew them of Lantor.

At Master Spalding's coming home, the Countrey flocked about him, and bad him welcome, but would make no price with him till I came my selfe: but would deliver Spice vpon an account, till God should fend me thither, to goe through with them my selfe. I bid Master Spalding hire me a Pilot (if he could) to harbour my ship neere hand; who spake to the Countrey for one, and they hired him a cole, to whom the Countrey gaue twenty Rials, and I must give them as much. So Master Spalding sent them aboard, and writ to mee to fend him more Money and Cloath, which I did the same night, and bare vp the Helme for Ceran, and came to a place called Golegula, being thirtie leagues from Banda, a reasonable good Road: and as soone as possible we could, we took an house, and brought our Pinnasse ashore to set vp, having had her with in board thus long, and could neuer haue time to let her vp, because the time of the yeare did fall ship away, and the Monson was at an end. Labouring all that night to get her dispatched, being fittet, I named her the Hope-well. The seven and twentieth of March, we made all things ready to set saile to the land of Palmyra, and arrived there the one and thirtieth of the same in the night, and could not lade any Spice, till I had agreed with the Countrey people.

The Countrey asked many duties, and great gifts: but in fine, I agreed to pay as Captaine Keeling paid: after the chief had what they looked for, (for every one must haue somewhat, that all must not know) and a man must be giuing, for they neuer cease begging: and it is not for a mans ease to deny them any reasonable matter, especially, as the case stood with mee. After we had agreed, we laded the Hope-well with Spice, and sent her away, the being but nine Tunne, could carry but little of such Commodities, which I presently: wherefore I was driven to looke out for more helpe to get out the Spice: so I hired a great Prow, and was to build her, which we laded with Nuts, and sent to the ship, and there builded her higher, and made her one of nine and twentie Tunne. But the made but one Voyage, and then we heard no newses of her in three months, till expecting her coming to Palmyra a long time. The Hope-well making two Voyages, could bring mee no newses of her, so that I verily thought she had beene sunke: for I came in company with her in the Hope-well my selfe, and having a great storme, was perfectly perswaded, that the Sea had eaten her vp, and gaue her for lost, having twelue of the lustiest men in the ship in her. It was no small griefe to mee, to see the time of the yeare to

weare away, and could not get my lading out to the ship, nor durst bring the ship ouer (for there was no riding for her, and the past the land off) all hope was past for fixe months. I made enquire for other Vessels, and heard of a Lunck that belonged to Lantor, but she was old, and lay neere the Hollanders ships: I went and bought her, and got such helpe as I could to trim her.

The want of my twelue men put me to much trouble, if I had had them with mee all the while, it had beene a great shortning to our Voyage: for most of our men were downe vpon fore Legges, and as soone as one was any thing well, hee must into the Hope-well, and another poore lame man take his room, hauing some three times well and downe againe. Thus I was driven to my wits end, not knowing which way to turne me, being every houre in danger of the Hollander to come and take the land, who (as by intelligence from time to time we heard) fought sundry meanes to make me away, by offering large Money for Rogues to effect it, either by poison, or otherwise. But (I praise God) I had some friends vpon the land, who gaue me secret warnings of such men, or to be aware of such men-lauers, for they would doe some mischief, and came for the purpose. Whereupon I was faine to get all the lands to draw to an head, and fit their Caracols, and keepe the Hollanders Pinnasses from coming aboard: so the Pinnasses durst not stirre, and the landers landed secretly vpon Nera, and cut off sundry of the Hollanders, that they durst not stirre out of the Caffe, except they were many, and well fitted.

These landers built a Fort vpon the side of an hill, from whence they went into the Caffe, which troubled the Hollander much. So we were fure that the Pinnasses could not come out as in former time, to cut vs off as oftentimes they had attempted, making nine Voyages in her my selfe, and neuer could spare above seven men to goe in her, and but five at Palmyra: the rest in a manner lame and sicke, in a most villanous Countrey, where all things were so deere, that one should eat, and not to be had but at some times, which was a great griefe vnto vs all: with such foule weather of raines continually, which was like to haue made an end of vs all. The Lunck which I had bought at Lantor, I was faine to get away vntimmed, for the Hollanders sent me one of their ships, seeing men at worke vpon her, (when they had fitted her) to batter her to peeces. So that night the waighed, I got the helpe of two Townes to lanch her, and was to carry her a great way vpon Rowlers. This we did by night, and got her out of sight by day, and brought her to Palmyra, and were faine to buy Sydes for her, and all things else, for the had nothing belonging vnto her but the bare Hull. I let the Countrey Carpenters awake, which did her little good, as proued afterwards: and had sent to the ship by the Hope-well, that they should bring over some rigging for the Lunck, and that Master Davis should come and carry her over, fitting her (as well as I could) with those filly Carpenters which the place affordeth.

The Hope-well stayed three weekes, and we neuer heard any word what was become of her, being doubtfull whether any mischance had befallen her: and we might flay long before they could hire any to come ouer, the Hollanders haue so feared them, that they haue taken carrying of victuals to the Bandenester. Being reasonable faire weather, hauing the Slippes Skiffe at Palmyra, I determined to goe ouer my selfe, and make some shift, and not to let the time passe with nothing. For I could not hire men to carrie ouer the Luncke, if I would haue laded her with Siluer. So I put it in practise, seeing the Hope-well came not, and not hauing a sound man with me that could stand on his legges, I thred three Blackes and put to Sea: being out of sight of Land, there arose a grieuous storme, that I was faine to sponeore averse the Sea, to saue our liues yet (God be praised) we got fight of the Land of Ceran, and kept her right averse the Sea: cleane from our ship, and comming neere the shoare (the Sea aloft) did breake, and took away all our hope of comming safe ashore. Night being at hand, we throte all we might to keepe her vpon the Sea till day, the storme increaseth, that no remedie but wee must hazzard all to put into the Breach, ouer a ledge of Rocks. Which we did, and no man durst forsake the Boat, for being beaten to peeces against the Rocks. So the next day we set her ashore, being brim-full, and had all things that we had washed ouer-board: we laid hands on the Boat, and got her out of the Suffe of the Sea, and gaue God thanks for preserving vs from apparent danger. Being extreme foule weather, with much rain, we could not tell what to doe.

The Blackes came and told vs, that we must goe to Sea presently, if wee meant to saue our liues. I asked one of them the reason: who said, it was the Canibals Countrey, and if they got fight of vs, they would kill vs and eat vs, and nothing would ransom a man if they take him, and all Christians that they get, they roste them alive, for wrongs that the Portugals haue done them: and therefore if we would not goe to Sea, they would goe to kill themselves: for the Canibals would be at the water side as soone as they can look about to destroy if they can discouer any Fisher-men or Pallengers, that by stealth passe by in the night. Wee hearing this (that the Moone began to shew the wind to Duller, and a Tyde of flood with vs) we got a-head a good reasonable pace, and by day we were cleere of their Watches, & keeping the shore close aboard, we espied a End of a Bark, came & rowed neere it, & knew it to be the Diligence. So we came & hailed her, and there were a couple of Englishmen in her, who told me that the same night (that we had the storme in the Skiffe) she chopped to an Anchor there, and the Cable burst, & the draue aloft, & that M. Herminius was gone to the Towne to get men to haue her vp, & saue her. I laded my selfe to goe to the Gouernour of the Towne, to come and bring some helpe to saue her. The Sand was full of people which came of purpose to haue pillaged her, & I would them to make a shot now & then,

Sore legges.

Treachorous offers.

M. John Davis.

The life of Ceran. Sea-pentil.

The Countrey of the Canibals, or Man-eaters.

The Diligence.

which stayed them from coming neere them: & coming to the Town, *M. Herminius* was gone by land to the ship: offered the Gouverneur money to have help to save her, who said, he would gather the Country together within two or three daies; but I told him that if it blew, the wind would be left within an hour. One of *Pulaway* being there, who knew the Barke, and was earnest with the Gouverneur to save her, plainly told mee, that he gaped only to have her bulged, that he might have the Plankes to build him a Prow.

Inhumanity of the Islanders.

Then perceiving there was no hope, but must come from the shippe, I hired Guides to follow *Maister Herminius*, and tooke one of myne owne men to keepe me company, and so proceeded by Land, being twelve miles from the ship. Being halfe way, we came to a great water, which we must swimme over: my man could not swimme, so I lent my clothes back, all but a Scarlet 10 Mandilian, which these *Blackes* must carrie over for me, who told me, the River was full of *A. legades*, and if I saw any, I must fight with him, else he would kill me: and for that purpose did carry a great Knife in his mouth. I being weary, not having slept in two nights, tooke the water before the *Indians*, knowing they would be over before me. The River being broad, and a swift current, which the great raime (that had fallen) had made, the *Indians* would have had me turned backe, but being the better halfe way, I was very unwilling: being in the water, one of the *Indians* that carryed my Mandilian, had got a great Cane (which I knew not of) and strooke me on the side, who feeling the stroke, suspecting it had bene an *Aligara*, dived vnder water, where the current got such hold on mee, that before I could come vp, I was in the Sea, and there the Sea threw me against the Beech, and bruised my backe and shoulder, till the time that he 20 came, and gave me the end of the Cane, whereof I got hold, and he pulled mee out, neere hand downe: being tossed with the Sea, that every *Swift* waied mee into the Sea againe. I praye God, I escaped this danger and got aboard, after I had rested my selfe a reasonable space, to the amazement of all my Company. So that night, I sent all that were able to crawl, to land the Barke: which (God be praised) they did with much toyle of so small help. The Country would not let any man lay his hand to save her, expecting we would forsake her, that they might enioy her.

Danger of Crocodiles.

Perillous making.

The arrival of the *Hopewell*.

The next day after my coming aboard, the *Hopewell* arrived with her lading of Spice, who told me, they had been driven to the East-wards of *Banda* thirte leagues, in a moit cruel storme, which continued long, and caused them to have a long passage to get to the wind-wards, but arrived the next day after. I went from *Pulaway* in the Boat, and laded presently, and *M. Danu* 30 was taking in of his lading, making all dispatch that might be, with a poore lade Crew (the whole being absent as your Worships have heard, about the *Diligence*) we presently vnladed it, and that night let fall in her my selfe, to see if I could come before *M. Danu* came from thence: for they told me, the Luncke was very leaky, and I desired to have the *Hope-well* come in her company, what sooner should befall: for the had neuer a naile in her, but such as we felues put into her: and having none there of our owne, we called the simple Smith that the country a forced, to make some Iron pinnes, for nayles they can make none; and in moit needfull places we bestowed them. As for my selfe in the *Hopewell*, striving to attaine to *Pulaway*, I was put by by the streame, in a mighty storme; the more the wind, the stronger the Current: being put by to Lee-wards, we were long before we could fetch the ship, and were faine to seeke to the *Tree* 40 shore, or else had beene quite blowne away. Having made many Voyages, and full fallen to Lee-ward of the ship, I caused *M. Danu* to fetch the land for some Harbour, that when the storme ceased (that we could make to get over the goods) should come over, they might come from *Pulaway* to the ship directly, and not to trouble it vnder wind-wards when the sea was deep, laden, which being empty, having discharged her burthen, might better ply it to wind-wards: for being light, she would fetch her owne, which was effected.

Fearre of the Islanders, cause of cruel handling.

In my long stay from *Pulaway*, and the Islands of *Banda*, they had intelligence, that the ship had weighed anchor, and were priviledged, that I was gone in the ship for feare of the *Hollanders*, who were determined to come and looke me out, and surprize mee. Whereupon, the country people would not deal with my people any more, nor sell them victuals, and beganne to abuse 50 them, and rayle vpon them: and said, that I was gone in the ship, and left them in the Country as the *Hollanders* did, and would come with a Flette, as they have done, and take their Country from them. Then they were determined to feize vpon the house, and take the people, and keep them prisoners vpon an high Rocke, and sent for the *Sabandar*, that by whole consent they might come, and take possession of all the goods. When the *Sabandar* was come, *M. Spalding* went vnto him, to shew him of the hard vjage of the Islanders, who began to take things out of the house by force. He said, They would be sure we should not doe as the *Hollanders* had done, and were determined to lay them fast: for the ship was gone, and our meaning was not good. All that *Maister Spalding* could doe, would not periwade them, but they were left of purpose.

The next day, being in council in the Church: they resolved to send the men vpon prisoners to the 60 Rocke. Then there came one and told them, that I was in sight in the *Hopewell*: whereupon they broke vp their deathlike determination. At my coming ashore, *M. Spalding* told mee of their hard vjage of them, and what feare they were in. The Chiefes of all the Islands came before our doore to stay my coming: I went vnto them, and asked the reason, Why they dealt so with my people in my absence? They told me plainly, that if I had not come my selfe, they would have taken

taken the goods, and kept the men safe. So I told them the reason of the remooving of the ship, and said further, no manell that the *Hollanders* built a Cattle to defend themselves, when I being in friendship with them, and leaving men amongst them, with Commodities that the country stood in need of, and made the *Hollanders* mine Enemies, (which were their enemies, and fought all the means that in me lay to doe all the lands good, (as they all very well knew) should receive such hard measure at their hands. They said plainly, I must not blame them to be jealous of Christians: for many yeeres, the *Portugals* and *Hollanders* have done as I have done; but in the end they live apparently, they would have their Country from them: yet now I was come my selfe, they hoped I would not thinke the worfe of them. So we became good 10 friends, and bought Spice apace: and had bought my whole ships lading. Having an over-plus of Stock left I thought I could not doe your Worships better service, then in laying out your money, and therefore made haste to send the ships lading away, and laded thirte Tunnes more in a Luncke, and bought another Luncke of fortie Tunnes (and Spice to lade her) which was not then launched, but men at worke vpon her: and left *M. Spalding* to come in her, and *M. Chapman*, for *Maister* (a very honest and sufficient man) with twelue persons in the whole.

Portugals and Hollanders vs. a fiscal.

III.

His departure for Bantam, escape from the *Hollanders*, and returne home.

After this, I came and tooke my leave of all the Country, in most loving manner, and gave them due gifts for a farewell, intertaining them to helpe *Maister Spalding*, if he should stand in need of them: for I being gone, hee must rely vpon them. So with many promises of all kinnesse, I tooke my leave both of *Maister Spalding*, and of his company, and all the land. Leaving *Maister Chapman* for *Maister* in the new Luncke, I was faine to carry over the *Hopewell* my selfe, and let fall the 30 seventh of September from *Pulaway*, with the Luncke *Middleton* in my Company (having stayed longer in the Country, then ever any *Englishman* did) arrived at the ship the tenth. And there

Hede anchored from *Pulaway* the seventh of September.

I heard that the ship was not fully laden: for there were seuen Tunnes of the Nuttes spoiled, that came last from *Pulaway*, and lost. There laded the ship out of the *Hopewell*, and the Luncke, and turned off the *Hopewell*, which had done vs very good service, and brought an hundred Tunnes of goods aboard; being so wormeaten, that we pumped away in her, being but halfe inch plank, and neuer could stay or haue any time to heathen her. After the shippe was wholly laden, wee let 40 fall from *Keeling Bay* the same day, having neuer a top-sayle over head: For I had caused *Maister Danu* to remove the ship from whence I left her, to another Bay, seuen leagues to the Westward, where I said I would come with the *Hopewell*, and the Luncke where I found them: now the ship, in remooving had her top-sayles blowne from the yard, having bene at the yard ever since we came into the Country for feare of Treason, and the *Hollanders* who would seeke our throw. The Luncke going better then we, having no top-sayles, I sent for the *Maister* of her 50 aboard, and wrote a Letter to *Bantam* by them: and requested them to make all the speed they could thither, and I hoped I should come after them, to overtake them, when I could make my top-sayles, which wee plyed night and day: and made *Maister Mungane* his Mate: wee in the ship having our top-sayles finished, did overtake the Luncke the sixteenth of the fame, and coming vp to them, they could not keepe vs company, except wee should take in our top-sayles: and to presse the Luncke with a saile they durst not. I called vnto them, and bade them beare 60 such saile, that they doe not wrong her (for feare a leak should breake vpon her) and come to *Bantam*: for mee to keepe by them, could doe them small pleasure, for wee had long business at our coming to *Bantam*, to trimme the shippe for *England*. So wee took leave of them, and bore ahead, and the ninth of October arrived in *Bantam* Road, where *Maister Hemphrys* and *Edward Neeltes* were both dead, within a short space after my going away from *Bantam*: so that all the goods I left at *Bantam*, were yet there, and not a yard of doth sold to the *Chinese*.

They arrive at *Bantam* the ninth of October.

At our coming to *Bantam*, being very weak (for most part of the company had fore legs) was driven, that all men that had any lores, or were sickly, should remayne aboard by the Surgeon, and mended the Lunckes with all my choice men, being all in perfect health. There came a small ship, that had bene at *China*, and at *Japan*, *Taranta*, *Makian*, *Coramandel*, *Patane*, and *Ior*, and came to *Amboyna*, and so to *Banda* to seeke for lading, but could get none, so was faine to go for *Bantam* to lade Pepper. This ship when the came to *Banda*, came neere the Island of *Pulaway*, and let flye all her Ordnance, and a shot came through another mans house, through two Suckles 60 of Mace in our house, and broke the Purfers Mate vpon the shinne, yet broke not his legge, but went into a Chest of fine Pintadoes, and spoiled many: the poore man lay long vpon it (like monethes at the least) not able to stand.

The *Hollanders* being vs to paye by them at *Banda*, day by day with Spice (who after my coming bought not one pound, I wrought such means to procure my lading first) were sharke

Hollanders en-
tire and inuade
frustrated.

madder, having two great ships halfe laden before I came into the Countrey: wherefore they determined to come with their ships and Pinnasses, and take the Island, and all the Spice that I had there, knowing I had fore bought, and fitted such a time, as that they might easily have done it. The *Bendauses* being distressed with the slaughter of some of the straggling *Hollanders*, which they had murthered, tooke all the able men to goe aboard to the *Hollanders* Castles: and determined to fire their ships, at an Anchor, and burne the old *Sonne* close to the *Casle* gates. All able men being gone to the *Warres*, and not passing fortie men left, beside women and children, the two great ships and three Pinnasses came out vnder faire, with three Beates apiece at their sternes, and the *Frigates* two Prowes a piece to land men: They chose such a time, that they might have come ashore, and taken every man one, in their armes, and carryed them quite away, for there were no Weapons left in the Island, but what we had. But it pleased God to defeat better with vs, for being come out of the Harbor, they could not get in againe, it proved calme, and the *Tyde* of Ebbe (being Springing *Tyde*) did set the shippes to the Southwards of the Island, and the Pinnasses must follow the ships, for feare the Carrels would have had them. Two dayes they did what they could to come backe, so they were forced to proceed for *Bantam* to lade *Pepper*. Being long becalmed by the way to *Bantam*, they decried a shippe right to Leeward of them, which they thought could not be any Saile, but wee: wherefore it was agreed by counsell that they should come and fight with mee, and take me, and all the Spice from mee: and what their determination was to haue done with the ship and Company, I could not learne. It proved to be the *Provincia* of *Holland*, a great ship that was bound to *Banda*, to looke for lading, and had bene at the *Molucces*, but could not get one pound of Spice. So those two ships told him, that they came from thence, with halfe their lading, so all three came to *Bantam* to lade *Pepper*: thus the Lord kept me out of their hands.

Fight *Holland*
ships.

There came eight ships to *Bantam* for *Pepper*, and must stay a year for it: so the shippes that must stay a year for their lading, tooke in planks and prouision of building, and were sent with them to *Banda* and *Tarnata*, (for their Castles, and to make Flankers to make them selfes strong) and were sent away after I came to *Bantam*. My lame Company being very weak, fell sicke, and my Gunner, and one of my Quarter Masters dyed, and three more presently after them. The Carpenters fitting the ship, and the Westery Monson come, there was no hope of the Iunckes coming till May: Master *Davis* being sicke, and very hardly escaping with life, Master *Clayborne* weak and sicke, and my selfe not well with griefe, to see in what poore estate we were, made all speed that we might to be gone from that contagious Countrey, hoping, that if we were out at Sea, my people would mend. Now seeing the Iuncke came not, which if but one of them had come, I would have remayned in the Countrey, and fitted her to goe for *Succedania*, (a place where the *Hollanders* haue made great Voyages) but seeing they came not, I thought I should doe your Worships as good service to come home in the ship, (if it should please God) to take Master *Davis*, and Master *Clayborne* away) to bring home the ship and therefore set vp my selfe to come home, three dayes before we set saile from *Bantam*, foure Saile of a new Fleet of *Hollanders* came in (which brought in great store of women, to inhabit those places which they had conquered) and were nine in the whole, and five remayned behind. Those that came into the Road, were very weak, so that the other ships company that were in the Road, were faine to fetch them in one by one.

Dutch Admirall
slaine.
Three ships of
the *Hollanders*
taken, and one
burnt: *diavola*.
Paulus *Franciscus*
taken.

That same day came a Shippe from *Tarnata* (sent with Letters to *Ambuco*, and so to *Bantam*) with newes, that the *Hollanders* had lost their Admirall, which went to *Manila*: for his head was shot off, and the ship taken and two more, and another (that would not yield) set himselfe a fire: so they left three ships lyfth, and one burned, being all great shippes of one hundred Tunnes apiece. Forre dayes before these newes came from *Manila*, a Gallie, called the *Hollanders*, which came into the *Indies* foure years passed, called *Paulus* *Cuencarles*, who had bene taken by the *Spaniards* at *Tarnata*, by *Spawfish* Gallies (within foure monethes after I came from thence the last Voyage) remained a Prisoner in the Master of the *Campes* House at *Tarnata*, and all his company were chained in the Gallies. These Prisoners the *Hollanders* would have ransomed with money, offering a very great rancome: which the *Spaniard* would not accept, but would haue them delivered vp for the *Forcs*, and be gone: so they would let their Generall, and the rest at libertie, or otherwise he not. The *Hollanders* would by no means withdraw their forces, so the Generall remained Prisoner a year and a quarter, and then was released by the new Gouernour that came from *Manila*, to take the Government of the *Molucces*, who was intercepted, and taken by two ships of the *Hollanders*, which released their Generall with exchange of man for man. This Generall was the second time taken by the *Spanish* Gallies (after a long night) and presently sent Prisoner to the *Manila*.

Paulus taken
the second
time and sent
to *Manila*.

Hee departed
from *Bantam*.
Sa *davis*.

Having left *Richard* *Waddes* for Chiefe in the house, and order for Master *Spawfish* (when God shall send him to *Bantam*) to determine a Voyage to *Succedania* in *Torneo* for Diamonds, I tooke my leave of them of *Bantam*, and set saile the sixteenth of *November*, and had a very good passage to the Road of *Saldanha*; where I came to an Anchor the one and twentieth of *January*, and tooke in water, and made all dispatch that I could for *England*: and found that my Bro-

Brother Sir *Henry Middleton* had bene there, and came in the foure and twentieth of *July*, and departed the tenth of *August*, and there I found the Copie of a Letter, which my Brother had written to your Worships, and sent home by a *Hollander* the next day that hee came into the Road: which if you haue not receiued, you may apparently see, that they will detain all your Worships Letters, and you shall haue the Copie. Thus haue I at large certified your Worships of all matters in ample manner, which I thought no lesse then my dutie to doe, hauing made relation of all these places from whence I came. And (I praye God) I haue aboard one hundred thirtie nine Tunnes, six Cathayes, one quartene two pound of *Notmegs*, and fixe hundred two and twentie Sackets of *Mace*, which maketh thirtie fixe Tunnes, fifteene Cathayes, one quartene, one and twentie pound, and haue left in the Iuncke with Master *Francis*, foure and twentie Tunnes, seuen Cathayes, two quartenes and eight pound; which co^t. with the charge 25071 ¹/₂ Rials, of which summe I haue disbursed five hundred of mine owne, for Spice which lyeth most vpon the *Orlope*: and being in bond vnto your Worships, shall remaine vntill I know your pleasures, whether I shall enjoy it.

CHAP. XI.

The sixth Voyage, set forth by the East-Indian Company in three Shippes, the Trades Increase, of one thousand Tunnes, and in her the Generall Sir HENRY MIDDLETON, Admirall, the Pepper-Come of 1200 hundred and fiftie, Vice-Admirall, the Capitaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON: and the Darling of nineite. The Barke Samuel followed as a Victualler of burthen one hundred and eightie: written by Sir H. MIDDLETON.

S. I.

The proceeding of his Voyage till hee came to Mohan in the Redde Sea.



The first of May 1610. we came to an Anchor in the Road of Cape Verde, vnder an Island: where we found a *Frenchman* of *Depe*, that was setting vp a small Pinnasse vpon the land.

The second, the Carpenters of all the shippes went in hand with my mayne Mast pulling off the filles, we found the Mast exceeding bad, and about the vpper Decke foure three foot wrong more then halfe a fathom: I had wee met with any foule weather, it must needs haue gone by the board. I sent one of my Carpenters a-land to the maine to search for Trees, who returned that night, and brought mee word that hee had fenne some which would serue our turne.

The third, we beganne to vnlade the *Samuel*, and first Carpenters a-land to cut downe Trees, hauing leave of the *Alcayda*, who came aboard and dined with mee, I gaue him a piece of *Ross* cloth, which I bought of the *Frenchman*, and other Treasures.

The fifteenth, we made an end of watering, all our Caske being full: we stowed all our Boats this night and fitted to be gone the next morning. This place of Cape Verde is the best place I know for our outward bound ships: for that the Road is excellent good, fit for dispatch of any bufinelle, and fresh fish to be had in great plenty: besides it is not any thing out of the way. I called a Councell of Captaine *Downton* and the Masters what course was best to hold till we came to the Line, first was concluded South South-west for sixtie leagues: and then South South-East till we grew neere the Line, and then to hale ouer Easterly. We dimitted the *Samuel* the foure and twentieth of *July*, we came into the Road of *Saldanha*, and saluted the *Dutch* Admirall with five Pieces of Ordnance, and hee returned the like, there were also other two *Dutch* Admirall ships which came to make traine Oyle of Seales: they had made three hundred Pipes.

This day I went a-land and found out the names of Captaine *Keeling*, and others bound home in *January*, 1609. And also my Brother *Davis* came bound out in *August* the ninth, 1609. And also a Letter buried vnder ground according to agreement made betweene him and mee in *England*: it was so infused with the dampne of the aere, that I could not read any part thereof. The fixe and twentieth, we set vp a Tent for my sicke men, and then we had them all a-land to arie

The commendation of Cape Verde. They serue in the Road of *Saldanha*. * M. Fennell I haue written from thence, mentions two French ships in like employment, men who haue suffered to lie in water or distressed thus from thence.

our ships. From this day, till the day of our departure, nor any thing happened worth the writing.

The bay of S.
Augustine in S.
Laurence.

The six of September, latitude twenty three degrees thirty minutes, the wind all Southerly a good gale: this day after dinner we saw land, and before night we came to an anchorage, S. Augustine Bay, where we found the *Vain* distressed for lack of victuals. The seventh day, I went in my Pinnace a land to see if I could get any fresh victuals: but we could not get any: we got wood and water aboard, and so returned to our Ships.

The tenth, we steered along the land with a good gale of wind at South-east, making account we should have gone at least twenty five leagues, but we went but twenty two leagues, by reason the Current leteeth to the Southward: her course North two and twenty leagues. The eleventh, we steered from noon till night North North-east along the land, which was North $\frac{1}{2}$ point Easterly way, and till midnight North North-west. From midnight till day North by West, and so till noon North, all her true way North North-west $\frac{1}{2}$ point, North twenty seven leagues. We have a great Current against vs: for I made account we should have gone five and thirty leagues: I observed, and the latitude was one and twenty degrees five minutes, wind East South-East. The twelfth, we steered between the North North-east, and North by East, her true way North Westerly $\frac{1}{2}$ point, latitude nineteen degrees, forty eight minutes, she ran twenty seven leagues. The Current we find this last four and twenty hours, leteeth to the North-ward, the wind variable.

The thirteenth, we steered with little wind and calmes for the most part North by East, her true way North $\frac{1}{2}$ point West, the wind as the day before: she went fifteen leagues more then I would have given her, for that I find the Current leteeth to the North-ward, by my observation, latitude nineteen degrees ten minutes. The twentieth at noon, her latitude eleven degrees ten minutes, the wind veering Easterly, with calmes, variation twelve degrees forty minutes. This afternoon we saw land, being the Isles of *Queriba*, which are dangerous low llands, environed with rocks and shoals.

The Isles de
Queriba in 11
degrees nine
minutes, near
the coast of A.
Frisa.

The first of October, 1610, we steered North-east, her way North-east by North $\frac{1}{2}$ North twenty seven leagues, the wind for the most part South-east. The second, we steered North-east, her way North-east by North $\frac{1}{2}$ North fifty seven leagues. Note the Current hath carried vs these eight and forty hours to the North-ward, more then by reckoning we could give her by twenty eight leagues, which we found true by our latitude, which was three degrees thirty minutes South latitude: variation twelve degrees twenty four minutes, wind South and South-east. The third, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east $\frac{1}{2}$ North forty one leagues, which is twelve leagues, carried by the Current to the North-wards: for I should have given her but nine and twenty leagues, latitude two degrees South, the winds variable between the South and South-east.

We cross the
Equinodiall.

The fourth, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east $\frac{1}{2}$ point Northerly forty five leagues; whereof fourteene leagues carried with the Current, South latitude fourteene minutes, variation thirteen degrees, wind variable, between the South-east and South, we cross the line this afternoon. The fifth, we steered twelve hours North-east by East, and twelve hours East North-east, her true way North-east, little Northerly forty seven leagues (she hath been carried to the North by the Current at the least twenty leagues, latitude North one degree thirty minutes, the wind for the most part South South-east, with sometimes almost calmes. The sixth, we steered East by North, and East North-east: her true way North-east by East little Easterly thirty eight leagues, helped by the Current to the North-ward eighteen leagues: latitude two degrees thirty minutes, the wind South South-east, variation fourteene degrees two minutes.

The seventh, we steered East by North, her true way East North-east $\frac{1}{2}$ point Northerly, eight and twenty leagues: latitude three degrees five minutes, wind all Southerly: variation fifteen degrees, by the Current tenne leagues. The eighth, we steered East North-east, her true way North-east by East $\frac{1}{2}$ point, Northerly forty leagues: latitude four degrees twenty seven minutes, the wind South-west, variation fifteen degrees four minutes. The ninth, we steered North-east by East, her true way North-east $\frac{1}{2}$ point Northerly twenty seven leagues: latitude five degrees, three and twenty minutes, wind South-west, variation sixteen degrees four minutes.

They loose the
North Current.

The tenth calmes: Latitude in five degrees, one and twenty minutes. Here we lost the Current that let to the North-ward, and were carried to the South-ward two miles, variation fourteene degrees tenne minutes. The eleventh calmes, latitude five degrees twenty minutes, lost one mile. The twelfth calmes, latitude five degrees, lost by being carried to the South-ward twenty miles. The thirteenth, we steered two watches North-east, and four watches North North-east: her true way as I guess North North-east, by reason the Current counterails the variation, the same Southeasternness: latitude five degrees, fifty five minutes, the wind West by North, variation nineteen degrees tenne minutes.

The fourteenth, we steered North, her way allowing her variation, which is nineteen degrees

degrees forty minutes, should be one point $\frac{1}{2}$ to the West-ward; but the variation daily rising, sheweth we are carried to the East-ward by the Current, more then the variation cometh unto. She went this day forty leagues, the wind West South-west, latitude seven degrees fifteen minutes: her true way North-east, carried to the East tenne leagues. The fifteenth, we steered North, our latitude eight degrees fifty five minutes, her true way North-east forty five leagues, her way should have been North by West, Westerly by the variation, but the Current hath carried her to the East-ward of her course fourteene leagues: the variation nineteen degrees five minutes, the wind West South-west.

A Current.

The sixteenth, we steered away North, her way by the Current, North by East thirty six leagues, carried contrary to the variation five leagues to the East-ward, as I imagine: the wind South South-west, variation nineteen degrees eight minutes. The seventeenth, we steered North, and ran nineteen leagues: in the morning early we did see the *Duas Irmãos*, five leagues off, bearing North by West of vs: the wind at South-west, variation eighteen degrees fifty five minutes. The eighteenth at night, we came to an anchor in a sandy Bay, in the Ile of *Zacotora*, whose latitude was twelve degrees twenty five minutes: in the evening we went on land with our Synne, and got great store of fish: wind East.

Duas Irmãos,
The Ile of *Zacotora*.

The one and twentieth, we weighed for to ply for the road of *Tamerin*, the chiefe towne of the lland, but we found the wind at the East, and East by South, which was right as we should goe, so that we could not get the place till the five and twentieth day. The latitude of *Tamerin* is twelve degrees thirty minutes, the variation is nineteen degrees eighteen minutes. The Towne standeth at the foot of high rugged hills: the road is all open between the East by North, and West North-west. We anchored in ten fathomes water, good ground. The five and twentieth in the afternoon, I lent M. *Femel* well accompanied ashore, with a present to the King, which was a vest of cloath, a peece of Plate, and a Sword blade; he promised all kindnes.

Tamerin.

The fixe and twentieth, I went on shore with the chiefe Merchants with me, and a good guard of armed men: I was conducted to the Kings house, where at his chamber doore he came and inquired me: he brought me into his Chamber, where being let in a chaire by him, there passed many complements, which I omit. I enquired concerning the trade of the Red Sea; and he commended it highly, saying, the people of *Aden* and *Mocha* were good people, and would be glad of trade with vs; and that the *Assefien* had sold all her goods there at good rates, and came so lightly to this place, that they took in good store of Ballast. This newes gave me good content: I demanded leave to let up my Pinnace upon his land, but he would not grant it in this road; but if I would returne, and doe it at the place where we first anchored, he was content: he feared if we stayed in this road of *Tamerin* to let her up, we would faine all men for coming thither. He had lent all his Alloes to *Fariague* to his Father, King of that part of *Arabia Felix*: his chiefe Citie is called *Chufhem*, where he is resident. I asked him leave to wood and water: for the one, which was water, he gave me free leave; but for wood I must pay very deare, if I would have any; saying withall, That all other Nations which came thither, payed for their water; but of mee he would not demand any thing. He confirmed the lode of the *Assefien*, and my Pinnace, which he answered me, he had one, but his servant had lost it: I was very earnest to have sence it; but it could not be found. He animated me to goe for the Red Sea, but diswaied me from seeking trade in the Country of *Fariague*: for that he doubts his Father would not permit vs. I and all my people dined with the King, which being done, I tooke my leave, and went aboard.

The King entered his house
Henry Middleton.

The seventh of November, we steered West by South, and West South-west along the Land: we saw about terme of the Locke an high land, which we imagined to be the high land of *Aden*, it rieth like *Abbadet Caria*, and may be sence a great way off. In the evening about fixe of the clocke, we came to an anchor before the Towne in twenty fathome water, landy ground. The Towne standeth at the foot of a Mountaine in a Vale, and maketh a faire shew: it is incircled with a stone wall, and Forts and Bulwarks in many places; but how they be appointed we know not. This night there came a small Boat from the Towne to view vs, but came not aboard: the wind East South-east we stood in, standing over we were carried to the East-ward with the Current at least twenty leagues, contrary to our expectation, who rather thought the Current would have set to the West-wards.

*Fariague in A.
rub.
Chufhem or
Cassim.*

The eighth, came a small Boat off the Towne aboard, with three *Arabians* in her: they said they were sent by the Lieutenant of the Towne, to know what Nation we were, and whither we came thither, sending vs word by them, if we were *Englishmen*, we were heartily welcome, and that the vere before, Captaine *Sharpeigh* had been there, and from thence went to *Aden*, where he made sale of all his goods: I demanded of one of them the name of the *Baia*, and whether he were a good man: he answered, his name was *Jesser Balba*, and that the *Baia* that last was, was very bad, this a little better; but all the *Turkes* in general *Razke* named. I asked, if *Mocha* was a good place of trade: they answered, that there was one man in *Mocha*, that would buy all our goods: I lent my Pinnace a land, and *John Williams* one of my Factors in her, who spake the *Arabique* language, at their comming a shore they were kindly entertained.

Aden.

Captain Sharpeigh had been at *Aden* and *Mocha* the year 1609.

The

The ninth in the morning, I sent my Pinnasse ashore for a Pilot for *Mocha*: in the meane while the Boate was ashore, we brought our felous loose, and vnder sayle: they returned without a Pilot, and would not let vs haue any, without three of our chiefe Merchants to be left for pledges: they intreated me not to depart with all our ships, but to leave one for that Port; and that they would buy all the goods in her; we being desirous of trade vpon good consideration, thought fit to leave the *Pepper-corne* there, and the other two to goe for *Mocha*; whereupon we did what we could to get the Road againe, but could not, being carried to Lee-ward with the Current: we were anchored to the South-ward of the Towne: I sent *M. Fowler* and *John Williams* land, to tell them I minded to leave one of the ships there to trade, so that they would let me haue a Pilot, They seemed very glad that one of the ships should trade, and promised me a Pilot the next day.

The Trade and the Darling let saile for *Alaba*.

This coast is high land.

The Headland on the coast of Arabia going into the Red Sea. The North straight of the Red Sea. *Tablmandel*, or the *Bab*.

Mocha. The ships brought on ground.

Alexander Sharpeigh.

The Lord of the Sea there.

Stromboli is Constaninople. The extreme diffinition of the Turkes.

The twelfth, I sent to hope of any Pilot to be had (which had been often promised, but not performed) dispatched my buellme of the *Pepper-corne*, and about noone, I and the *Darling* let saile for *Mocha*: the wind East South-east, we steered along the land sometimes West South-west, and West by North, in twentie eight and thirtie fathome, we saw a small sayle going before vs, which we followed till we had lost sight of her by night. This coast is high land, with many head-lands.

The thirteenth, we haled on our course along the land, all this night steering between the West by North, and most by South, her true way West. The next day betimes we saw the head-land going into the Red Sea, rising like an Island; about eleven of the clocke we were thwart of the entrance, being but three miles broad: on the North side is a ragged land like an Island, and on the other side is a flat low land, called *Tablmandel*: vpon the South of the Island there seemeth to be a broad channell or entrance. After we had passed this straight of *Tablmandel*, vpon the North shore in a faulde Bay is a Village, to which place I sent my Pinnasse for a Pilot: they had not long, but returned with a couple of *Arabs*, who tooke vpon them to be very skillfull. Our depth in the straights was betweene eight and eleven fathome water (betweene the straight and *Aden* is thirtie leagues) we steered along the land North by West, and North North-west: betweene eighteene and twentie fathomes deepe: about nine of the clocke we discried the Towne of *Mocha*: and about five a clocke in luffing in being much wind, we split our maine toppe (sayle, and putting abroad our mizen, it split likewise: our Pilots brought our ships a ground vpon a banke of land, the wind blowing hard, and the Sea somewhat high, which made vs all doubt her coming off. This night came a Boat aboard of vs from the Towne, with a Turke in her, a proper man, sent by the Gouernour of the Towne, to know what we were, and wherefore we came thither. I told him we were *English* Merchants, that came to seeke trade: he answered, if we were *Englishmen* we were hartly welcome, and should not faile of that we looked for: for *Alexander Sharpeigh* had sold all his goods there, and we might doe the like. And for the grounding of the ship, he made nothing of it, saying, It was ordinary for great shipsot *India* to come a ground, and yet neuer heard that any of them sustained any harme thereby: he made him to goe ashore, to certifie the *Aga* what we were, with promise in the morning to returne with Boates to lighten our ship. This man, as I afterward vnderstood, is called Lord of the Sea, for that his office is to go aboard all ships that come thither, and to fee Lighters sent aboard to discharge the ships, and to search that they steale no custome: for which Office, hee hath diuerse duties, which is his onely maintenance.

The fourteenth in the morning early, he returned with three or foure *Turkes* more in his company, whereof two of them spake *Italian*, they brought me a small Present from the *Aga*, which commendations and offer of any thing the Countrey could afford me, with heartie welcome to his Port, saying, we should haue as good and free Trade as wee had in *Siambola*, *Alippo*, or any part of the *Turkes* Dominions, with many other Compliments: there came with them foure or five Lighters, in which we put any thing that came first to hand, to lighten the ship. *Matter Fell* went a-land in one of them before I was aware thereof, carrying all he had in the ship with him. Wee sent all our Money, Elephants teeth, and all our thot aboard the *Darling*: wee laid jo out our Anchors to passe, and in the Evening proued if we could heare her off, but could not make her stirre, which was no small grieue to me.

The fifteenth, we did what we could to lighten our ship, sending some goods a-land and some aboard the *Darling*. I had a Letter from *Matter Fell*, wherein hee certined me of kind entertainment by the *Aga*, and that he had agreed for Custome to pay five pound the hundred for all we should sell, and that we could not sell to be returned aboard custome free. Likewise the *Aga* sent me a Letter vnder his hand and Seale, proffering himselfe and any thing the Countrey afforded to bee at my disposing, with many other Compliments; about five a clocke we began to heare at our Cap-taynes, and by Gods great mercy they went off to all our comforts.

The nineteenth, came two Boates from the shore sent by *Matter Fell* for Iron, which I so caused them to fetch from the *Darling*. I wrote to *Matter Fell* not to send for any more goods a-land, for that I would fee sale of those he had already before I would depart: with my more, I received a Letter from *Matter Fell*, if that I minded to haue Trade, I must come a-land according to the custome of the place, otherwise they would not be persuaded but that we were

men of Warre. Likewise, the *Aga* sent our Interpreter to me to intreat me to come land, if I were a Merchant and friend to the great *Turke*, and hoped for Trade: Alledging that Captain *Sharpeigh* and all the *Indian* Captaines did the like.

The twentieth, I went a-land, I was received at the water side by diuers chiefe men, and with Musique brought to the *Aga* Houle: where were assembled all the chiefe men of the Towne: my entertainment by the *Aga* and the rest, was with extraordinary great kindeesse, I was seated close to the *Aga*, all men of the standing, where he held me with Compliments, many times bidding me welcome, offering himselfe and the Countrey to be at my seruice: I deliuered his Maiesties Lettres with a Present to the *Basha*, which I desired might be lent him vp with all speed. Likewise I gave the *Aga* a Present, which he tooke very kindly, telling me, I and my people should haue as good and peaceable Trade, as any of our Nation had in any parts of the *Turkes* Dominions, and that if any man in the Towne offered me or any of my people wrong, he would see them severely punished: he caused me to stand vp, & one of his chiefe men put vpon my backe a Vest of Crimmo like and silke, saying, I needed not to doubt of any euill that wold the *Gran Seniors* protection: After some few Compliments Iooke my leave, I was mounted vpon a Gallant Horse with rich Furniture, a great man leading my Horse; and so in my new Coate with the Musique of the Towne conserged to the *English* Houle: where I stayed Dinner, and presently after went aboard. Much he intreated my layle on shore, which I yielded to for building my Pinnasse, the daies following being also forced by fowle weather.

The English House in *Aden*.

§. II.

Turkish treacherie at Mocha and Aden with the English.



The day past not, but I had some small present or other sent mee by the *Aga*, with commendations from him, to know if I lacked any thing. On the eight and twentieth day twice he sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, and when their time of fasting was done (which was almost expired) hee would haue me ride abroad with him to his Gardens, and other places of pleasure to raye my sight. This afternoon came *Matter Pemberton* a-land for Coco Nuts. I called him to my Supper with mee, which being done, hee tooke his leave to goe aboard, but the *Turkes* would not permit him, saying, it was too late, but in the morning he should goe as timely as he would. I sent to intreat that he might go, but it would not be granted. All this time we suspected no harme, but thought it was our much curioisitie in the Officer, who we thought had done it without order, of which the next day I thought to haue complained to the *Aga*.

The Sunne being set (according to my wonted order) I caused stooles to bee set at the doore, where my selfe, *Matter Fell*, and *Matter Pemberton* sat to take the fresh aire, I speaking nothing of the present ensuing harme that did befall vs. About eight of the clocke, came a *Laminary* from the *Aga* to deliuer some message to mee, but we could not vnderstand him for lacke of an Interpreter: I sent my man to looke for one of my company that spake the *Turkish* Tongue, my Interpreter presently came, by whom I vnderstood the effect of the *Laminarys* message, which was, that the *Aga* had sent me commendations, willing me to be merry, for that hee had received good newes from the *Basha*. And as hee was about to say somewhat else, my man returns in great feare, telling vs wee were all betrayed: for that the *Turkes* and my people were by the cares at the backe of the Houle. The *Turke* that fate by, was desirous to know what was the matter, which wee tolde him, hee presently rote vp, and willed my man to shew him where they were, diuers of my Company running after him, to see what was the matter. And my life ranne after then, calling vpon them as fast as I could, to returne backe and make good our Houle: but whilst I was thus speaking, I was strooke vpon the head downe to the ground by one which came behind me; I remained as dead till such time as they had bound my hands behind mee, and so strait that the extreme paine thereof brought mee to my remembrance. As soon as they saw me stirre they lifted me vpon my feet, and led me betweene two of them to the *Aga*: where I found diuers of my Company in the taking as I was my life. By the way the Soldiers pillaged mee, and tooke from mee much money as I had about me, and three or foure Rings, whereof one was my Seale, the other had foure Diamonds which were of good worth, and the third a Gimmall Ring. When all of vs that escaped with life in this bloody Massacre, were brought together, then beganne they to put vs in Irons: my life with foure more were chained by the neckes all together: other foure thirtie, other their hands; this being done, they left two Soldiers to guard vs, the rest departed, these Sculdiers had compassion of vs, and eafed vs of our bands, for the most of vs had our hands so strait bound behind vs, that the blood was ready to burst out at our fingers ends, with pain vnufferable, but we were bound to endure it. After I had received this case of my hands an Armes (though full out-charged with griefe of heart) not only for my owne necessitie (and these with me) but also for the safetie of the ships, which I greatly

The Turkes Fasting.

The sea on of the Turkes, Nouemb. 18. 1616. Sir H. Middleton strooke downe dead.

Sir H. Middleton, and foure more chained by the neckes.

Eight of our
men were
flayne.

The Darling
boarded
by the *Turkes*.

The *Turkes* all
burned, killed,
or drowned,
save one.

Sir H. Middle-
ton conversed
before the *Agā*.

Treason at *A-*
den. Besides these
three were
with like trea-
cherie sixteen
men more be-
trayed at *Aden*,
having leav-
en them to
come on shore
for buisnesse,
and thence
made the
whales, &c.

greatly doubted, knowing the covetous *Turkes* would leave no Villanie nor Treason unattempted for the surprizing of them, we began to reason amongst our selves, what should be the reason or cause of this their villanous vylage of vs; and withall, I demanded how it began, and if any of our Company were flaine: I was certified by those of my Company that did see it, and hardly escaped themselves, that *Francis Slawey*, *Iohn Langlar*, and sixe more were flaine, and that fourteene of our Company there present were grievously wounded, and that our House was round begirt with armed Soldiers, who at the instant I was strooke downe, - flailed out vpon vs, and their mercuriall crueltie towards vs, that had not wherewithall to defend our selves, much lesse to offend them. Now having gone through their first pretence of mischiefe, - not being satisfied with Christian blood, they aimed at our ships and goods. For about ten of the clocke, they armed three great Boates with one hundred and fiftie Soldiers in them to take the *Darling*, who rode somewhat neere the shore. The Boates put from the shore altogether, the *Turkes* tooke off their white Tuckes, because they would be thought to be Christians, and all joyntly boarded her, and entred most of their men: it was so sudden, that three of the *Darlings* men were flaine before they could get downe: the rest betake them to their clove fight. Now it pleased God in mercie to looke vpon vs, and not to suffer any more Christian blood to be shed. For the Captaine of them, which is called *Emen-bahar* or *Lord of the Sea*, called to his Soldiers to cut the Tables in the House, the Soldiers not understanding him, many of them leaped into the Boates, and cut the Boate Ropes, and so rowe away: by this time our men had gotten them to their Weapons, and to their close fights, the *Turkes* standing very thicke in the waile, hellowing and clanging their Swords vpon the Decke, one of the Company threw a bigge Barrell of Powder amongst them, and after it a Fire-brand, which tooke lo good effect, that it burned diuers of them: the rest for their better safetie (as they thought) retired to the halfe Deck and the Poop, where they were set off with Musket shot, and entangled with another trayne of Powder, which put them in such feare, that they leaped into the Sea, hanging by the ships side, desiring mercy, which was not there to be found, for that our men killed all they could finde, - and the rest were drowned, only one man was saved, who hid himself till the tūrie was past, who yielded and was received in mercie. Thus God of his goodnesse and mercie delivered our ship and men out of the hands of our Enemies, for which his holy Name be blessed and prayed evermore. Amen.

Now let vs looke backe to vs imprisoned at *Mocha*. The Boats returning brought newes the ship was taken, for which there was great rejoycing. The Governor sent off the Boats againe with order to bring the ship: when they came lo farre off as where the ship did ride, they found her gone from thence vnder fūle standing off, so that they returned, and told the *Agā* the ship had escaped and was gone, and that they thought *Emen-bahar* and his Soldiers were taken Prisoners: which newes was nothing pleasing vnto him. Before day he sent our Interpreter to tell me the small ship was taken: which I did verily beleue to be true; when it was day I was sent for to come to the *Agā*, so I and seven more which were chained by the neckes with mee came before him. He with a frowning (and not his wonted displeasing) countenance, asked mee how I durst be so bold as to come into this their Port of *Mocha*, so neere their holy Citie of *Mecce*. I answered, that I was not vnknowne vnto him wherefore I came thither, having long before certified him thereof, and that I came not a land but at his earnest intreatie with many promises of kind and good vylage; he answered it was not lawfull for any Christian to come to neere their holy Citie of *Mecce*, this being the Port or Doore thereof, and that the *Bajha* had excoffed us from the great *Turke*, to captivate all Christians that should come into these Seas, although they had his owne pail. I told him the fault was his, that he had not told mee so much at the first, but deluded vs with faire promises: he gaue me a Letter to read of Captaine *Dowson* that came from *Aden*, dated long before, the effect whereof was, that two of his Merchants and Purser were detained ashore, and that they would not be releaved without lanning of Merchandize, or paying of fiftene hundred *Venetians* for Anchorage, and withall to be aduised by me what he had but to doe, after I had read it, hee bade mee tell him the effect thereof: which I did, he told mee since the writing of this Letter, the ship was comming from this place, and that it was cast away vpon a Rocke, and that all the goods and men were lost (this was so close for me to heare) he willed me to write a Letter aboard, to know how many *Turkes* were in the small ship. I told him that shoul not need, for that they had taken the ship, hee answered that they was once taken and possessed by them, but he was rescued by the great ship, and taken from againe, and therefore willed me to write to them aboard, the great ship, to come all of them a land, and yeeld the ship into his hands, and he would let vs have the small ship to come vs home. I said it was a folly to write any such thing: for they that were aboard and had their libertie were no such Fooles, as vpon my Letter to forsake the ship and goods, and come a land and be flaine. He said, he knew if I did write a Letter to that effect, they durst not disobey mee, I told him I would write no such Letter, he enquired what store of money was in our ships. I answered, little, and that was not for Merchandize but to buy Victuals. He asked what store of Victuals and Water? I told him enough for two yeares, which hee would not beleue. He urged mee againe to write, to wille them to come all ashore and yeeld the ship, or he would cut off my head.

bade him doe so: for therein hee should doe me a great pleasure, for I was weary of my life, but wrote to that effect I neuer would.

I was taken out of my Chaine and Coller, and a great paire of Fetters clapt vpon my legges, and shackles vpon my hands, and so separated from the rest of my company: they flowed mee all that day in a thirty Dogges Kennell vnder a paire of staires: at night, at the intreacie of *Shermet* Count of the *Bahians*, I was taken out and placed in a better room, one more of my Company which spoke *Turkish* being with mee. My lodging was vpon the hard ground, and my pillow a stone, my companions to keepe me waking were grieft of heart and multitude of Rats: which if I chanced to sleepe, would awake me with running over mee. About mid-night came the Lieutenant of the *Agā*, and our Trugman entreating mee very fairly to write my Letter aboard, to know how many *Turkes* were aboard Prisoners, and what were their names, but in any case willed me not to write any thing of the losse of our men, nor of my owne and my peoples hard vylage, but to say we were detained in the *Agā* House (where we lacked not any thing) till further order came from the *Bajha*. This Letter I did willingly write, and to the same effect they willed mee, but withall willing them to looke well to their ships and Boat, and to haue a care to their men, that not any of them came a land for feare of Treason. This Letter they had with them, and examined two or three of my men whether I had so written.

This Letter was not sent, for that they could not get any man to goe aboard with it, but now they had found a man who was there present would undertake to carrie it aboard, so that I would write they should vie him well and doe him no harme: this man was borne in *Turkey* in *Barbery*, and spake good *Italian*. I wrote the Letter as they desired, which was penul as was the former, and the next day was sent aboard, and answered returned, the effect was that all the *Turkes* were flaine and drowned save one, whose name was *Kuffian*, a common Soldier, and that they were glad to heare I was alive: for the Prisoner *Turke* told them, he thought we were all flaine. We continued in this misery till the fifteenth of December, not hearing any thing from the ships, nor they from vs. The *Agā* came diuers times to mee, sometimes with threats, sometimes with faire meanes, to haue mee write that all our people should come ashore and yeeld vpon the ships: I still answered him as I did at the first. Hee was desirous to know what money was in the ships, and what store of water. I answered him, Money had we little, but the ships had we enough for two yeares. He was in hope for lacke of water and victuals to haue the ships yeeld vnto him, knowing that we could not haue a wind to carrie vs out of the strait till May: he said, he marvelled how lo great a charge could be borne with so small a stocke. I answered, we had Factories in diuers places in *India*, who had stocke enough in their hands to load vs if we had brought neuer a penny worth of Commodities with vs, and that stocke wee had was sufficient to lade our ships with Pepper, which in *India* was good cheap.

They in the ships were very cull to passe tiding in an open and wide Roade, the wind blowing continually hard at South South-east, enclosed round with shoales, their water beginning to faile them, for that we had flained fiftie Tunnes to lighten our ship at our coming a ground: and hearing nothing from vs a land made them at their wits ends, not knowing well what to do: they being in this perplexitie, an honest fellow in the ship called *Iohn Chambers* offered them to goe ashore to see what was become of vs, and to put his life and libertie in venture rather then see men lie in this discontent, which he effected: also this day being the fifteenth of December, with a Flage of Truce was set vpon a small Island, a little to wind-ward of the Towne, he had one of our *Indians* with him for his Interpreter: they were brought before the *Agā*, who asked him how he durst be so bold to come ashore without leave; he answered he came with a Flag of Truce, & was but a Messenger, which was permitted amongst enemies. He asked what message he had to deliver. He said, a Letter to mee, and likewise if he would gue him leave to see how wee did. They examined him and the *Indian* very strictly what store of victuals and water was in the ships, they both answered as I formerly had done, that there was enough of all sorts of victuals for two yeares.

This being done they brought him to my darke Cell; who comming out of the light was a great while before he could see mee, hee delivered mee the Letter with watery eyes to see mee so fettered hands and feet in Irons. I demanded how he came ashore? He told me after what manner, and how he was examined by the *Agā*. I told him I thought they would not permit him to returne aboard, for that not few dayes before one of the *Pepper-Come* men was come from *Aden* with a Letter to mee, and they kept him Prisoner, and would not permit him to returne, nor gue him leave to goe aboard our ships. He answered he came with that resolution from aboard, to take such part as I did, if they would be lo villanously minded to stay him being but a Messenger.

The sixteenth, I returned answer of my Letter sent mee, and delivered it to *Chambers*, and contrary to my expectation, they let him and the *Indian* returne to the Boate, with leave to come againe the next day if they had occasion: the next day *Chambers* returns alone, for the *Indian* was so frightened that he durst not come: my man sent me diuers things by him, but the *Agā* was my Receiver and kept them to his owne vse, thinking them too good for mee; hee returns aboard.

Decemb: 16.

Decemb: 17.

The hardest
part of *Iohn*
Chambers.

aboard, and leaves vs to our wonted miserie, attending daily what should become of vs; looking every hour for the sentence from the Balha, of Death, or perpetuall imprisonment or captivitie. Y^e. God dealt more mercifully with vs, who neuer faileth them that put their trust in him.

For vpon the twentieth of December, came downe from Zenan an *Aga*, Captaine or Chief of the *Chamfers*, with order to bring vs vp all. At his first lighting he was desirous to see me & my poore Company; there were three Chaires brought into my Room, wherein *Regib Aga*, *Imael* (which was the Mefenger from the Balha) and *Iusef Aga* waited themselves. *Regib Aga* began to aske me how I durst be so bold as to come into this Countrey to neere their holy Cite, with our a Paffe from the *Gran Senior*? I answered, the King my Master was in league and amitie with the *Gran Senior*, and that in the Articles of peace, it was allowed vs free Trade in all his Dominions, and this being part of his Dominions there needed no paffe. Hee answered, this was the doore of their holy Cite, and therefore not lawfull for any Christian to come hither; Likewise, he asked me. If I did not know the *Gran Senior*'s Sword was long; I answered we were not taken by the Sword, but by Treason, and if I and my people were aboard, I cared not for the length of his or all their Swords; he said it was proudly spoken of me. Altho he willed as formerly he had done many times, to write a Letter aboard to command all the men out of the ships, and yeeld themselves to the Balha; and returned like answer.

Imael Aga broke off this idle speech, by telling me he was come from the Balha, with expresse order from him to conduct me and all my people to Zenan, and therefore willed me to send aboard for warme clothes, for that wee should find it very cold in the Mountaine Countrey. I prayed him if it were possible that my poore men might bee sent aboard, and that I and some few more might be sent vp. Hee said it was not in him to remedie it, for it was the Balha's order we should all goe vp: *Regib Aga* said I should have my desire, that I and five more should goe vp with me, and the rest must abide where they are, till further order from the Balha. This was the eighteenth day of December.

This twentieth day, Captaine Downton in the *Pepper-Corne*, came into the Road from Ales: I writ to him my minde, what I thought fittest to be done.

LIB. III.

Sir Henrie Middleton, and foure and thirtie others, sent to the Balha at Zenan. Description of the Countrey, and Occurrences till their returne.

Decemb. 22.
1611.

Sir Henry Middleton and 34 Englishmen were sent to Zenan. The escape of M. Pemberton.

Mansel.

Hamet Aga a great friend to vs. The Consul of the Banians, and Towkebar, their great friendship to vs. Ties a clef four dayes journey from Ales.

He two and twentieth of December, our Irons were knockt off all our legges, the Carpenters and Smiths, and some sicke men that were not able to trauele: the Carpenters and Smiths were kept there to build vp the Pinnacles, and my selfe, and foure and thirtie persons more of vs, were appointed to goe vp for Zenan, the sicke Cite of the Kingdom, where the Balha is resident. About foure of the clocke we set out of *Moba*, all my Com^y, any being mounted vpon Ales, and my selfe and M. *Femel* vpon Horfe-backe. About ten of the clocke in the night, being ten or twelue miles from *Moba*, Master *Pemberton* flew away from vs; we missed him our felues presently, but said not any thing, the best helpe we were able to doe him, he had; which was in beseeching God to fend him safe aboard, for the attempt was very desperate. About one of the clocke after midnight, we came to our Inn at a Towne called *Mansel*; they told vs all at our coming thither: yet missed not him that was wanting. We continued in this lodging till foure of the clocke in the afternoon the next day. At our letting out of doore they told vs, and found one missing: the *Aga* inquired of me how many we were that set out of *Moba*. I told him I could not well tell, but as I thought we were foure and thirty: he said, we were five and thirtie, and that one was missing: I said, it was more than I did know. The chiefeest cause that moued M. *Pemberton* to take this desperate action in hand, was to see if so many of vs carried vp together manacled, with a Captaine, and a guard of Soldiers to conduct vs, which he could imagine to no other end, then death or captivitie, which was the opinion of vs all. I found a great friend of one *Hamet Aga*, who lent me diuers Presents, and willed me to be of good comfort, for my cause was good: he sent me and my people provision of Bread for our journey, and writtall his letters to the Balha.

Likewise, the Consul of the *Banians*, who came every day to visit me, and neuer came empty handed, and *Towkebar* was our great friend all the time we were there prisoners, and every day failed not to fend to each man, being one and fiftie in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantitie of Dates, or Plantans: he departed from *Moba* two dayes before vs for Zenan, promising at his departure to doe all he could with the Balha for our good; which promise, I thinke, he well performed: for as Zenan I was told by diuers, he laboure hard in vrbane, both with the Balha and his *Cayhs*, which is a verie discreet man, and gouernes the Kingdom.

We arrived at the Cite of *Ties* (which is foure dayes journey from *Moba*) vpon Christmas day:

day: where we were marshalled into the Cite two and two in a ranke, as they doe at *Stambol* with captives taken in the warres, our *Aga* riding in triumph as a great Conquerour, being met a mile out of the Towne with the chiefe men of the Cite on Horfe-back, multitudes of people standing all the way gazing and wondering at vs: thus we were vid in all Cities and Townes we passed through. A youth of M. *Pemberton*'s fell sicke in this Towne, and was left with the Gouverneur thereof, for that he was not able to trauele. I kept no Journal from this time forward; but this I remember, we found it very cold all the way from *Ties* to Zenan, our lodging being the cold ground: I bought most of our men, which were slenderly clothed, furred gownes to keep them from the cold; otherwise, I thinke, they would haue starued. I would not beleue at *Moba*, he, when I was told of the cold wee should haue yppwards, and that made me goe but thinly clothed my selfe; but experience taught me otherwise, wishing when it was too late, that I could haue better provided. Zenan is from *Moba* an hundred and eightie miles, or thereabouts, as I iudge, North North-west. It is in the latitude of fixteene degrees fiftene minutes, which I observed by an instrument I made there.

Every morning the ground was covered with horie frost: and in Zenan we had Ice a finger thicke in one night; which I could hardly haue beleueed, had I not seene it. Wee were fiftene dayes betwixt *Moba* and Zenan. The fifth of Ianuary two hours before day, we came within two miles of the Cite, where we lay vpon the ground till it was faire day, being much pinched by the cold, not being able scarce to stand we were so benumbed. About a mile from the Towne we were met by the Subbasse or Sheriffe, with at least two hundred Short, Drummes, and Trumpets: we were cauled to goe one by one in order, a pretty distance one from the other, to make the better shew; our men had their gownes taken from them, and were cauled to march a foote in their thinn and ragged suites: the fouldiers lead the way, after came our men one by one; our Trumpets were placed next before me, and commanded by the *Aga* to found; but I forbade them: after the Trumpets came M. *Femel* and my selfe on Horfe-back; and lastly came our *Aga* riding in Triumph, with a spare horie richly furnished led before him. In this order we were led through the heart of the Cite till we came to the Castle, all the way being so full of people, we could hardly passe for them. At the first gate, there was a good guard of armed soldiers: the second gate had two great pieces of Ordnance, readie mounted at the entry thereof: after we had passed this gate, we came to a spacious yard, twice the length of the Exchange in London; the fouldiers at the entry of the Gate discharged their shot, and placed themselves amongst many others that were there before them, some on the one side, and some on the other, and a lane left in the middle. At my first comming in I alighted, and was placed on the one side with my men; where I had not staid long, but I and M. *Femel* were brought before the Balha: it was their *Dinano* or Council held: at the vpper end of the yard, we mounted vp a paire of staires some twelue steps high: at the head thereof, two great men came and tooke me by the wristles, and held me very hard, and so led me to the Balha. The place where he was seated, was a long, spacious gallery; at the vpper end thereof he was seated alone, many great men standing on each side of him, and others stood on either side, from the lower part of the Gallery to the vpper end, which made a good shew: the floor was couered all ouer with Turke Carpets. When I came within two yards of him, we were stayed; He, with a frowning and angry countenance, demanded of what Countrey I was, and what I made in those parts? I answered, I was an Englishman, and a Merchant, and friend to the *Gran Senior*, and came to seeke trade. He said, It was not lawfull for any Christian to come into that Countrey, and that he had giuen warning to Captaine *Sharpegh*, that no more of our Nation should come thither. I told him, Captaine *Sharpegh* was cast away vpon the Coast of India, and came not to England to tell vs so much, which had we knowne, wee would neuer haue put our felues into that trouble we were in: I told him *Regib Aga* was the man that had abused me, in telling me we were welcome into the Countrey, and that we should haue as free trade as our Nation had in any part of *Turkey*, with many other faire promises, and that contrary to his word he assaulted vs with armed fouldiers, and murdered diuers of my men, and tooke me and the rest prisoners: he said, *Regib Aga* was but his slave, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leave, and what was befalling to me and my people, was by his order to *Regib Aga*; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the *Gran Senior*, so to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had receiued great harme, and if it pleased him to let vs returne to our ships, it would be sufficient warning to our Nation, for euery comming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let vs depart, but that I should first write and write my letters to the Ambassador at *Stambol*, and hee would likewise write to the *Gran Senior*, to know his pleasure what should become of vs, or whether hee would permit vs trade, or no: hee diffinit me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or five more, such as I thought good: I and thoe I made choice of, were conveyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waightie Irons: one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the Balha, thinking I was to led to haue my head strook off, fell in a fount with

Y y a

* Confusion.

Great cold in the mountains. Furred gownes no doubt. Zenan is in fixteene degrees fiftene minutes.

Ice a finger thicke in one night in Zenan. They were fiftene dayes in going from Moba to Zenan.

The Castle.

Their coming before the Balha.

* Stambol or Stambol, or Stambol is a corruption and corruption of the Greeke words, *eurolon*, which was but his slave, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leave, and what was befalling to me and my people, was by his order to *Regib Aga*; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the *Gran Senior*, so to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had receiued great harme, and if it pleased him to let vs returne to our ships, it would be sufficient warning to our Nation, for euery comming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let vs depart, but that I should first write and write my letters to the Ambassador at *Stambol*, and hee would likewise write to the *Gran Senior*, to know his pleasure what should become of vs, or whether hee would permit vs trade, or no: hee diffinit me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or five more, such as I thought good: I and thoe I made choice of, were conveyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waightie Irons: one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the Balha, thinking I was to led to haue my head strook off, fell in a fount with

aboard, and leaves vs to our wonted miserie, attending daily what should become of vs; looking every houre for the sentence from the Balha, of Death, or perpetuall imprisonment or captiuitie. Yet God dealt more mercifully with vs, who neuer faileth them that put their trust in him.

For vpon the twentieth of December, came downe from *Zenan* an *Aga*, Capitaine or Chief of the *Chamfer*, with order to bring vs vp all. At his first lighting he was desirous to see me & my poure Company; there were three Chaires brought into my Roome, wherein *Regib Aga*, *Imad* (which was the Melfenger from the Balha) and *Iasfer Aga* seated themselves. *Regib Aga* began to aske me how I durst be so bold as to come into that Countrey so neere their holy Cite, without a Paffe from the *Gran Senior*; I answered, the King my Master was in league and amitie with the *Gran Senior*, and that in the Articles of peace, it was allowed vs free Trade in all his Dominions, and this being part of his Dominions there needed no paffe. Hee answered, that I was the doore of their holy Cite, and therefore not lawfull for any Christian to come thither; Likewise, he asked me, If I did not know the *Gran Senior* Sword was long; I answered we were not taken by the Sword, but by Treason, and if I and my people were aboard, I cared not for the length of his or all their Swords; he said it was proudly spoken of me. Also he willed, as formerly he had done many times, to write a Letter aboard to command all the men out of the ships, and yeeld themselves to the Balha; and receiued like answer.

Imad Aga broke off this idle speech, by telling me he was come from the Balha, with expresse order from him to conduet me and all my people to *Zenan*, and therefore willed mee to send aboard for warme clothes, for that wee should find it very cold in the Mountaine Countrey. I prayed him if it were possible that my poure men might bee sent aboard, and that I and some few more might be sent vp. Hee said it was not in him to remedie it, for it was the Balhas order we should all goe vp; *Regib Aga* said I should haue my desire, that I and five more should goe up with me, and the rest must abide where they are, till further order from the Balha. This was the eighteenth day of December.

This twentieth day, Capitaine *Downton* in the *Pepper-Corne*, came into the Road from *Alex*: I writ to him my minde, what I thought fittest to be done.

§. III.

Sir Henrie Middleton, and foure and thirtie others, sent to the Balha at Zenan. Description of the Countrey, and Occurrences till their returne.

December. 25.
1611.

Sir Henry Middleton, and 34. Englishmen were sent to Zenan. The Captain of M. Pemberton.

Messrs.

Stam Agas great friend to vs

The Confidant of the *Hamans*, and *Turks*, their great friendship to vs

Ties a cide four dayes journey from *Moba*.

He two and twentieth of December, our Irons were knockt off all our legges, fave the Carpenters and Smiths, and some sicke men that were not able to trauell: the Carpenters and Smiths were kept there to build vp the Pinnasse; and my selfe, and foure and thirtie persons more of vs, were appointed to goe vp for *Zenan*, the chiefe Cite of the Kingdom, where the Balha is resident. About foure of the clocke we set out of *Moba*, all my Com; any being mounted vpon Asies, and my selfe and *M. Femei* vpon Horle-backe. About ten of the clocke in the night, being tenne or twelue miles from *Moba*, Master *Pemberton* drew away from vs; we missed him for felles presently, but said not any thing, the best helpe we were able to doe him, he had; which was in beseeching God to send him safe aboard, for the attempt was very desperate. About one of the clocke after midnight, we came to our Inne at a Towne called *Messie*; they told vs all at our coming thither: yet missed not him that was wanting. We continued in this lodging till foure of the clocke in the afternoon the next day. At our letting out of doore they told vs, and found one missing: the *Aga* inquired of me how many we were that set out of *Moba*. I told him I could not well tell, but as I thought we were foure and thirtie of vs; he said, we were five and thirtie, and that one was missing: I said, it was more then I did know. The chiefeest cause that moued *M. Pemberton* to take this desperate action in hand, was to see if so many of vs carried vp together manacled, with a Capitaine, and a guard of Souldiers to conduet vs, which he could imagine to no other end, then death or captiuitie, which was the opinion of vs all. I found a great friend of one *Hamet Aga*, who lent me diuers Presents, and willed me to be of good comfort, for my cause was good: he sent me and my people provision of Bread for our journey, and withall his letters to the *Kada*.

Likewise, the Confidant of the *Banians*, who came every day to visit me, and neuer came empty handed, and *Turkoben* was our great friend all the time we were there prisoners, and every day failed not to send to each man, being one and fiftie in number, two cakes of white bread, and a quantitie of Dates, or Planeans: he departed from *Moba* two dayes before vs for *Zenan*, promising me at his departure to doe all he could with the Balha for our good: which promise, I thinke, he well performed: for at *Zenan* I was told by diuers, he laboure hard in our business, both with the Balha and his *Cayba*, which is a verie discreet man, and gouernes the Kingdom.

We arrived at the Cite of *Ties* (which is foure dayes journey from *Moba*) vpon Christmas day:

day: where we were marshalled into the Cite two and two in a ranke, as they doe at *Stambol* with captiues taken in the warres, our *Aga* riding in triumph as a great Conquerour, bringing a mile out of the Towne with the chiefe men of the Cite on Horle-back, multitudes of people standing all the way gazing and wondering at vs: thus we were vifd in all Cities and Townes we passed through. A youth of *M. Pemberton* told sicke in this Towne, and was left with the Gouverneur thereof, for that he was not able to trauell. I kept no Journal from this time forwards; but this I remember, we found it very cold all the way from *Ties* to *Zenan*, our lodging being the cold ground; I thought most of our men, which were kindly clothed, I would be gones to keepe them from the cold; otherwise, I thinke, they would haue starued. I turned not beleue at *Moba*, when I was told of the cold wee should haue yppwards, and that made me goe but thinly clothed my selfe; but experience taught me otherwise, wishing when it was too late, that I had come better provided. *Zenan* is from *Moba* an hundred and eightie miles, or thereabouts, as I iudge, North North-west. It is in the latitude of fixteen degrees fixtenteen minutes, which I obserued by an instrument I made there.

Early morning the ground was couered with hoar frost: and in *Zenan* wee had Ice a finger thicke in one night, which I could hardly haue belieued, had I not seene it. Wee were fixteen dayes betweene *Moba* and *Zenan*. The fifth of January two houres before day, we came within two miles of the Cite, where we lay vpon the ground till it was faire day, being much pinched by the cold, not being able scarce to stand we were lo benumbed. About a mile from the Towne we were met by the Subbassie or Sheriffe, with at least two hundred Short, Drummes, and Trumpets: we were cauled to goe one by one in order, a pretty distance one from the other, to make the better shew; our men had their gownes taken from them, and were cauled to march a foote in their thimble and ragged suites: the souldiers lead the way, after came our men one by one; our Trumpets were placed next before me, and commanded by the *Aga* to sound; but I forbade them: after the Trumpets came *M. Femei* and my selfe on Horle-backe; and lastly came our *Aga* riding in Triumph, with a spare horle richly furnished led before him. In this order we were led through the heart of the Cite till we came to the Castle, all the way being lo full of people, we could hardly passe for them. At the first gate, there was a good guard of armed souldiers: the second gate had two great pieces of Ordnance, readie mounted at the entry thereof: after we had passed this gate, we came to a spacious yard, twice the length of the *Exchange* in *London*; the souldiers at the entry of the Gate discharged their shot, and placed themselves amongst many others that were there before them in I alighted, and was placed on the one side with my *Dinamo* or Council day: at the vpper end of the yard, we mounted vpon a paire of ladders fowntwelve steps high: at the head thereof, two great men came and tooke me by the wristles, and held mee very hard, and so led me to the Balha. The place where he was seated, was a long spacious gallery; at the vpper end thereof he was seated alone, many great men standing on each side of him, and others stood on either side, from the lower part of the Gallery to the vpper end, which made a good shew: the floor was couered all ouer with Turke Carpets. When I came within two yards of him, we were stayed; He, with a frowning and angry countenance, demanded of what Countrey I was, and what I made in those parts? I answered, I was an *Englishman*, and a Merchant, and friend to the *Gran Senior*, and came to seeke trade. He said, It was not lawfull for any Christian to come into that Countrey, and that he had giuen warning to Capitaine *Shapleigh*, that no more of our Nation should come thither. I told him, Capitaine *Shapleigh* was cast away vpon the Coast of *India*, and came not to *England* to tell vs so much, which had we knowne, wee would neuer haue put our felues into that trouble we were in: I told him *Regib Aga* was the man that had abused me, in telling me we were welcome into the Countrey, and that we should haue as free trade as our Nation had in any part of *Turkie*, with many other faire promises, and that contrary to his word he assaulted vs with armed souldiers, and murdered diuers of my men, and tooke me and the rest prisoners: he said, *Regib Aga* was but his slave, and had no such power as to passe his word to me without his leave, and what was befallen to me and my people, was by his order to *Regib Aga*; and that he himselfe likewise had such order from the *Gran Senior*, to fo to chastise all Christians that should come into those parts. I told him we had receiued great harme, and if it pleased him to let vs returne to our ships, it would be sufficient warning to our Nation, for euery coming in those parts againe. Hee said, No, hee could not so let vs depart, but that I should lift there and write my letters to the Ambalador at *Stambol*, and hee would likewise write to the *Gran Senior*, to know his pleasure what should become of vs, or whether hee would permit vs trade, or no: hee dismissed me for that present, and bad me goe to my lodging which was appointed for me, and take with me foure or five more, which I thought good: I and thole I made choice of, were conveyed to the Keeper of the prisons house, and the rest carried to the common prison, where for their welcome they were clapt in waighte Irons: one of our youths at such time as I was brought before the Balha, thinking I was so led to haue my head strook off, fell in a fownd with

* Confusion.

Great cold in the mountains. Furred gownes and furs. *Zenan* is in fixteen degrees thirtie minutes.

Ice a finger thicke in one night in *Zenan*. They were fixteen dayes in going from *Moba* to *Zenan*.

The Castle.

Their coming before the Balha.

* *Stambol* or *Stambolopolis*. *Stambol* is a corruption and corruption of the Greeke words, *hierul* *polis*, which the Greeks vifd to speake of their going thither, that is, to the Cite, so calling of speciall eminence aboute our City: Contrasted in this day contrasted into *Ties*. From us *Asiatic*. See *P. II. Comp.* *Ch. II. Sec. VI.*

very feare, thinking his turne would not bee long after; hee fell sicke vpon it, and shortly after died.

The sixth of January, I was sent for to the *Batha Caye*, or Lieutenant generall of the Kingdom, to breake fast with him: after breake-fast I told him euery particular, how treacherously and vilely I was vsed by *Regib Aga*; he bad me be of good cheare, and not thinke of things past, which could not be remedied; and he doubted not but all would be wel in the end, and his best endeauours to do me good should not be wanting. *Shermall* the *Beriman* of *Moba*, had made this man our friend; then I departed with my Keepers to prison, where I was of better comfort then before.

The seventh day, I was sent for to the *Caybas* garden, where he i-asted me and *M. Femel*, telling me, that shortly I and my people should haue libertie, and be sent to *Moba*, where I should haue redreffe of all my wrongs, promising me to be my friend, and before many great *Perionas*, *Turkes* and *Arabs* said, what kindeffe he did me was onely for Gods sake; but I well knew it was in hope of some great reward from me. *Hames Aga* his letter did vs no small good. This day came to towne a *Moore* of *Cairo*, an old at quaintance of the *Bathas*; and one that had lent him great summes of money at his coming from *Siambola*, when he was but poore: this man was our next neighbour at *Moba* before, and when we were betrayed, and had a ship in *Moba* road,

A Moore of
Caybas great
friend.

bound for *India*, which he greatly doubted our ships would haue taken, in regard of the wrongs offered vs, but they let her quietly depart, contrary to his expectation, so that he became our great friend: he writ his letter in our behalfe to the *Batha*, and therein did much blame him in taking vs so hardly, saying, he went about to destroy the Country and trade, in taking such courses with vs: at his coming before the *Batha*, he iterated what he had written, and much more, threatening him to haue a care, the Trade of the Red Sea were not destroyed by his means, and therefore counselled him to returne me all my goods, and to send me and my people away contented. His letter procured much with the *Batha*: for when he sent for vs vp, it was his purpose to haue put vs to death, and to haue made flauers of all the rest: none in the Country durst speake so boldly as he. Of this which I haue written concerning the *Moore* of *Cairo*, was I informed by *Shermall* and *Hames Waddy*, who were both present at reading the letter, and likewise heard the conference betwene the *Batha* and him. This *Hames Waddy* is an *Arabian* Merchant, very rich dwelling at *Zenan*, and is called the *Bathas* Merchant: he stood my friend very much, in perswading the *Batha* that we might be kindly dealt withall, and suffered to depart.

The eighth, I made petition to the *Batha*, requesting, That whereas at my coming from *Moba*, I had willed the Commanders of my ships to forbear hostilitye for hie and twentie daies, and after to vie their discrecions, if in that time they heard not from me; the time being almost expired, that the *Batha* would vouchsafe speedily to enquire my cause, or giue me some comfortable news to write them, to stay them from doing harme, to which they might easily endine, being without Head or Gouernour.

The eleventh day, I was sent for to the *Caybas*, who told me that now all things were ended, and that my stay there was for the rest of my company which were coming from *Aden*, and that presently after their coming vp, we should all be sent to *Moba*.

M. Femel, and
eighteen more
arrived at Ze-
nan.

The fourteenth, *M. Femel* and eighteen more of their Company arrived at *Zenan*: they were presently brought before the *Batha*, and such like questions demanded of them as hee did me after. *M. Femel*, *John Williams*, and *Robert Mico* were sent to keepe me company, and all the rest to the Common prison to the rest of my men, where they were all put in irons, and their allowance from the *Batha*, browne bread and water, they would haue all died with hunger and cold, had not I relieved them better then the *Batha*.

The twentieth fifth, I was sent for to the *Caybas* garden, where we spent some houres in conference: he told me I should presently goe with him to the *Bathas* garden, where the *Batha* would haue conference with me: he counselled me to sooth him vp with faire words and not crosse him in any thing: I asked him what he thought, whether he would surrender me all my goods: he said, he could not tell: I asked him whether I should haue my Pinnasse againe: he said likewise he could not tell: but in any case he would me not to speake of it to the *Batha*, but at my coming to *Moba* to write my letters to him, and he would sollicite the *Batha* in my behalfe, and doubted not but to obtaine it for me: I told him, I thought it fitter to demand it now, then hereafter: for that I was desirous to know what to trust vnto: he bad me vie my discretion. The chieft cause that made this man our friend, was for a summe of money which I had promised to giue him: he would not be fene to meddle therein himselfe, but appointed *Shermall*, Consill of the *Perionas*, to treat with me concerning the same: he demanded much, and I was willing to part with nothing. We spent three or foure dayes consulting this businesse, in the end I was constrained to giue them content, in promising after my deliuerie to pay him fiftene hundred *Drachmans*: which being done, the *Caybas*ooke Horie and rid to the *Bathas* garden, and bad our Truckman bring me and *M. Femel* thither. When we came to the garden doore, we staid an houre before we were admitted to the *Bathas* presence: we found him seated in a Summer-houle, in a chaire, his *Caybas* standing at his right hand, and halfe a dozen others at the backe of the Chaire. I was lead

lead by two men, which held me by the cloake till I came within two paces of him; and there they flayed me, *M. Femel* coming behind me at libertie, without his leaders: he demanded of me how I did, and bad me be of good cheare, for that shortly I and all my people should haue their libertie, and be sent to *Moba*, where I with twentie nine more should remaine, till all the Ships of *India* were come into *Moba*, and the rest to be sent aboard; and when all the said ships were come in, and the winds fetled Westerly, I and the rest of my company should be permitted to go aboard, and proceed on our Voyage to *India*. I belought him he would not detain me so many of vs: he answered, thirtie haue I spoken, and thirtie shall stay: then I demanded, if our goods should be surrendered; he answered, no: for they were all put to the *Gran Senior* accompt. I demanded my Pinnasse, he said likewise she was put to the same accompt. I told him, duers provisions belonging to the ships were aland at *Moba*, and I said I might haue them surrendered: he said I should: then I spake to *M. Femel*, willing him to speake againe that our goods might be surrendered; which he did, and was answered as I was: then I prayd him to assure me of one thing, and that was, whether all my people should be permitted to depart aboard the ships, the time of our abode being expired, he promised me vpon his word, not any one should be flayed, but be all sent aboard, and all things, had I a *Turke* to my flase, hee would not detain him: for which his kindeffe I gaue him thanks: then he beganne to excuse himselfe, praying his owne milde nature, in that it was our hap to fall into his hands, he had dealt mercifully, and fauourably with vs, which had it been in the time of any of his Predecessors, we had all suffered death for our presumption, in coming into that Countrey (so neere their holy Citie: and that which now was betwixt vs, was by order from the *Gran Senior*, he being vrged thereto by the Consill of the *Bathas* of *Cairo* and *Snachen*, and the Sheriffe of *Meca*, who had certified the *Gran Senior* as the being here of the *Ascension* and her Pinnasse, that they had bought all the choice ware of *India*, whereby his customes were much diminished, and would be the overthrow of the Trade of thole Seas, if it were permitted; and therefore: wilhed it might be carefully looked vnto: whereupon the *Gran Senior* dispatched his letters with a commandement to him, That if any more *Englishmen*, or any other Christians did come into thole parts, to confiscate their ships and goods, or to kill or captiuate all the men they could get into their power: but he minded not to deale so with me, but more fauourably, in permitting vs without further harme to returne to our ships, hoping it would be a warning, that neither we nor any other of our Nation, would repaite thither any more.

The first of February, I and *M. Femel* were sent for to the *Caybas*, who gaue me counsell to goe to the *Batha*, to bid God giue him ioy of his late receiued Dignitie: which was, the *Gran Senior* had made him a Vizir, and sent him letters of great fauour, with a Sword, and rich Robes belonging to a Vizir, which Robes and Sword are a confirmation of him in so high a place and calling. These Pretences from the *Gran Senior*, were receiued two daies before with great solemnitie: and the party that brought them, was met by the *Batha*, and all the chiefe of the Citie, with all the souldiers, horse and foote, fixe miles without the Towne. Where a Tent was set vp, where the *Batha* disrobed himselfe, and vested him in those which were sent him by his Master; and so in great pompe came riding through the Citie to his owne house, where I and others of my company, by the appointment of the *Caybas*, had a place appointed vs, wher we did see his coming into the Citie: our Truckman, by the appointment of the *Caybas*, conducted vs to the Vizirs house, where we stayed not long, but were admitted to his presence: I told him, my coming was onely to see him, and to congratulate his new receiued honour, and to pray God giue him ioy: hee gaue me thanks, and bad me be merry: for what he had promised me, he would performe, and be better to me then his promise: he was very pleasant, and tooke this our coming kindly: and so, as a great fauour, Master *Femel* and I were permitted so kisse his hand, and dismissed, returning to our lodging.

Many of our people in the meane while fell sicke and weak through griefe, cold, naughtie aire, bad diet, euill lodging, and waighite Irons: I neuer ceased solliciting the *Caybas*, till hee had procured their libertie out of that loathsome prison, so that the eleventh day they were all free of prison and Irons, and had a house in the Towne, and libertie to walke abroad, and take the fresh aire: also the next day the *Caybas* sent me halfe a dozen of Breads, to bestow among my men; so that in fewe dayes all of them, I thank God, recovered their former health and strength. The *Caybas* informed me, that *Regib Aga* had writ earnestly to the *Batha*, that we might all be sent downe to *Aden*, and there taken into our ships: by which means his Towne of *Moba*, and such ships of *India* as should possesse the *Bath*, should be secure from danger or any harme our ships might doe them. This wicked counsell had prevailed with the *Batha*, had not God rayfed the *Caybas* for our good to perfwade the contrary.

The fourteenth in the morning early, the *Caybas* sent for me, *M. Femel*, and others, and told me, the next morning I and my people should depart for *Moba*. After we had broke fast, hee brought vs to the *Batha* to take our leaues: he beganne againe to extoll his owne clemencie, and the power of the *Gran Senior*, saying, he had a long Sword, straightly charging me I came no more into thole Seas: adding, that neither Christian nor Lutheran might come thither, no, though they

The complaint
of the Bathas
of Cairo and
Snachen a-
gainst the *Gran
Senior*.

February 11
1610.
The Batha
made a Vizir.

Our men set
at libertie.

They depart
from Zenan.The description
of Zenan.Siam a small
Towne and
Cittie.

Surage.

Dammere a good
Cittie.

Ermin.

Nagual Samare
an Inne.

had the *Gran Seniors* Passe: for so had he commended him: then I requested, if any of our Nation came thither, before I could give aduile to *England*, that they might not be betrayed, as I was; but plainly denied Trade, that they might know what to trust to, and to be permitted quietly to depart; which my request he would in no wise grant: then I intreated him to write to *Regib Aga*, to effect what he had promised me, otherwise he being my mortal enemy, would wrong me and my people: he answered with great pride, Is not my onely word sufficient to turne a whole Citie vpon downe? if *Regib Aga* wrong you, I will pull his skin over his eares, and give you his head: is he not my slaue? and therewithall appointed the *Cajha* to write my dispatch. I demanded answer of his Maiesties letter, but he would give me none. This done, I departed. I told the *Cajha* I had neuer a weapon, and therefore I desired leave I might buy a Sword, and ride downe as I came vpon like a prisoner: he acquainted the *Basha* therewithall, and he sent me one of his best Swords. The *Cajha* also this morning gave me an hundred peeces of gold of fortie Mardins the one peice: and fiftie peeces had he giuen me not many dayes before: so that I received from him in all an hundred and fiftie peeces of gold, and from the *Basha* nothing but his rusty Sword: the *Cajha* is of a liberal disposition, and the *Basha* exceeding courteous: if any man be knowne to be rich, he had need to carrie himselfe very lightly: otherwise the least occasion will cost him his head, that the *Basha* may enjoy his goods, as lately befell a rich *Aga*, whom he caused privately to be cruelly murdered, and presently after seized vpon all he had.

The eighteenth, I paid all duties of the Prison, and went to the *Cajha* Garden, where we brake our fast, received my dispatch, and a Letter to the Gouverneur of *Aden* for redemption of 20 the *Pepper-Corner* Boate: I requested his Letter to the Gouverneur of *Tayes* for deliuerie of a Youth of Maister *Pemberton*, which was I. fittie there, (I was informed he was infested to turne *Turke*, he wrote his Letter and sealed it: the effect I know not) which being done I took my leave and departed: my selfe, Maister *Femell*, and Maister *Fowler* were mounted on Horses, and all the rest vpon Ases and Camels, we had two *Chasfers* to conduct vs, and a Horse-man, the other a foot.

This Citie is somewhat bigger then *Brissell*, of good building of stone and lime, with Churches or Meskites: it is enured with a muddie wall full of Battlements and Turrets. On the West-side there is a great dale of spare ground enclosed within the wall, where they haue their Gardens, Orchards, and Houses of pleasure, it standeth in a barren and stony Valley, with high Hills enclosing it, not being farre off, whereof one which is to the Northward ouer-looketh the Towne, whereon is built a small Cattle, to keepe it from the mountain people, who accustomed from thence to offend the Citie. It hath no water but Wel-water, which they digge deepe for; Wood is very scarce, and fetched from farre, and very deare; In the Easter-most part is the Cattle inclosed with muddie Wall full of Turrets, in which Turrets euery night they place their Watch, which keepe such a hollowing one to another all night long, that a man that is not accustomed which it can hardly sleepe; the *Basha* and some other principall men dwell within this Cattle Wall, the Keepers House wherein I was imprisoned, ioyneth to the wall, and at the foote of the Wall is a spacious yard, wherein a great number of people, for the most part Women and Children, are kept Prisoners or Pledges, to keepe their Parents, Husiands, and Allies from Rebelion. The Boyes while they be little goe looke in the yard, but after they bee come to biggnes they are clapt in Irons and carryed to a strong Tower, where there bee many more kept in like case, there they remayne during the *Bashas* pleasure, those Women and Children which remayne in the yard liue in little Cottages, which they haue made of purple, the Chaires goe for the most part naked, without it be very cold, and then haue they Sheep-skinne Coates to keepe them warme, they be as wilde and rude as if they were brought vp in the Mountains. This night we arrived at *Siam* distant from *Zenan* sixteene miles: which is a small Towne with a Cattle vpon the side of a Hill, the place and Countrey about it is very barren, and yieldeth small reliefe to Travellers.

About midnigth we departed from *Zenan* and the next day being the nineteenth, we came to 10 *Surage*, about ten a clocke in the forenoon: it is likewise a small Village distant from *Siam* about eighteene miles, the Countrey barren and the people poore, and goe almost naked, fere a cloth about their waistes reaching downe to their knees. We departed from hence at mid-night,

We came to *Dammere* the twentieth, about eight of the clocke in the morning: it is a Citie built of lime and stone, but separated in the parts one from the other, so that it seemeth to be so many Villages. It is seated in a spacious Valley or Plaine, hauing plenty of water and all kind of graine, with all other prouision for sustentance both for themselves and their poore Neighbours, who liue in great penurie and want. It is distant from *Surage* twentie miles. We tarried here two dayes by order of *Abdalla Chillyarby*, the *Bashas* *Cajha*, who is Gouverneur of this Province.

The two and twentieth, we departed from *Dammere* about two a clocke after mid-night, and came to *Ermin* betimes, it being a small Village and distant from *Dammere* some fiftiee miles.

The three and twentieth, we arrived at *Nagual Samare*, being a common Inne for all Travellers, The *Turkes* call them *Censfors*; which are built at the coist of the *Gran Signior*, for the redre- 61

of Travellers. There be many of these *Censfors* betwene *Moba* and *Zenan*, this *Censfor* is seated in the middle of a very steepe hill called *Nackbi Samar*, and some few scattering poore houses about it, vpon the top of this hill is a great Cattle, wherein the Gouverneur of the Province which is an Arabian dwelleth. These craggy Mountain Countries, are for the most part goerned by the *Arabians*, for the people of these Mountains cannot rocke the proud and insolent Gouverneur of the *Turkes*: no *Turke* may passe this way, neither vpward nor downeward without a Passport of the Gouverneur of the Province from whence they come, this *Censfor* is distant from *Ermin*, some fourteen miles.

The four and twentieth wee arrived at *Mobader*, which is a little Village at the foot of the great hill, being distant from *Nackbi Samar* some thirteene miles. Our *Chasfer* had warrant from the *Basha*, to take vp Ases for our men to ride vpon, which accordingly they performed our-nights but the next morning the *Arabians* lay in ambush in the way, and in deliight of our *Chasfers* took their Asies away, not soke of our Guardians daring to give them a shote word.

The five and twentieth, being arrived at *Rabattamaine* a *Censfor* with some Cottages and shops adjoining therunto: it is seated on the side of a hill and is distant from *Mobader* sixteene miles, growth Poppie, whereof they make their *Oppium*: but it is not good.

The sixe and twentieth, we arrived at a *Congie* house in the middle of a Plaine: it is called *Mardusan*, and distant from *Rabattamaine* sixteene miles.

The seven and twentieth, we arrived at *Tayes*, being a Citie of halfe the bignes of *Zenan*, and walked round with a mudd wall: here we stayed all this day and the next, in which time of my abode there, I vied the best meanes I could for recovery of a Youth of Maister *Pemberton*, whom the Gouverneur *Hamer Aga* had forced to turne *Turke*, and would by no means depart with him. But *Maister Talbot* hauing the *Turkish* Tongue was permitted to speake with him in a Chamber amongst other Boyes and Youthes, who weeping, said vnto him he was no *Turke*, but was deluded by him, they telling him that I and all my people were put to death at *Zenan*, and if he would I turne he should saue his life, but he would not yield vnto them: But afterward some of the *Aga* seruants carrying him to a Hot-house, when they had him naked circumsized him pursuant. When I saw I could not get him, I desired *Abdalla Chillyarby* the *Cajha* 16 Letters, which was, if that he was not turned he should deliuer him me. When the *Aga* had read this Letter, he told me the effect saying, that Letter was warrant sufficient for keeping of him. I suspected the Letter was to that effect, when it was giuen me, and that made me not deliuer it at first. This Citie standeth in a Valley, very high, and vpon the top of one of the highest hills is a faire and strong Cattle: all kind of victuall is very chare here, in the Countrey thereabouts is made some *Indice*, but what quantitie or of what goodnesse I could not learne. This Citie is very populous, and is all the Countrey and Citie we travelled through.

The first of March, we departed and came to *Enfusa* about noone, being sixteene miles from *Tayes*, the Countrey we travelled Mountainous and itony. The Towne little, situated on the side of a hill. About the fift of January great multi-ude of people resorted hither from farre, where they doe some foolish Ceremonies to one of their Saints and holy men, which lyeth buried there: which being done they goe all in company to *Mecca* on Pilgrimage. The Gouverneur of this Towne is a *Turke*, and vied mee and my people very kindly at our going vp, and hearing of my coming downe, he sent one fiftie miles to a place, where two wayes meete, to bring vs to his Towne, where we were most kindly vied by him.

The second, we departed thence and lodged at a *Censfor* called *Assamine*, some eleuen miles from *Enfusa*. Here is no Towne but a few poore Cottages.

The third, we went from thence and came to another *Censfor* some thirteene miles off: it is called *Accomish* standing in a barren common with a few Cottages by it.

The fourth in the morning, we departed thence and came to *Mofis*, founteene miles from *Accomish*, the Countrey we travelled plaine and barren, and small flocks of Inhabitants. The Towne of *Mofis* is a not great, and vnwalled, but very populous. It is situated in a plaine indifferently fruitful, herabouts likewise is made some *Indice*. We departed thence about mid-night.

The first in the morning about eight of the clocke we came to *Adhis*. We rested two or three hours by the way at a Church or *Congie* house called *Dabul*, built by a *Dabul Merchant*, if we had not stayed longer, we had come to *Moba* before day. A mile without the Towne we were met by our Carpenters, Smithes, and such others as were delayed there, the day before they were taken on, and they had libertie to walke abroad. The first question I demanded was to know what became of Maister *Pemberton*. They told mee he light vnto a *Caruane*, and got aboard, wherof I was not a little gladd: for I was very doubtful whether to haue seen him more. At the Townes ends, and all the way to the *Aga* house, the people stood very thicke, and as we passed by vs welcome lacke, for it was nothing pleasing to the people of the Countrey to heare how treacherously the *Turkes* had vied vs: we did till wee came to the *Aga* house where wee alighted, my selfe, Maister *Femell*, Maister *Fowler*, were brought before him, where I deliuered my Letters from *Zenan*. He received me after his wonted dissembled shew of loue and kinde- 62

Mobader a little
Village.Rabattamaine
an Inne.

Mardusan.

Tayes Citie.

Mofis a little
Towne.

Assamine.

Accomish
a small Towne.

Moba.

of what was said, and prayed me to pardon him, and that hereafter he had me assure my selfe he would be my friend, and that the harme that had befallen vs was not long of him, for hee did nothing but what his Master commanded him. I footed him vp, but beleued nothing he said, he read the command of the *Basha*, and said all things should be performed accordingly. Whereupon he called in for Breakfast, and caused vs to sit downe with him, bidding mee eate and be merry; for now he had eate Bread and Sale with me, I need not doubt of any harme. After breakfast, he went to seeke for a Houe for me, we had a faire large house appointed vs neere the Seaside, where we continued two dayes, but afterward wee were removed from thence to a great strong Houe, standing all alone in a spacious Church-yard in the middle of the Towne: and for our Guard a Captain and his Company were appointed to that charge, who watched all the day, & by night our house was encloled round with his armed Soldiers. The cause why we were removed from our first house, was because it was too neere the water side, they doubting from thence we might attempt an escape.

The description
of the *Mohab*.

This Towne of *Mohab* is one third part lesse then *Tajer*, vnwalld, very populous, and situate close by the Sea-side in a salty, sandy, barren soyle. The Gouernours house is close by the water side, and here by the same is the Key or Bridge which shooteth a prettie distance into the Sea: to which Key all Boates belonging to any shipping, are enioyned to land for feare of stealing of Customs. And close adioyning to the Key is a platforme, whereon are planted some dozen of Brass Peeces, at the Westerne end of the Towne there is a Fort wherein is the like quantity of Ordnance: this Fort was ruinate at our first coming thither, but since pulled downe to the ground and new builded. This after-noon came the *Darling* into the Road, who brought vs newes of the well-fare of the rest, which was no small comfort to me after so many troubles.

The *Darling*
came into
the Road.
The Captain
of a ship of *Dabul*.

The sixth, *Nobuda Melch Ambor*, Captaine of a great ship of *Dabul*, which came into the Road two dayes before my arrival at *Mohab*, came ashore with a great many of Merchants with him, he with the rest were carryed about the Towne in pompe, and afterwards feasted by the *Agas*. I likewise went for to this Feast and entertained with all loue and friendship. The *Agas* in presence of them all called for the *Alewan*, kissed it, and voluntarily swore and protested, that he ought me no euill will but wished me all good, and would endeavour himselfe to pleasure me the best he could, his heart being cleere of malice or hatred, and was much grieved for what was said: I returned him thanks, & seeming greatly satisfied therewith, although I gave no credit thereto, but was forced to indure with patience what I could not remedie, till I pleased God to provide better.

The seventh day, the *Agas* made a great Feast at his Garden-house for the *Dabulians*, to which I and Master *Fennell* were likewise invited. The *Dabulians* were all mounted upon gallant Horses with rich Furniture, and we upon a couple of tyred lame Lades, which were brought from *Zenan*.

The eighth, wee were all sent for to come before the *Agas*, my selfe with all the Merchants, Carpenters, Smithies, and others, whom he (to the number of thirtie) thought good, were appointed to stay ahand; and the rest which were thirtie sixe, were sent aboard the *Darling*.

The ninth, had I made an escape, had I not beene more careful for others, which I should haue left behind me, then for my selfe. This day the *Darling* hauing taken in thirtie fixe men as afore said, and prouided of some necessaries they lacked, departed towards the other ships on the Coast of *Habshe*: where they had found out in the time of my absence an excellent Road, for all windes that blow in these Seas, it is called *Alfab Road*, where they had wood and water enough colting nothing but the fetching, the water is a little brackish, but seemed fitt enough to them that had lused in want thereof, the people of the Countrey bee as blacke as the *Negros* of *Guinea*, they be all *Mahometans* alough the Sea-coast: but vp in the Land they bee Christians and Subjects to *Presler Tobas*, they goe almost naked in a cloth about their waistes, which reacheth to their knees. They were at first coming of our people very fearefull, but after they were acquainted, and a peace confirmed by oath on both sides, they daily repayed with refreshment, as Bees, Sheep and Goates, and sold them for money at reasonable rates. And afterward they desiring coile Callico rather then money, I furnished them therewith from *Mohab*: In trucke whereof they sold their Cattle farre better cheape then before for money, dealing faithfully and kindly with our people, notwithstanding the *Turkes* sought to worke them to the contrary, by means of small Barkes which passe to and fro. The King of this Countrey hath his abiding at a Towne lying upon the Sea-coast called *Rabaua*, some foorthe miles to the Southwards neere the *Bab*, hee sent some of his chiefe men to the Commanders of the shippes with presents, they returned them the like: who entertained those which were sent very courteously, with promise of any thing his Countrey yielded. Their vulgar speech is not vnderstood by the *Arabians*, the better sort of them speake and write the *Arabian* Language, in which Tongue their Law of *Mahomet* is written.

Rabaua.

§. IIII.

§. IIII.

Indian shipping at Moha; Sir Henry Middletons escape from the
Turkes, and enforcing satisfaction.



Prill the first, 1611. the *Darling* departed for *Alfab*, with leaue euen ten dayes to returne, to see how I did: this he vnlooked for kindnesse I hoped in God would be a means to worke my freedom. The second, I came into the Road another ship of *Dabul*, full of people. The *Nobuda* said about the Towne in a painted coate, as the manner is. These robes are but lent them for the present, and afterward returned to the keeper of the Ward-rope, to whom belongs a dutie for lone of them. The third, came a *lebba* from *Aden*, which brought the *Pepper-cornes* Boat.

April 1. 1611.

Another ship
of *Dabul*.

The fourth day, came an other ship of *Dabul*, which laded at *Aden* with *Pepper*: these three great ships belong all to the Gouernour of *Dabul*, who is a *Persian*, and a great Merchant, and hath many flaues, whereof *Melich Ambor* is one, and is in great credit with him: he had the managing of the goods belonging to these three ships; he is a *Negro*, borne in *Habshe*, and might cost his Master fiftene or twenty royalls of eight; and now neuer goeth out of his doores, but with great troopes of followers like some great Lord.

The third ship
of *Dabul*.

The sixth, I sent to the *Captaine* *Abdalla Chaltan* for a faire peice, and a small barrrell of powder, which I promised to send him at my coming from *Zenan*. The seventh, came from *India* a small ship laden with cotton. The eleventh, came from *India* two small barks *Malabar*, of one of the Isles of *Malidua*: the chiefe of them came often to visite me, till he was forbidden by the *Agas* our enemy. The twelfth, there came two Barks from *India*: for then the wind was Westerly; which continued so for five dayes, and afterwards came to the South South-east againe. The fourteenth, came in a small Barke laden with Cotton, for the *Tamians*. The fiftieth, came another from *Bassan*: the *Nobuda* came to visite me at my house, which the *Agas* repined at. The sixteenth, came into the Towne a great many Cammels, and diuers Merchants, which came from *Damasco*, *Sues*, and *Mecca*, to trade with the Merchants of *India*. The nineteenth, came in a ship and a bark of *Canaan*, the Captaine of the great ship came to visite me with great troopes following him: which the *Agas* to make, sent for him while he was talking with mee, and forbad such resort vnto me. The twentieth, came in a ship of *Calicut* and the *Darling*. The three and twentieth, came in a small bark of the Kings of *Zacotora*, which came from *Goa*.

Another small
Indian ship.

Merchants of
Damasco, *Sues*,
and *Mecca*.

May 4. 1611.

The second of May, 1611. I dispatched Letters for England of all our proceedings in those parts: one Copy to the English Consul at *Aleppo*, and another to the French Consul at *Cayra*: which Letters I deliuered to *S. Laurence*. The tenth, came in a small bark from the coast of *Sua*, with Slaves, Elephants teeth, *Amber*: there had wont to come euery yeare hither from thence foure barks with like lading, but this yeare would come no more, for that their Countrey are in warres, and the *Portugals* haue burned their shipping. They men by their *Negros* and *Amber* at *Concamarra*, in *S. Laurence*, where Captaine *Ramiz* was taken and betrayed; we enquired of them if they could inform vs of any thing touching him. Also this day about noone came in the *Darling*, and according to her wonted order took of a piece for a Boate, which grazed upon the water to the Towne-wards, wherabout the *Agas* was displeased; but gave leave I might find aboard I writ my letter, and sent one of my seruants aboard with it, commanding him to tarry aboard, and come no more ashore, and withall to tell M. *Pemberton*, hee should not send his Boat a land till he heard further from me.

The eleueth in the morning, at the dawning of the day, the *Agas* with all the chiefe men of the Towne, were rid abroad in great state to his Garden to be merrie: which I seeing, did not a little glad my heart, and gave God thanks, which offered me so faire means to put that in practice, which long before I had determined: For *Hamer Agas*, and others had told mee the *Basha* would not performe his word, but for feare. I writ my letter to M. *Pemberton*, wherein I certified him, I minded as this day to make an escape aboard, and that I would conuay my selfe into an emptye Boat, and so be carried downe to the Boat as an emptye Caske: and therefore willed him the Boat should be sent with all speed, manned with choice men and withall to send me a bottle of *Aquauiua* and an other of wine, to make drunke my Keepers, which he accordingly performed: before I made M. *Fennell* acquainted with my determination, I made him sweare vnto me to be secret, and to use no periuations with me, to with-draw my mind from that I had resolved upon: whereupon I shewed him what I had written to M. *Pemberton*, and withall, shewed him how that himselfe and others should walke out of the Towne to the water side, to such a place as hee well knew, and I appointed, where I would not faile. God sending mee, I had appointed to imbarque themselues to the South-ward of the Towne, where lay a Boat hard by the shore, with mast and sayle ready fitt for their purpose; but withall, I had giuen the Carpenters warning not to imbarque themselues, till such time as they saw the shippers Boat put off from the Bridge. All things sorting out well to our purpose, the *Subatha* (which was our gardian, and I let

The Indian
ships were
come in, and
the *Turkes*
promised were
not performed,
but many ap-
parent euidences
showed they
never should,
caused *Shen*
Middleton to
suspect his
escape.

in Towne only to looke to me) fell to drinking hard at a Racky-houle: and I being doubtful of any good performance from my enemies the *Turkes*, had long bethought me of all the means I could devise from time to time to make an escape, but could not light vpon any proef, that had not apparent danger, both to my selfe, and those that should attempt to escape away with me. Onely this deuise pleased God to put into my head, whereby I might bee secretly conueyed into the Boat without being discouered: for my Keepers and Souldiers eyes were onely vpon me, wherefore I went: all the rest of my company might walke abroad any where by day time without suspicion, or any great regard: I neuer went out of doores, but two or three souldiers attended vpon me wherefore I went. The Boat being come, and Keepers all drunke, and all things fitted, about twelue a clocke at noone the Subafha returns from the Aracke-houle, and being in one ende of our houle, but a wall between vs, where his abiding was, the better to guard vs, I began to put my businesse in execution: and appointed the Carpenters to take others with them, and to go by two and two in the best manner they could to auoid suspicion, and shifte themselves in the Boat abroad; but in any case not to meddle, before they saw the ships Boat vnder layle. To M. Femeil, and those that I appointed to take into Lee-ward of the Towne, I gave order likewise, to goe two or three in company along the Sea side, to the place I had appointed them to take them in, and there to tarry my coming. After I had giuen these directions, I was conueyed into my Tub, and safely fet aboard the Boat: which being done, I forced out the head of the Cask, and came aboard, causing them to beare vp with the leeward point, where I tooke in John Fowler, Benjamin Greene, Rowland Webb, Re. Mico, Re. Conner, William Turner, John Wright, Arthur Atkinson, Thomas Evans, John Wood, and Henry Forster. M. Femeil and other being too slacke in coming out of the Towne, were taken before they could come to the boat. The Towne being raised, partly by the vndercreeper running of some of our people, and partly by seeing the Boat beare vp to Leeward, contrary to their wonted course, M. Femeil and those with him, had likewise escaped, had he come by land to the point, and not taken water, so soone as others which were both sicke and weak, did, which were behind him when he took the water. I came to an anchor, and brought the Boat a ground in tarrying for them, to the no little danger of vs all: I caused men to leape ouer-board to rescue him, but before they could get a Pikes length from the Boat, he and those with him were all apprehended: M. Femeil discharged a Pistoll in the face of one of them that hardly pursued him, and mortally wounded him before he was taken; it booted me not to stay longer, hauing all the Town in pursuit of me, and a very narrow and shoald channel to passe between a small sandie Island, and the maine: it pleased God wee lighted vpon the right channell, which quickly brought vs into deepe water, and out of danger of our enemies, for which his great mercie towards vs, his holy name bee blessed and prayd for euermore.

They in the *Darling* kept good watch in the tops, which so soone as they saw the Boat vnder layle, let slip and set sail, beeing vp to Lee-ward, to haue relieved vs if need had bin being come aboard, we elipt the Boat, where in the Carpenters were coming towards vs: I sent the ship Boat to bring them and their Boat aboard of vs. In this Boat escaped George Collinson, Robert Price, Nathaniel Symonds, and John Taylor, but Walter Talbot, who was appointed to come with them, tarried for long before he came, that the Boat was put off, he thought to swim aboard, and was drowned. About two houres after our coming aboard, came two poore *Arabs* in a Canoe, but so fearefull, they durst not come nigh the ship till they were wonne by faire words, and so with much adoe, one of them entered, and deliuered me a letter from M. Femeil, shewing that they were in great danger of being slaine or spoiled by those that apprehended them, but some of the souldiers, through former acquaintance, bearing them good will, saved them, and brought them to the *Agas*, where they tarried his coming. At the first sight of them, he looked as pale as ashes, telling them they should all loole their heads, asking them how they durst attempt such a thing? They answered, they came out of *England* vnder my command, and did nothing but what I had commanded, which in no wise they durst disobey. He againe threatened them with losse of their heads, and presently caused them all to be chained by the necks, from which chaine they were quickly releas'd, at the intreaty of *Nobuda Melcke Amber*, & *Nobuda Mahomet of Cananor*, and others, and permitted to remaine in our former houle, but with a stronger guard then before. This their kindnes proceeded not of love, but for feare of their ships in the road, which were then vnder my command. I returned answer of the letter, and sent the *Agas* word, that if he did not send me all my people, with those prouisions of the ships which he detained contrary to the Ballies order (for I minded not to be put off with *Farriga*) I would fire the ships in the road, and so my best to batter the Towne about his eares: likewise I sent word to the *Nobudas*, that they should not send any Boat aboard the ships, without first coming aboard of me, and to acquaint me with their businesse, nor to carry any thing out of them aland, without my leave and order.

After my departure, there was no small disturbance in the Towne: the *Agas* not knowing how to answer the *Kafha*, feared it would cost him his head, the Subafha which was my keeper at his wits end, and knew not whether he might stay or flee for his life. The *Emercyer babar* (or Lord of the Sea as they terme him) in little better taking, being accused of consenting to my escape; one of our Porters tooke Sanctuary in one of their Churches, and would not be gotten out from

Slr M. Middleton
escapeth a-
board.

A letter from
M. Femeil.

A Boat sent
to the *Agas*.

from thence till hee had his pardon, and the *Nobudas* and Merchants in great feare of losse of their ship and goods, most of them sending Presents of victuals, and refreshing to Master Femeil and the rest, which before tooke forme to speake to them. At night I sent the Boat well manned to carrie the newes to our ships, with order for their coming ouer with all speed. I playd to wind-ward in the *Darling*, when the Tyde turned, and rid a little without the great ship, so that I had her and all the rest vnder the command of our Ordnance.

The twelfth, came aboard *Nobuda Mahomet of Cananor* with Letters, telling me the *Agas* was forrie I was so departed (which I knew to be true) for that he was determined within few dayes to haue let mee at libertie, and all my people to my owne content: and for the prouisions belonging to our ships which were ashore, hee would deliuer them, but for my people hee could not deliuer them without order from the *Bafha*, intreating fifteen dayes respite: in which time if I had not all my men in safetie sent aboard, they desired no fauour. I told him likewise, I must haue my Pinnasse hurraled me, for that I would not depart the Road without her; he sayd hee would acquaint the *Agas* with my demand of the Pinnasse, and doubted not but that I should haue her at the time limited. I yielded to his request, vpon his promise that I should haue both men and Pinnasse within the time prefixed, I durst not as yet demand restitution or satisfaction for my goods, till such time as I had all our men from the shore. At his coming ashore, he acquainted the *Agas*, that he had concluded a peace for fifteen dayes, vpon his promise that I should haue my men and Pinnasse restored within the same time. The *Agas* was very angry that I demanded the Pinnasse, and sent for Master Femeil and John Williams, and asked what I minded in demanding the Pinnasse, which was the *Balfas* by agreement with mee, saying, I might as well demand the goods as the Pinnasse, both which were put to the account of the *Gran Signor*: they said I could not well proceed on my Voyage without the Pinnasse, but for the goods they assured him I would neuer demand them; in the mean time, the *Darlings* Cables, Anchors, Pitch, Tarre, and other things being ashore, were brought aboard: And few dayes elapsed that I had not one present or other of refreshing from the *Agas*, *Dabibulan*, and other, which would scarce take knowledge of me whilst I was ashore, but now glad to flatter me. This morning early came a Boat from shore aboard the innermost ship: I called the Gunner to make two shot at her, which caused them to come aboard mee. I threatened them if they did loase any more to hang them, and burnt their ships; so that afterward they durst not attempt the like.

The thirteenth, the *Increase* and *Pepper-Corne* toward night came to anchor in the fight of the Road: for they could not fetch in that night, the Lee-ward tyde being come against them.

The fourteenth, they got into the Road and I went aboard the *Increase*, where I was received with great ioy of all my Company.

The eighteenth, there came into the Road, a ship of *Diu*, belonging to *Shermal* the *Shahander*, laden with *India* Commodities, which I did imbarque both people and goods, and caused her to ride hard by me. The next day being the nineteenth, at the intreaty of *Shermal*, I licensed all the people (save some few to looke to the ship) to goe ashore. This day being the twentieth day, I heard nothing from the shore. The one and twentieth, Master Femeil writ to me they had bin all chained by the neckes.

The two and twentieth, came aboard *Nobuda Mahomet* and certified me, that the *Bafha* had giuen order for release of my people and Pinnasse, and promised to bring them aboard on the morrow. I shot off three Peeeces at his departure. This day all our people ashore were chained by the neckes, and the next day relaxed. The cause they were ioined they could not learne.

The six and twentieth, *Nobuda Mahomet* returned, saying, the Pinnasse was lancht, but the *Agas* would neither deliuer her nor the men, till I had giuen him a writing firm'd by my selfe, and foure or five more of the principall in our ships with oaths to performe the same, to containe in effect a perfect peace with the *Turkes* his Subjects and *Indians*, and not to meddle in this Sea or elsewhere: in reuenge of any thing that had passed, nor to demand restitution or satisfaction for any goods taken from me: I told him, I marvelled hee came euerly day with new matters, he had the day before promised, as this day to bring me all my men and Pinnasse aboard, which I looked to haue had performed, and for better security hee and those with him should re-mayne Hostages aboard till I had them, and therefore willed him to aduise the *Agas*: he all aged that he being employed of his owne voluntary motion in this businesse, should reape much discredit and be laugh't at for his forwardnesse, if he should write to that purpose, and therefore hee told me plaine he would not write whatsoeuer beynde him, but promised, if I would giue him such a Writing as he demanded and send him ashore, he would bring me all my people aboard before night: I seeing I could get him by constraint to yeeld to nothing, thought best to giue him some content, though it were somewhat that might but carrie the name of what he desired. I thereupon caused a Writing to be made in *English*, firm'd by my selfe and five more, containing a briefe Relation of the treacherous vllage of vs in this Countrey and nothing else, wee letting to our hands as Witnesses of truth of the same Writing: withall I sent aduice to Master Femeil,

A ship of *Diu*.

now

The rest of our
men for ar-
boret.

The Pinnasse
refused.

M. Fennell dyed.

June 1. 1611.

Exceeding heat
in the Red Sea.

how he should interpret it unto them. I delivered him the Writing he desired, but (where I would not, saying, my word should be truer than a *Turkey* oath at all times. Altho' hee went, leaving some of the better sort of his Company for Pledges, whom he had hang if he brought me not all my Company aboard that night: coming altho' he handled the matter so, that a little before might he returned with Master Fennell, John Williams, Christopher Cunningham, Water Woodward, John Clarke, Henry Bauldin, Edmund Glover, Tobie Birch, Alexander James, and Merceline Long. Three of them were vnto, to wit, Master Fennell, John Williams, and Cunningham, with paltry Vells of little worth. Another was sent to mee, which they said came from the *Batha*, the *Nobuda* would have put it upon my backe, desiring mee to wear it as a fauor lent me from the *Batha*: I refused it, telling him, I scorned to wear any thing that should come from so vnconscionable a Dogge and my Enemy, by whose order I had receiued so much wrong, hee being I would not take it, left it with my man, and so departed, carrying with him the *Turke* taken in the *Darling*, which had remained aboard the *Sheriffe*, till that present: hee promised to returne in the morning with our Pinnasse.

The Ieuen and twentieth, according to promise the *Nobuda* came aboard and brought my Pinnasse, and demanded of me if all he had promised were performed. I told him no, for that I had not all my company, they keeping from me the Boy at *Tages*, which they had forced to turne *Turke*, and him would I have before I would release the ships: he told me he would tell the *Agas*, and returne me his answer, and so departed. This morning early I called a Councell, wherein I propounded whether I should release the ships according to promise, or detainee them till restitution were made. Me it was concluded that I should release all the ships which were of *India*, and our friends; and let our hopes vpon the ship that was to come from *Suez*. Likewise I demanded what course were best to take for recovery of the youth at *Tages*: by some it was thought bootlesse to demand him, but to hope of taking some Prisoners of worth, which might procure his libertie. I was of a contrarie opinion, and thought it fittest to demand him, now when we should have many to sollicit for him, rather then depend vpon hopes of taking of Prisoners, which we might faile of, and so it was concluded to demand the Boy presently, and no speech at all to be made of our goods restoring.

The eight and twentieth, there was a Writing sent me from the *Agas*, wherein he, *Nobuda Mahomet*, and *Shermal Shebender* bound themselves ships and goods, that I should have within twelve dayes the Boy from *Tages*, so that I would release the ships; I gaue them leave to vnde the ship of *Diu*, and goe and come to the other ships at their pleasure. This night Master Fennell dyed of a *Caldenura*, or rather poysoned by the *Turkes*, as the opinions of our Chirurgeons are.

The first of Iune, were discharged out of the ship, three Boats lading of Cotton. This evening we had a gull with much wind, which came from the shore, which brake our Land Cable. The wind was so hot we could hardly indure it. I was faine to fyre to my Cabbin, not being able to heate to day aloft. I writ a Letter to the *Batha* in *Italian* for restitution of my goods, and satisfaction for damages; I was answered afterwards, the Letter was not understood for lacke of an Interpreter. I againe imbarqued the ship of *Diu*, and would not permit them to vnde any more goods out of her, till the *Batha* had fastished me to the value of seuentie thousand Rials of eight, which I had lost and was damaged by him: I considered with my selfe, that this was the surest way to attayne to somewhat in lieu of our losse, and not to relye vpon the taking of the ship of *Suez*, which the *Turkes* might easily prevent me of, by giuing aduice to my Land.

The second, came *Ally Haskins*, my Interpreter at *Zenan*, aboard, and brought mee commendations from the *Batha*, saying, he was forrie I was gone after that fort away, for he was minded to send me away better content, and that he had prepared a rich Vell to be sent me and a Horse: and likewise the *Cayba* had him commended heartily, and desired mee not to take any violent courses here, but to seeke for Iustice at *Stambola*, for if I did any thing which might be displeasing to the *Batha*, it would cost him his head, that was the chiefe cause of my sending backe to *Mohib*; and told me he had brought the *Englysh* youth with him from *Tages*, by order from the *Batha*, which the next day he said should be sent aboard, conditionally I would permit the ship of *Diu*, and the rest to discharge. I answered him I would in no wise release the ships, till I had restitution or satisfaction for my goods and damages to the value above-said.

The third, the *Agas* desired peace for twelve dayes till the *Batha* had knowledge of my demands. The next day *Ally Haskins*, *Tucorjee* a *Bannian*, and others came aboard, and withall desired I would draw out the particulars of my loss: that they might consider thereof altho'. I fulfilled their desire, and by writing set downe my losse and lincurrences to bee leuanted; thousand Rials of eight, and withall sending the *Agas* word, whereas at first I was receiued by him, and came aland at his intreatie, and vpon his word a promise of kind entertainment and free and peaceable Trade, he like a treacherous Dogge, without any cause or offence giuen, had cruelly slaine diuers of my people, and villanously imprisoned my selfe and others, and robbed and spoiled all he could seafe vpon to the value of seuentie thousand *Pessers*, besides great charges and

L. 11.

losse of time, if therefore he did not presently make mee restitution or satisfaction for the same, I would I doe my best to batter the Towne about his eares, take all the goods out of the *Diu* ship into mine owne, and burne all the ships in the Roade, and not depart thence till I were sufficiently reuenged, all which I could doe without breach of promise, the time of Truce being out, and they not hauing performed Couenants with me.

This day being the sixth, the *Agas* sent mee a peremptory answer, demanding who gaue mee leave to come into those Seas, saying, sixth I came without leave I was iustly dealt withall; and touching the goods, and whatsoeuer else, he had done nothing but what he had order from the *Batha*, who himselfe roll me to much: and if I were not pleased with what was said, the theft way were to referre it to the hearing of our Betters at *Stambola*. And if I shot at the Towne, he would thence againe at my ships; and for the ships and goods in the Road they were none of his, but if I did either hurt the Towne or ships in the Road, it would not be pleasing to the *Sultan*, who would be sure to be recompensed for any harme I should doe them. To which I answered, to come into this Sea, I needed no leave but Gods and my Kings, but for my coming ashore, the *Agas* had not only giuen mee leave, but much intreated mee. And for my goods I knew nothing I ought the *Batha*, neither was I his Factor, neither had I at any time receiued anything of his or any the least custodie, neither had I done him or his any wrong, and therefore no way his Debtor wherby he might challenge any of those goods which by his order I was robbed of; wherfore I must and would be paid for them, not at *Stambola* (where neither the *Batha* and *Agas* durst shew their faces to answer such shamefull wrongs, which he had sildly charged the *Sultan* to haue commanded them to doe) but euen there where I had beene wronged, would I be righted: and if they found themselves agrieved, they might goe to the Court of *England* to seeke their remedie: for to *Stambola* I minded not to goe.

The eight, I sent Master Pemberton to *Affick* to buy fresh victuals, we hauing very many men sick in our ships: I was afraid to haue my promise from *Mohib*, doubting poysoning, which by friends I was warned to take heed of.

The nineteenth, came aboard *Shermal Shebender*, *Ally Tucorjee*, and many others of the chiefe of the *Bannians*, to make agreement with me, and brought with them Master Pemberton youth decently apparelled in new clothes after the Christian fashion, which the *Sabander* bestowed vpon him. After some kind gratuulations passed on either side, the *Sabander* began to tell me, that he had alwayes loied and fauoured me and my people, and was alwayes ready to doe me what kinnesse he was able, and for the injuries done mee by the *Turkes*, it did as much grieve him as if it had beene done to his owne people, and for the losse and pitting of me in my miseries, he was like to pay at too deere a rate, without I would now shew my selfe fauorable vnto him, for that the *Batha* had enuoyed him to giue me satisfaction, or had sent order to cut his throat, and seafe vpon his goods: and thus he protested was not fained, but the veritie I answered, it was the *Turkes* that had robbed me, and done me many injuries, and from them would I looke for satisfaction, and not from any other: he would me to leave those talks, and come to my demands. I told him he knew what I demanded, for that I had sent it ashore in the *Arabick* Tongue in writing; he said, if my demands were answerable to that Writing it were but labor lost to haue further conference thereabouts. We spent most part of the day in beating the prizes of our lost Commodities: and in conclusion, with much adoe, we came to agreement that all the Lead and Iron should be surrendered, and eighteen thousand Rials of eight in money, within fifteen dayes for satisfaction of all our goods and losses sustayned, and thereupon a peace concluded betweene vs and them for two years, from the Port of *Mohib* to *Cannauer*, vpon the Coast of *India*, conditionally, that the *Batha* gaue mee a Writing vnder his hand and Seale, for confirmation of this peace betweene our Nation and theirs, for the time before specified. In this month, and about this time beganne a generall and most grieuous sickness in our ships, few or none escaping, it beganne with a great paine in the head and stomacke, bereauing them of sleepe: the best remedie for it was vomiting and bleeding, but some were taken with Feuers withall, who were long before they recovered their healths: the rest that escaped the Feur quickly recovered, and God be praised, few died thereof.

And the second of Iuly, we receiued the last payment, the *Sabander* being there himselfe, I duly cleared all reckonings with him, as well for money borrowed of him whiles I was Prisoner, as for money disbursed afterwards by him. He demanded of me the money I promised the *Bathas Cayba*, which was a thousand *Venetian* : which I would in no wise pay, although hee much urged me with my word and promise, and that he should be forced to pay, for that he had paid his word for the same. I told him the *Cayba* had not performed what hee promised mee, in setting me and my people at libertie. How the *Cayba* and he will agree, I know not, but I doubt the *Cayba* will constrain him to pay it. Drawing towards night, the *Sabander* and the rest tooke their leave of me to goe a land: and for his farewell, I caused three Peeces of Ordnance to be discharged.

The thir, I came againe *Tucorjee* and *Ally*, and bought some Vermillion of mee, for which I gaue them credit: they promising to come ouer to the other side within fourteen dayes, and

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About my demands and the *Agas* allegations and answers, mentioned, and interrupted betweene vs day by day, and at last I granted Truce for twelue dayes, which time hee committed his Master of my demands.

Peace of poysoning by the *Turkes*.

Great sickness.

Affab.

The Turkes
practice to
poyson the
Wells of Affab.
A Letter from
the K. of Affab.

make me payment, also to bring me some provisions of Graine, as I had given them order to buy me at *Moba*, and a Writing from the *Basha* for confirmation of peace concluded. In the afternoon we warped out of the Road, and that night set sail toward *Affab*, but could not get thither till the fit day in the morning.

The sixth, I went a-land and cauled all the Wells to be emptied and clenfed for feare of poysoning, for it was often told mee at *Moba*, the *Turkes* practised with the people of *Affab*, to poyson the Wells. From this day till the thirteenth day we spent in watering and buying refreshing, not any thing in that time happening worth writing.

The thirteenth, the King of this Countrey hearing of my escape at *Moba*, and my arrivall in his Countrey, sent three of his chiefe Serantes, being attended with thirtie Soldiers, with a Letter, and a present of refreshing to me. The effect of his Letter was to bid me welcome into his Countrey, with offer of any thing I stood in need of, and that his Countrey did afford; as also not a little rejoycing of my escape from my Enemies, with many other Compliments. I feasted and rewarded the Messengers, and returned them with a Present to the King their Master: which was a Vest of broad-cloth, and a faire looking Glasse.

The seuenteenth, came *Affab* from *Moba*, wherein was *Tocorie* the *Sabanders* man, and another *Bonnie*. They brought with them diuers provisions, which I left order with them to provide me, as also the money they ought me, but the Writing from the *Basha*, for confirmation of peace on his behalfe they could not get, but made excuse the *Basha* was so busie in the Warres, he could not intend it, so that it was manifest he intended to keepe no quarter with our Nation.

The foure & twentieth, we all set saile out of *Affab* Road, to put that in practice which long before I had determined, which was to ply to wind-ward as high as *Camaran*, & there to abide the coming of a great ship, which yearly cometh about this time richly laden from *Sue* to *Moba*: hoping to be sufficiently reingaged for all my lories and discharges offered mee by the *Turkes*: and the rather did I desire to meete with her, for that I understood the Traytor *Ish* *Basha*, and his Disciple *Regib-Aga*, had great adventures in her. From this day till the last of this month, we plyed it to wind-ward, the wind still opposit to vs, we sayled by day, and commonly anchored by night: we past many and sundry dangers for lacke of a Pilot, and many times were like to haue come a-ground, to the hazard and losse of all, had not God preferred vs. And yet the escaped vs in the night, as we found in our returne.

§ V.

Their departure from Surat, and what happened there with the Cambayans and Portugals.

August, 1611.
They returne
for India.
The Westerne
channell of *Bab-mandel*, three
leagues broad.
The difference
of the
Turkes and
Indians.

A greater current
rising
South-west
Westely.

Monte de Falcis.

The Road of
Basilian Sea-
course.

He ninth of August, 1611. in the morning we set saile, and in the evening about eight of the docke we anchored three leagues short of the *Bab-mandel*. The tenth, the *Darling* and *Reliefe* appointed to goe out at the Westerne channell, which they found to be three leagues ouer, from the Mayne of *Bab-mandel* to the Iland *Bab-mandel*; one third of way ouer from the Iland they had no ground at forty fathoms, the channell cleere without dangers, & no more all the *Turkes* & *Indians* reported, to be full of shoals and Rocks, and nonnavigable for shipping. This their false report was to make vs beleue there was no other passage in and out of that Sea, but at the Easter channell, which may be so fortified that no shipping can passe that way, but shall be in danger of their Ordnance, for it is not passing one mile & halfe ouer between the *Arabian* shore, and the Ile, and upon the Mayn lyeth shoals a good distance offwise in the *Increase* and *Pepper-Corne* passed out at the narrow channell where we came in. About foure a clock in the afternoon we all met without the fraights, and were in nineteene fathome, being foure miles from the *Arabian* shore, we steered all this night our course alongst the Land.

From the twelfth day, till the leuen and twentieth, much wind with calmes and contrarie winds with a great current, letting South-west about foure miles an houre: for looke in all this time what we got when we had a favourable gale, we lost that and more when it fell calme, being carried backe by the current.

The leuen and twentieth, we had a gale of wind to carrie vs off. Wee had sight of Mount *Falcis* a head-land to the West-ward of Cape *Guadafui*, at fixe a clocke this night. This hill bore South halfe West: about ten at night it fell calme with a great Sea, out of the South-west. At mid-night came vs a gale at South South-east, and South, finding still as we failed, this great Sea which was a manifest signe wee brought our selues open of Cape *Guadafui*: for so long as the land was in the wind of vs we felt none of this Sea.

The thirtieth, we plyed into the Road of *Delphis*, and about noone came to an Anchor in the Road, we found there riding a great ship of *Dm*, and two small ships, one of *Nagema*, the other the Kings both ships of *India*, both bound for the Red Sea, taken short with the *Monfon*. The Captaine of the ship of *Dm* came aboard mee with diuers others, who certified mee our people at *Surat* were well, and very well intreated, and were daily expecting shipping from *England*: and that Captaine *Hawkins* was at Court with the King, where hee

was made a great Lord, and had great allowance from the King by the yeare. And for Captaine *Shawpeth*, the King had given him money to build a ship, which then was almost ready at *Surat* to be launched, this and many other things he told me, which I doubted were too good to be true.

The *Monfon* was farre spent, and therefore I desired the *Nobels* of *Dm*, to helpe mee with his Boates and people to ballast and water, which hee with the others most willingly granted, proffering me all the water in their ship; so willing were they to haue mee gone from them. I had all the water out of his ship, and employed his people to fetch some from the shore.

I was often in hand with the King to tell mee his *Allies*: I could not of long time bring him to take reason for it. In the end, with much ado, I bargained with him for all, paying dearer for it, then Captaine *Keeling* did for his. I thinke the *Indians* were in hand with him for it, and that was the cause he held it to deare. I left Letters with the King, which hee promised to deliver to the first English ship that should come there.

The third of September, having hailed my businesse, I made haste to bee gone: I had with much ado a simple fellow out of the ship of *Dm*, to pilot me vpon the Coast of *India*, who took vpon him to be a good Coaster, in the afternoon about two a clocke wee weighed Anchor and plyed out of the Road.

The fix and twentieth, betwene nine and ten of clocke wee weighed, having a gale of wind, which brought vs into the Road of *Surat*. Wee ride by the three *Indian* ships in leuen fathom. A mile from vs, ridde fouen saile of *Portugall* Frigates or men of Warre: there were thirteene more of them which were within the River of *Surat*; the *Portugall* long before our coming thither, had intelligence that we were in the Red Sea, and bound for this place, so that these Frigates were purposely sent to keepe vs from Trade at *Surat*, or elio-where, vpon that Coast. The Captaine Maier of them is called *Don Francisco de Soto Maier*, is intitled Captaine Maier of the North, he respecth great benefit to himselfe by giuing *Carris* or *Passports* to all ships and Frigates, which trade vpon that Coast. Any ship or Frigate which hath not the lame *Pass*, are confiscate or lost. This night I discharged my Pilots, paying them well for their paines: I sent by them Letters to such of our people as they should find at *Surat*, for I could not learne how many (or who they were) that were there resident.

The nine and twentieth, there came a small *Portugall* Frigate from the Admirall of the *Armada*, (as they terme them) wherein was one *Portugall* and his Boy, who brought mee answer of my Letter sent the day before from the Captaine Maier, wherein hee vied foue compliments, certifying me that he was glad to heare I belonged to a King a Friend, and that he and his would be ready to doe mee service in any thing hee might, promised I brought a Letter or Order from the King of *Spain*, or the Vice-Roy, for my trading in these parts, which if I could shew him, he would willingly obey: if otherwise, he must giue the Port he had in charge, where the King his Master had his Factorie. I returned answer by word of mouth by the same *Portugall*, that I had neyther Letter from the King of *Spain* or Vice-Roy, neyther had I need thereof, for that I was sent by the Kings Maistie of *England*, with Letters and rich Presents to the Great *Mogoll*, and to establish the Trade begonne in thole parts: and for the Factorie they had there, I came not to harme the same, but that they might continue in the same estate they were: and for our Factorie or Trade, I see no reason why the *Portugall* should oppose themselves against vs, for that it was a free Countrey for all Nations, and the Great *Mogoll* not his people any way in Vassalage to the *Portugall*. And therefore would I tell his Captaine, he should in friendly manner permit thole English which were at *Surat* to come aboard, and contere with me concerning our Affaires, and that he would not vrge me to vse force, for by the one meanes or the other, I must and would haue them: many other speeches past which were here too tedious to write, I bestowed a Vest of broad-cloth vpon the Messenger, and so dispatched him away, hee promising the next day to returne.

We seeing it was not possible without Pilot to goe ouer the Barre, set saile from the Barre foot (where I had bene to discouer in the *Darling*) and in the evening came to an anchor in the Road. I went aboard the *Acresce*, where I found Letters from the shoare: they came from *Surat* from *Nicholas Bangham*, formerly a Ioyner in the *Hector*, wherein I was certified that wee had no Factorie there, and that he was sent from Captaine *Hambins* from *Agra*, to recover some Debts that were owing there, and likewise hee had Letters from Captaine *Hambins*, but durst not send them aboard, lest they should be intercepted by the *Portugall*. What was become of the Factors and goods he mentioned not: I wrote to him, to send mee thole Letters and other particulars concerning our businesse.

The third of October, *Hia Nassan* the Gouverneur of *Surat*, and the Gouvernours brother of *Cambaya*, sent a *Mogoll* vnto mee with a present of refreshing, and in their names offered to doe me all the kindeste they could, but the *Portugall*, hee said, were the cause they could not doe what they would, but for their part they desired to trade with vs, which they see no way possible to effect, so long as we should ride there, and the *Portugall Armado* by vs, and therefore they would counsell me to goe for *Goga*, a better place, where wee should ride nearer the shore with our ships, where the *Armado* could not hinder our landing; and likewise it was nearer *Cambaya*.

Sepe 1611.
Twente
twelve
at wh.
Sun.

Answer from
the
Portugals.

Nicholas Bang-
ham sent from
the shoare.

Hia Nassan
Governor of
Surat.

where there were more Merchants, and greater and better store of merchandize for our times: having to this effect delivered his message, he was desirous to know what I determined to doe, whether I would stay here, or goe thither: I answered, as yet I had received no answer from the shore, save a letter of small import, and till I knew what was become of our country-men and goods formerly left in the Country, I could not resolve him; and therefore I desired him to be a means, that some one of our people might come aboard to conferre with me, and Pikes to conduct vs thither, and then would I quickly resolve them what I would doe: in the meane while I could say nothing, I gave him and his Interpreter a small reward, and dismissed them.

Abstract of
the
Journal
of
the
Portugals
in
the
Bay
of
Sourabaya
1611.

A letter of Will
iam Fitch to
the
Portugals
1611.

The first, a *Bramsey*, or Priest of the *Bannians*, which came with the *Mogoll* for an Interpreter, came in a Boate of the Towne with a letter from *Nicholas Bangham*, and Captaine *Hassius* relating the manner of his favouring and dis-favouring by the Great *Mogoll*, his ticklenesse in granting vs Trade, and afterward disallowing the same, giving the *Portugals* *Firmas* against vs, contradicting thereby what formerly he had granted to vs and our Nation. By the same Messenger came two letters of a latter date from *William Fitch*, from *Labor*, the one to the Commanders of any *English* shipping arriving at *Surat*, the other to the Company in *England*, relating his proceedings, and intent to goe home over Land, the vncoufiance of the King and people of the Country, the practice of the *Portugals*, and many other circumstances, advising me in any wise not to land any goods, nor hope for Trade in those parts: for that the people were all fickle and vncoufiant like the King, and durst not offend the *Portugals*. I having perused these letters, grew hopelesse of any Trade in that place, yet resolved to trie the yettmost what might be done before I would depart: I vnderstood by *Nicholas Bangham's* letters, that Captaine *Shorridge*, *Iohn Iordayne* and others, were coming from *Cambaya* to *Surat*, to goe along with me; and although I could haue no Trade, yet would I endeavour my selfe in all I might to get them all aboard, and not leave them behind me. The *Indian* shippes which rid by me had given order their Voyage to the Southward; for that the Monsoon for the Southward was past. The *Bramsey* desired my leave that they might carry their ships into the River, which in no wise I would grant, willing him to tell the *Gouernour* and the rest of the Owners, that their ships should not depart thence, till I had all the *Englishmen* at *Cambaya* and *Surat* aboard of me; if I had permitted them to haue gone, I should haue frustrated my selfe either landing too, or hearing from our people ashore: The *Portugals* intercepting both letters and men as much as they could.

The two and twentieth, the *Portugals* had laid their ambush to cut off some of my men sent on shore: which when they saw their best time of advantage brake out, and came in great heapes, confusedly running toward our men and boats; they discharged their shot at vs, and we answered them againe with ours, both from those my men a shore, and also from my Frigate, which rid close to the Land, all my men retired in safetie to my boats and Frigate, and the *Portugals* after some hurt received, returned behind the hills out of shot, and so in worse case then they came, went backe to their Frigates. There were of them seuen *Enigues*, and might be in number about three hundred men; at this instant when they came vpon vs by Land, five of their greatest Frigates which rid a little way off to the Northward, came running vpon vs, and shot at vs, being nothing neare within shot. We went with our Frigate and boats aboard our ships to dinner, little hoping of any news, as at that day, from our people ashore: the *Portugals* Frigates rowed to the Northward, and anchored where they list before: I advised with Captaine *Downum*, Master *Iordayne* and others, what course were best to take, and it was thought fit to abide no longer there, but to returne to the roade of *Surat*, where rid the *Increase*, and there to determine what we had best to doe.

Nouemb. 8.
1611.
An hundred
sailes of Portu-
gall Frigates.

The eight of Nouember, *Nicholas Bangham* came from *Surat*, and brought with him some refreshing, which with himselfe were very welcome: the newes held of the coming of *Mockryb Can*. The Vice-royes sonne came into the River with an hundred saile of Frigates, the greatest I could see this night our ships which rid within to come off and anchor by me, lest the enemies, whose strength I knew not, might attempt ought against them.

The ninth, The ships riding without the Sand, *Hoia Nassan* came downe to the Sea-side: I went to him with my Frigate and boats, and had conference with him; he promised mee (not to faile) two dayes or three at the furthest, he would returne and bring goods with him to Trade with me; I told him I had beene here a great while, and he could get no refreshing of victuals for my money, and therefore desired him to give order the companye people might bring me some, which he promised to doe, and vpon the same tooke his leave and departed.

The eighteenth, I received a letter from *Nicholas Bangham*, wherein he wrote that there was little or no hope of trade to be expected.

This last letter of *Nicholas Bangham*, together with the breach of promise of *Hoia Nassan*, brought me out of hope of Trade, thinking all their former promises to be nothing but inuentions to delude and weary me, and in the end to turne me going without Trade, which they durst

not let me haue for feare of offending the *Portugals*, and yet loath to offend mee with absolute deniall. These things considered, I determined to be gone, and therefore had often writ to *Nicholas Bangham* to come away, but *Hoia Nassan* would not permit him: he fearing he could not get leave to come, he stole secretly out of Towne, and as this day arrived here. Anone after *Hoia Nassan* misting him (as it seemeth) and doubting at his coming that being hopelesse of Trade I would be gone, sent *Jaddan* the Broker presently after him with a letter from him selfe, and another from *Mockryb Can*, promising speedily to come both vnto me. To which in regard of his former promise breach, I could hardly give credit, yet I refused to spend some few dayes more to see the event thereof. The *Portugals* lying all in the River, not daring to come nigh vs by Sea, thought to entrappe vs by Land, and therefore a great number of them ambushed themselves behind a row of land hills, not farre from our landing place, where they kept close, but God be thanked they failed of their expectation, all our people without hurt recovering the boate. In the meane season they in the ships were not idle, but let flye apace at them, both with great shot and small: the *Portugals* thinking to find vs vnprepared to bid them thus welcome, presently betooke them to their heeles, and fled behind the hills, where they lay lurking a while, not daring to shew their heads: they left one lying vpon the Strand being mortally wounded in the head, which our people brought aboard.

The foure and twentieth being Sunday, *Jaddan* the Broker came aboard, and brought me word *Mockryb Can* was coming, and would be with me before night. After dinner I went to the shore side with my Frigate, where I found *Hoia Nassan*, who sent me word *Mockryb Can* was coming, and would be presently there. I returned aboard and made choyce of a good Present to give him; which being effected being well accompanied, I went directly a land, where I found *Mockryb Can*, *Hoia Nassan*, with great troupes of men abiding my coming: at our meeting we embraced each other; or our ships at the same time discharging some Ordinance to bid him welcome, which he seemed to take kindly. After I had delivered him a good Present, we fate downe vpon our Carpets spread vpon the ground, where passed some conference betwene vs: being near Sun-set, I entreated him he would be pleased to go aboard my ship, and there take his lodging for that night, which he presently granted, carrying with him his owne sonne, *Hoia Nassan* sonne, and diuers others his chiefe Followers, but *Hoia Nassan* would not goe: it pleased mee well to see him to confident, and made mee conceiue better hopes then before, he having all this part of the Country vnder his command. I gave him the best entertainment I could, letting before him fitch Cates as vpon such a sudden I could procure, which he and those with him fel roundly to. After they had done eating, I delivered him our King's Maiesties Letter directed to him, and told him the effect thereof. He seemed to be very much pleased that his Maieftie would vouchsafe to write vnto him, and promised me to doe vs all the good he could, not only for our present Trade, but also to give vs any place or harbour I would appoint or name, where wee might fortifie our selues, if we so pleased. In fine, I not demanded any thing, but I found him as ready to grant, as I was to aske: growing late, I left him to his rest and departed.

The fies and twentieth in the morning, *Mockryb Can* bowed himselfe in buying of Knives, Glasses, or any other toys he found amongst my Company: I went with him and shewed him the ship aloft and below: any thing he liked belonging to the ship, he carried with him away gratis, besides many toys of my Companys, which he liked, I bought and gave him, endeavouring in all things I might to give him content: after he had beene fore and after, he returned to my Cabin, where he would needs see all my Chefts, Trunkes, and Lockers opened and searched. Whatsoeuer he saw there of mine that he took liking to, I gave him for nothing. By this time victuals being ready, he went to dinner, which being done, he was desirous to be gone to see the other ships, and there behaued himselfe in like sort.

The thirtieth and one and thirtieth, I sent Master *Fowler*, *Iohn Iordayne*, and other our Merchants to see the goods: they returned and brought Mustrels and the prices we set downe what we would give for each sort, desiring them to doe like by ours, that so we might come to agreement for both: they held me off with delays, posting me off from day to day, but concluding nothing, they would neither offer for our commodities, nor abate in theirs. And whereas I had told *Mockryb Can* all our Sword-blades the cheaper, because he should take the one with the other, they had chosen out the best of them, and returned me backe the worst, being the better halfe, and no speech when we should be paid for them: which done, they removed their goods to be gone for *Surat*. And vpon the same made Proclamation vpon great penalties, that no victuall or other thing should be brought vs; leaving me without cause thus abused.

The eighth of December in the morning, came *Mockryb Can* with all his crew vpon the strand, and about foure fortie packs of their goods: I came a land with a good guard of shot and halberds: I went to him to his tent, where after friendly salutation and complements past, wee fell to treat of businesse: and agreed for prices of all our Lead, Quick-silver, and Vermilion, and for their goods likewise in lieu thereof. It is to be noted, that all these goods did not belong to these two great men, but also to the *Shahbander*, and diuers other Merchants; yet for the most part, the businesse were carried sily by *Hoia Nassan*, no mandaring either to buy or sell with vs,

The entrance
of Mockryb Can,
Gouernour of
Cambaya, and
Sir Henry Middle-
ton.

The departure
of the Galle-
ras.

Decemb. 8.
1611.

without his preuention and leaue, by that meanes aduancing the prices of their goods, and abasing ours, to their great aduantage, and our great hindrance and losse.

Mozgills letter.

The ninth in the morning, we began to land our Lead, and to receive some of their goods: as also to be in good forwardness to make price for the rest, when a Letter came to *Mozgill Can* from his King, which dashed all his mirth and our proceedings for that present. Hee was very pleasant before he received and perused it; for afterwards became very fad: hee late a good pretie while muling, and vpon a sudden riseth vp, & so goeth his way, without once looking towards, or speaking to me, I being seated hard by him. Before hee took this way, he better be thought himselfe, and sent for me: when I came to him, he embraced me, telling me hee was my Brother, praying me to excuse this his sudden departure, for that he had earnest businesse, and must be gone; but he would leaue *Hoa Naffan* with me, to receive and deliuer those goods already bargained for, and to bargain with me for more: shortly after, we heard he was put out of his government of *Cambaya*, *Hoa Naffan* being lately put out of his government of *Surat* (and others put in their places); his afterward we iudged to be the effect of the Kings letter, and the cause of his discontent. *Mozgill Can* being of late Gouverneur of *Cambaya*, and all the Sea-coast thereabouts, hath now nothing left him in this Country, but the place of the Customer of *Surat*.

The tenth, the new Gouverneur of *Surat*, and *Affan Ally* came aboard the *Pepper-corne* to mee to see the ships. After they had been there a while, we went to the *Trades-increase*, the Factors being a shore to see the weight of the Lead, which with no little trouble was neere-hand all landed, and embarked ready to be sent ashore: they intreated *Hoa Naffan* that he would be pleased to goe in hand therewith, for that it would aske a great time in doing: the Factors would haue weighed with our *Englyb* weights, which he would in no wise agree vnto: the Weigher of *Surat* was there with the weights of the Towne, and with that weight would hee haue it weighed. In the end, seeing no other remedie, they gaue him way, and began to weigh with the country beame. After some fewe drafts, they desired they might vnderstand the beame before they proceeded any further, to know whether the Weigher told them the truth what it weighed: for he knowing it, and they not, he might giue them what weight he list: likewise they made trall of those they had weighed by his Beame, by ours, and found very great difference, in five Piggis tenne or eleuen Maunds, each maund being three and thirte pound *Englyb* weight. Hee feeling he might not haue the Lead at what weight he list, began to caull, saying, he would haue halfe money, halfe goods for his commodities, otherwise we should not haue them, rayling and using like a mad-man, calling for the Carmen to drawe away the goods, saying, he would none of our Lead, nor other goods, but instantly be gone: I being aboard the *Increase* with the Gouverneur and *Sabander*, the Factors which were a shore sent one aboard a purpose to aduise me of their proceedings, and how that *Hoa Naffan* was causing the Carmen to yoke their Oxen, to draw away all the goods they had brought, and if I did not take some speedie course for preventing the same, he would goe from his bargain, and returne all our goods vpon our hands againe: I thought hee was not enough to doe so, by that little experience I had of him, as also a custome they haue in this Country (and by report in most parts of *India*) that what bargain soeuer is made betweene Merchant and Merchant may be rouled, so it be done within the compasse of twentie foure houres, yea although he haue giuen earnest, and carried away the goods bought, yet hee may returne them, and haue backe his earnest. I vnderstood this bad custome before I landed any of my Lead, and doubting to haue such a tricke put vpon me, I did purposely send vnto *Hoa Naffan*, *Iohn Fowler* and others, to know whether he would stand to his bargain, before I landed any Lead, which would put vs to much trouble to land it, and therefore I would be at a certaintie with him, he before many witnesses, promised them to take it all, and be as good as his word, and that with all speed they should land it. And now comming to the point of performance, hee flies from all he had formerly promised: I aduised with such as were about me what we had best doe, and it was thought the surest way, to keepe those men which were aboard me for pledges, till they had performed with vs, and if we could get *Hoa Naffan* into our possession, to keepe him, and see that those whereupon I detained the Gouverneur and *Sabander*, telling them how *Hoa Naffan* had dealt with me, going about to delude me as formerly, and therefore there was no other remedie, but to keepe them for pledges for performance of the bargain. The Gouverneur a good Present, I let him depart, keeping *Hoa Naffan* and the *Sabander* for pledges about the *Pepper-corne*.

Rude custome in buying.

Hoa Naffan & the Sabander kept aboard as pledges.

The nineteenth, *Hoa Affan Ally* the Vice-roy from Goa, one of them directed to himselfe, the other to the Captaine Maior was of *Diu* I opened and perused them both. The effect of the letter to the Captaine Maior was, that he had received his letter, whereby hee vnderstood the especiall good seruice done against the *Englyb*, in putting the *Englyb* Captaine and his people to swim to his Boates for their lifes, otherwise he had taken them prisoners or line them: for the which he highly commended him, hauing done the part of a valiant Captaine, and worthily soldours: which good seruice done to his King and Country, would redound to his great honour: for the which hee gaue him as many thanks, as if hee had taken the *Englyb* Captaine prisoner: and partly

partly to gratifie him, he bestowed those Frigates, which hee lately before had taken from the *Maldiers* vpon him, certifying him he had sent his sonne in the Arme, which was young, praying him to assist him with his counsell, whereby he might gaine a great name. Thus was the Vice-Roy and my selfe abused, by the false reports of a lying Braggart. The other letter to the *Sabander*, was to thanke him that he would not permit the *Englyb* Nation to trade at *Surat*, willing him to continue in that mind, and he should doe the King of *Portingal* great seruice, for the which he should not looke for reward. This day came diuers Carats laden with provisions for the ships from *Surat*, bought by *Nicholas Bangam*.

The foure and twentieth, the accounts on both sides were cleared, and businesse finished, the pledges on either part released, they promised vs to deale with vs for the rest of the Commodities: they tarried till the fixe and twentieth day, but did nothing worth noting. The feuen and twentieth, came a *lew* aboard me, which brought me a letter from *Masfipatan*, dated the eighth of September, from one *Peter Floris* a *Danishman*, employed by the Company, shewing his setting out in February, his speedie and safe passage and arriving there in the beginning of September.

The second of January, 1611. I wrote to Captaine *Hawkins*, from whom I had received a letter the eight and twentieth of December: and sent Captaine *Sharpeigh*, *Hugh Frame*, and *Hugh Greer*, to let the minde of Captaine *Hawkins* in some better course, then he seemed to aime at in his last letter to me. As also to buy some Indicoes, and other commodities, if they might be had at reasonable rates.

The fixe and twentieth, Captaine *Hawkins* and Captaine *Sharpeigh* came to the water side: they had left their carriage behind them five miles off: I landed with two hundred armed men, and went to meet them, to safeguard them and their goods from the *Portugals*, which I doubted would doe their best to intercept them: we met them about some three miles off, and brought all in safetie aboard our ships, not seeing any *Portugals*.

The feuen and twentieth, I sent *Iohn Williams* and one of our Factors to *Surat* vpon businesse. This day *Mozgill Can* came to Towne: he had been to meet a great Commander, which was coming from the warres of *Decan*, and was to passe by *Surat*. Before his going out of the Towne, he sent for *M. Iordaine*, and willed him to commend him to me, and to certifie me that he was to goe out of the Towne, but would not tarry out about three dayes, and at his returne he would be as good as his word, for what he had promised concerning our Factory. Now at his returne, he sends for him againe, and with a frowning countenance, contrary to his expectation, demands of him what hee had there, and why were we not all gone: he answered, that hee staied vpon his word and promise that we should haue a Factory, otherwise hee had not beene there: hee said againe, we should haue no Factory there, and that the long staying of our shippes there, had hindered him in his Customes tenne hundred thousand manueys, and therefore in the Kings name charged them to be gone with speed out of the Towne: for neither trader nor Factorie was there to be had for vs. *Iohn Williams* returned this morning, and two carts with provisions came from *Surat*. The nine and twentieth, I sent for the Factors at *Surat* to deale as *Mozgill Can* commanded, to haue and come away, for that I would be gone.

A letter of Peter Floris 18th January, 1611

Capt. Hawkins cometh aboard our ships

§. VI.

His going to Dabul, and thence to the Red Sea, and enforced trade with the Guzerates.

The ninth of February in the morning, being calme, we warped ouer the sand with the *Increase*: he had we not got ouer this tide, we had lost the whole Spring. This road of *Sually* standeth in the latitude of twentie degrees fifty leuen minutes: variation sixteen degrees thirty minutes. The eleuenth in the morning, we set sayle for the road of *Surat*, and anchored there in the afternoon, by a new ship of *Surat* lately launched, and came out of the Ruer, he was bound for the Red Sea. The latitude of this roade is twenty degrees fower two minutes.

The twelfth, we weighed and drove to the South-ward, & anchored two leagues from the road by a ship of *Calicut* bound for *Surat*, out of which ship I tooke a Pilot for *Dabul*. The thirteenth, we weighed & drove down: at noon came a gale Northerly: at the coming of the wind we had feuentene fathome: we halled off West by South, in twelue and fouretene fathome: after fled South West by West till foure a clocke; betweene which time we had from fouretene to twentie fathome: vpon a sudden we came to eight fathome, and then to fixe, being then in my opinion from the ship that rid in the road of *Surat* tenne leagues: then we halled in East, and East by South three quarters of a mile, and found from fixe fathome to twentie againe: then we floored South-west by South, till one a clocke after midnight, being for the most part againe the tide. At that time the water shoaled in two calts from twentie to fiftene fathome, hauing run in nine houres foue leuen leagues and a halfe: then we halled off three houres (being little wind)

February 9. The road of Sually is twenty degs. fifty leuen min. Variation sixteen degs. thirty minutes.

11 we came to twenty fathoms: then we steered South South-west, at which time we let the land, with two hammocks thereon, bearing East South-east some eight leagues off: which we judged to be *Daman*. At six in the evening, we haled in South South-east, the wind North-westerly: it suddenly fell calm, and so continued till past midnight. This morning our latitude nineteen degrees fifteen minutes, having steered all night South by West, and our depths between twelve and fourteen fathoms, five leagues off the shore, in the morning little wind, at noon came a gale; we steered South, the wind West North-west. In the evening being between four and five leagues from the shore, we had thirteen fathoms at Sun-set we judged our felucca thwift of *Chaul*. We steered South all night with a fair gale of wind.

The sixteenth, we steered along the coast South and by East, till six o'clock in the evening, 10 keeping for the most part in ten fathoms or there about, at which time we arrived in the Road of *Dabul*, which standeth in the latitude of seventeen degrees, two and forty minutes, variation sixteen degrees and thirty minutes.

The seventeenth, the Pilot which I had out of the *Malabar*, I sent ashore in a Fish-boat with a letter which I had at my being at *Mocha*, from *Mellick Aboor*, Capitaine or *Nahda* of a great shippe of this place. The letter was to the Gournour, to intreat him to vife me kindly, and to Trade with me. In the afternoon, the Gournour and *Mellick Amber*, each of them sent me a small present of refreshing, and many complements, offering me any thing the Country did afford; and if I pleased to tend ashore, he would deal with me for our commodities: I sent a couple of Merchants ashore with a good Present, who were bid kindly welcome, and well 20 entertained whilst they were there.

The eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth (Boats passing each day between the shippes and shore) were spent about the sale of some goods, the particulars with each dayes businesse, I referre to the account of the Merchants, holding it not fit here to be expressed. By the three and twentieth, we had delivered all our goods we had bargained for, and no hope of further sales in this place; I determined with all speed to be gone from hence.

The four and twentieth, I called a Council to advise what we had best to do: I propounded whether it were better to goe from hence directly for *Prismam*, *Bantam*, &c. or to returne to the Red-sea, there to meete with such *Indian* shippes as should be bound thither, and for that they would not deal with vs at their owne doores, wee having come so farre with commodities fitting their Country, no where else in *India* vendable: I thought we should doe our felices first right, and them no wrong, to caule them better with vs, we to take their *Indicoes* and other goods of theirs, as they were worth, and they to take ours in lieu thereof. All mens opinions were for the Red-sea, for divers reasons. As first, the putting off our *English* goods, and having others in place thereof fitting our Country. Secondly, to take some revenge of the great and vndesirable wrongs and injuries done me by the *Turkey* there. And the third and last, but not the least, to face that ship, men and goods (which by way of *Masulipatan*) we heard was bound for those parts; which we held vnpoffible to escape betraying. These things considered, we concluded to goe backe for the Red-sea: from this day to the seven and twentieth, we spent in getting fresh water aboard: they had bought all my Red-lead, and it was carried ashore and delivered, but afterwards disliking it, they returned it backe. In the evening we saw a ship 40 in the Ofing, two or three *Malabari* which rid by vs, told vs there was a *Portugall* ship of *Cochin* bound for *Chaul*: I sent the *Pepper-corne*, *Darling* and *Frigat* to fetch her in to me.

The eight and twentieth, my men in the *Frigat* had pillaged them, which I tooke from them and returned to their owners: her lading was Coco-nuts, having little else in her. This day we spent in romaging the *Portugall* ship, I could find no bills of lading in her; some small matter I tooke from her, in regard of former injuries offered me by the Capitaine *Maier Don Francisco de Soto maior* at the barre of *Surat*, as namely, taking my goods, and hindring my Trade. In that I sustained no further harme by them, it was not for lack of good will, but lacke of means, as manifestly appeared by letters of the Vice-roy and others, which came to my hands by chance; 50 what I had from them, I have vnder the hands of the chiefe men in her.

The four and twentieth of March we had fight of the land *Zanzibar*, and at four in the afternoon, the point of *Dellagha* bore South South-west six leagues off, variation nineteen degrees. From the four and twentieth at noon till this day at noon, we steered North-west and by West, and West North-west, and West all night, thinking by day-light to have beene neare the Westermoff part of the land; but contrary to our expectation, we found wee had beene neare little a head, having had a fair gale, which threwes we have had a great current against vs. From noon till four in the next morning, we steered along the land with little wind, and when it fell calm, the current carrying vs directly upon a rocke, which lyeth four or five leagues from the western part of *Lococara*: we were forced to anchor till we had a gale to carry vs 60 it; about two houres after came the wind Easterly, we weighed and stood to the Westward, and at noon we were four leagues from the Rocks, here we found a current setting to the Northward.

The seven and twentieth, we steered West South-west, we met with a great current setting to the

Daman.

Chaul.

He arriveth at Dabul, and there bath Trade.

A Portugall shippe taken.

March 24. Zanzibar. Anno 1613.

Currents.

the Northward; in the morning we were thwart of *Alba del Coria*, and before night had fight of *Cape Gueda* fur, being some seven leagues off: from yester day none till this day night, our course West South-west, we might go in that time eight and twenty leagues our true way West litle Southerly: we stood in till midnight, and then haled clove of a wind to the Southward, and I spent the night till day.

The eight and twentieth, by eight of the clock we were faire by the shore, mid-way between the two Capes of *Guardafui* & *Felous*.

The second of April, Master *Pemberton* came aboard of me, and told mee that he had been at *Socaccara*, and the King shewed him a writing left there by Capitaine *Iohn Saris* (who was Generall of three shippes) wherein he related what time he came out of *England*, his places of retrenching by the way, and his arrivall there; as also his proceeding to the Red-sea to keepe Trade; specifying likewise that he had perused a writing left there by mee, wherein were alleged many reasons to dissuade him from going thither; yet having the *Gran Signior* Paffe, he hoped of better entertainment then I had. Hearing this v unexpected newes, I called a Councell to advise what we had best doe; whereabout we spent but small time, for that we were quickly resolved to proceed as formerly we had determined, having now no other way fit: for backe we could not returne till the Westerly wind were come, which could not be before midde May. Whereupon I presently dispeided Capitaine *Nicholas Downton*, and left him in the *Pepper-corne* to carrie there abouts till the fifth of this month, for the keeping of the Port of *Aden*. And I with the 20 *Trades-Increase* and *Darling* to keepe the two-fold entrance of *Babbe mandell*. We steered from thence with the head of *Aden*, being about seven leagues off: about four in the evening we were thwart of *Aden*: this evening variation thirteen degrees and forty minutes latitude of *Aden*, twelve degrees and forty seven minutes.

The third, from four o'clock the second day, till this day morning little wind, we steered along the Channell West by North, and West North-west, towards the heat of the day it began to blow, we continued our course as before. About Sun-set we anchored in twenty fathome four leagues short of the *Bab*, where we rid till the next morning.

The fourth, in the morning about eight o'clock we weighed and set saile, and about ten in the forenoone wee anchored within *Bab-mandell* in eight fathome water. Faire by the Channell 30 which wee came in at, is halfe a league out betweene the maine of *Arabia* and the land. Presently at our coming to an anchor, there came a Boat from the shore aboard of me, wherein was a *Turke* and three or four *Arabs* soldiers. This *Turke* was chiefe of the place, sent by the *Agua* of *Mocha* to guard it. He promised that if I would have a letter sent, he would presently dispatch a foot-poste away, who should returne within three dayes with answere; whereupon I wrote a letter to Capitaine *Saris* at *Mocha*, wherein I certified him the cause of my coming, and what I determined to doe.

The sixth, came in a *Saba* of *Zela*, a place without the *Bab*, upon the *Habesh* shore, bound for *Mocha*: her lading was Mats. I bought of her twelve sheepe, and so permitted them to depart. This day much raine.

The seventh, came in a ship of *Babsonor*, in the morning early before day, which I cauled to come to anchor by me, one of Capitaine *Saris* Merchants called *Richard Wickem*, came this morning with Letters from his Capitaine, the effect thereof I omit to write here. I returned him answere thereof, by a *Turke* which came in his company, but *Wickem* I stayed with me, for that I doubted they of *Mocha* would have kept him Prisoner, for that I imbarqued the *India* shippes.

The eight, in the after-noon came a ship of *Din* (bound for *Mocha*) I sent off my *Frigat* to fetch her in, who brought her to an Anchor by me. This was the same ship I detained the last year in *Mocha* Road. This day we romaged these two fore-said shippes, andooke out of them such goods as were for our purpose, which were brought aboard me.

The ninth, came in a small *Frigat* of *Shaher*, laden with course *Olibannum*, we bought some 50 part thereof, and paid them Rials for it to their content: we continued romaging the *India* shippes for more goods. The eleventh, I stayed a small *Bark* of *Sinde*.

Note that ever since our coming into the *Bab* till this twelfth day, the wind kept full upon the South-east quarter; but now at North-west, and likely to blow hard: the last year the same day the wind came vp at North-west, and continued so for three dayes. This course the wind holds every year: the rest of the day, and the next we spent in moring of our ship, as also the *India* shippes which were ready to drue ashore, had not we layd out moring for them, the wind blowing hard at North-west.

The fourteenth, came Capitaine *Saris* into the Road about eight in the morning, and anchored by me with his three shippes. They saluted me with their Ordnance, and I them; Capitaine *Saris*, Capitaine *Townson*, and Master *Cox* (their chiefe Merchant) came aboard of me, where we spent all that day in friendly communication: I acquainted him with my great lacke of Cables, which he promised to supply. At night they departed to their shippes, Capitaine *Saris* intuing me and others the next day to dinner with him.

The fifteenth, I went aboard the *Close*, where I and those which came with me were kindly entertained.

Alba del Coria.

Cape Gueda fur.

April 2. 1613. Capitaine Iohn Saris.

Aden in twelve degrees, seven and forty minutes.

Bab-mandell.

A ship of Babsonor. Letters from Capitaine Saris.

A ship of Din.

A Frigate of Shaher. A Bark of Sind. Note.

Capitaine Saris and his Fleet of three ships.

The *Gras Signior* Paffie.
This Paffie I
have of Cap-
taine *Sara* his
gift.
A ship of Ca-
licat.
A ship of Ca-
rapatan.
A ship of Ca-
nanor.
The *Haffan* of
Sarat.
Another shippe
of *Sarat*.
A ship of *Din*.
A ship of *Dabul*.
A small ship of
Calicut.
A Frigate of
Shibar.
A great ship of
Din.
The *Rheny* a
great ship of
Sarat.
* *Pienzie* of
Pilgrime Mer-
chants, which
it semeth the
Jesuits have
learned in
these parts of
the *Saracens*,
which in all the
Indie advance
the Affairs of
State and Mer-
chandise to
their Coun-
try, & wealth
to their Com-
panies, and
colour of pre-
ching the Go-
spell, as this
Booke yields
many Witnes-
ses.
The Road of
Afsh.

entrayned, he shewed me the *Gras Signior* Paffie, and read it to me. Many words passed be-
tween vs, he promising to himselfe much good Trade at *Moba* if I had not come, which my ex-
perience found to the contrary. At last we agreed and sealed it in Writings interchangeable,
that he should have one third part of what should be taken, paying for the same as I did, for the
service of his three ships in the Action: leaving the disposing of the ships afterward to me, who
had furnished the wares.

The sixteenth, came in two ships, I sent my Frigate and brought them to anchor by mee, the
one was of *Calicut*, laden with Rice, bound for *Moba*, the other was of *Carapatan*, laden with
Pepper, which ship came from *Achen*, and was bound for *Achen*, but by Captaine *Downton* being
chaunted to Lee-ward of the place, they determined to go for *Moba*. This *Carapatan* is a place
neere *Dabul*, they being subjects to the same King.

The eighteenth, came in a ship of *Canavon* bound for *Moba*, he came from *Achen*, her loading
for the most part Pepper.

The nineteenth, came in two ships of *Sarat*, the one called the *Haffan*, belonging to *Abdela-
fen*, bound for *Zidda*, the other a small ship of my old friend *Hera Nassan*, bound for *Moba*. I
cauled them to anchor by me, taking their Sayles from their yards, and kept some of the chiefe
men aboard of me; by them we understood the Great *Mogols* Mothers ship, called the *Rheny*,
was shortly to come.

The twentieth, came in a ship of *Din*, laden with *India* Commodities, bound for *Moba*, and
presently after came in a ship of *Dabul*: shee passed by vs, I sent my Pinnasse after her, which
cauled them to come to an Anchor.

The one and twentieth, I sent away Passengers out of the *Sarat* ships: about noone came in a
small ship of *Calicut*, bound for *Moba*, which ship we layd.

The two and twentieth, came in a Frigate of *Shibar*, which came from *Goa*, bound for *Zidda*,
laden with grosse *Olibanum*: and presently after came in fight a great shippe which passed the
great Channell, and was chaunted by the *Darling*, who cauled her to anchor by the *Hector*, she was
of *Din*, bound for *Swaken*, laden with *India* Commodities.

The three and twentieth, came in the *Rheny* of *Sarat*, the *Queene Mothers* ship laden with
India Commodities bound for *Zidda*: she was stayed with the rest. In this ship were fiftene
hundred persons. In the after-noon, I made signe to the *Darling* to come to mee, which pre-
sently he perceived and came: I delivered each ship their Sayles, and willed them in the morn-
ing betimes to be ready to saile with mee for that I would go to Lee-ward to the Road of *Afsh*.

The four and twentieth, we weighed and for saile from the *Bab*, and all the *India* ships with
vs: leaving the *Thomas* and *Darling*, to ply up to the *Bab*, and went for the Road of *Afsh*:
we arrived at *Crab* land about five a clocke, and came to an Anchor with all the Fleet, in twelve
fathom water; where we rid all night, the wind at South South-west.

The five and twentieth, in the morning we weighed and all the Fleet, and stood in for the
Road of *Afsh* and about one of the clock we came to an Anchor in seven and a half fathoms.

The seven and twentieth, we fetched good store of *Indico* out of the ships of *Sarat* and *Din*,
the *Stone* being in the effing in fight, plying to and fro, and not seeing vs, I cauled the Gunner to
shoot off a Peece of Ordnance: which they hearing, answered mee with another, and presently
bore up for the Road.

CHAP. XII.

NICHOLAS DOWNTON Captaine of the Pepper-Corne, a Ship of
two hundred and fiftie Tunnes, and Lieutenant in the sixth Voyage to the
East-Indies, for forth by the said Company, his Journall, or
certaine Extracts thereof.

§. I.

Their coming to Saldania and thence to Socotora.

July, 22. 1611.



He two and twentieth of July, at foure in the after-noon, we had fight of the
Table and point of *Saldania*, bearing East, distant twelue leagues, but ly reason
of calmes and vncertaine winds, it was the foure and twentieth day before we
were moored in the Road, where we found three *Hollanders*, one whereof was
bound for *Bantam*, and in her *Peter But* Generall of thirtee Saile outwards
bound, who having spent his maine Malt, and lost company of his Fleet, put in

to the Road for to refresh his sick men. The other two having made traine of *Scales* at *Peng-
man* land bound home.

Saldania is a Baye fourteene leagues North North-east, from the Cape *Bona Speranza*,
and North by West ten leagues from Cape *Falso*, which is East-ward of the former, and may
both be seene in the said Bay: these two Capes are also diuided by another great Bay, the di-
stance betwene these two Bayes, is some three leagues being low marish ground, extending
South and North, which on either side is inuironed with Mountaines. In this Bay of *Saldania*,
when you have brought the Norther point thereof, West North-west, North-west and by
West, for a small ship North-west, thwart of the ledge of rocks (or watering place) neere the
foore, which will be laid (as it were) in the swampe betwene the high Mountaines, called the
Table and the *Sugar*, in fixte, five, or foure fathome according to the draught of your shippe,
in cleane ground, and good anchor-hold you may safely ride. *Pengman* land with his ledge di-
stance three leagues off, bearing North North-west halfe West, and stretching to the North
and by West of you in the road. The maine land also, though it be thirtee leagues distant,
trencheth a way to the West and by West, so that there is little about three points open to let in
the North-west Sea, which is the gratest stormes, *Saldania* having in former time been com-
fortable to all our Nation travelling this way, both ourwarlike and home-warlike, yielding them a
abundance of shee, as Sheepe and Bees brought downe by the Saluge Inhabitantes, and sold for
trifles, as a Beefe for a peece of an Iron hope of foure teene inches long, and a Sheepe for a letter
20 pie, whereby weak sick men in former Voyages have been easily recovered and made strong
vno contrariwise, whether our Trade here were spoiled by the *Dutchmen* we here found, or
vise to spoyle all places where they come (only respecting their own present occasions) by
their ouer-much liberality: or whether the Cattell in former times so abundantly brought
downe, were preyed taken by warres from one another, or other differences which might make
them greedy of yron, to make heads for their Launces or Darts, which now by peace or recon-
ciliation they have little need of; the true cause, for want of understanding in their language, I
know not. But well I found, that all the deuises we could vie by bribes or otherwise to them,
which daily came downe to our tents in faire weather, would procure nothing from them for
our sick mens reliefe, but foure Cowes, and those foure Cowes which we did buy, were so old
and leane, that there was but little goodnesse in the fleshy which they would take no yron, but
30 thin pieces of Copper of six inches square, and some fewen heaf at peece three inches square
of copper, cut out of a Kettle, whereof they make rings by fixe or eight together, which they wear
on their armes, which being bright and smooth, vnto them seemeth very braue.

Their people are the fittest for the vage of their bodies, that euer I have seene or heard of:
for besides the naturall vncleanesse (as by liuor or otherwise) whereto all people are subiect,
which the most by walking cleare themselves of, contrariwise this people doe augment, by an-
nouncing their bodies with a filthy substance, which I suppose to be the iuice of herbes which on
their body sheweth like Cow-dung, and on their wool of their heads is so baked, like a Kurfie
of Greene herbes. For apparrell, they wear before their priuities the taile of a Cat, or some other
40 small beast, and a cloake made of a sheeps-skin, reaching downe to the middle of their thighs;
and according to the weather, they turne some time the hairy side, and sometimes the dref side
to their bodies.

Their Sheepe haue no wooll, but haire, and are partie-coloured like Calues; their legges
are longer, and their bodies larger then our sheepe in *England*, but not so fat. The Principall of these
people wear about the bight of their armes, a thin flat ring of Ivory, being very smooth, and
wrought compasse neere sixteene inches wide, and on their wrists some fixe, eight, tenne, or
twelue rings of Copper, bright and smooth, all either fastned together, or wrought in one. O-
ther toys also, as Bracelets of blue glasse, and pearle shells, which are either presented them, or
by sale people giuen them for *Eltridge* eghels, for quills of Porcupines, which without restraint
50 the *Dutchmen* do ordinarily buy, also an other most strange and filthy wearing, to what purpose
I know not, as the guts of Cattell about their neckes, which makes them smell like a Butchers
slaughter-house. In their hands they carrie a small Lance or Darc, that hath a small yron head,
and a few *Eltridges* feathers as a fan to keepe away the flies: they haue also Bowes and arrowes,
but when they came downe to vs, they would I leaue them in some hole or bush by the way. They
are straight made people, and nimble of foot, it semeth that their habitation is moouable, to
places of best pasture for their Cattell, as in the Valley betwene the Mountaines, whose tops
(farre vp into the Countrey) were couered with snow at this time, but these neere the Sea-side
are cleare thereof, notwithstanding they are very high.

Wild beasts there are of diuers sorts, but these we haue seene, *Fallow-deere*, *Antilopes*, *Per-
60 cupines*, *land Tortises*, *Baboones*, (also the *Dutchmen* told vs of *Lions*, but we saw none)
Snakes, and Adders.

Fewes also abundance, to wit, Wild-geese, Duckes, Pellicans, Paffes, Flenincos, and Crows.
which haue in their neckes, as it were, a white band, and small birds Greene coloured, and di-
uers other sorts vnknewne. Also Sea-fowles, to wit *Penguins*, *Gulls*, *Pentados*, which are ipoc-
70 red

Bay of Saldania

Prouide more
leisure at Saldania
than in times past, and
why.

Filthy people
and loathsome

Saldania Sheep.
Jewels and Or-
naments.

Wild Beasts.

Great numbers
of small Whales

ted blacke and white; also a grey fowle, the Pinions whereof are blacke, which the *Portugals* call *Alcatrazes*, and Shags or Cormorants at the land in great abundance, and an other kind of fowle like Moore-hennes.

Fishes there are of diuers sorts, but these following haue I seene, to wit, in faire weather there are a small sort of Whales in great numbers; at the land Seales in great abundance. With the Saine, we tooke fish like Millets, being as large as a Trout, Smeles, Thomebaikes, and Doggs; and on the Rocks, Limpets, and Mollus abundance. In the fresh water the *Vinons* men caught with a Saine, abundance of Millers, as when we met with them they told vs. It is a very wholesome aire, and aboundeth with good fresh water, both for filling in the roade, and for trauidlers in the land, which in small streames descendeth from the Mountains.

One morning by my intigation, my Generall and I, accompanied with thirteene men more, whereof foure were small (not, went to see if we could find place where we might cut wood and beeing gone some three miles, and finding none but small Greene wood, whereof we in the *Peper-corne*, by reason of our great want, were forced to cut: my Generall desirous to get refreshing for our weakke sick men, determined to walke about the *Table*, to see if wee could see any Cattell, that we might by any means buy for our reliefe, not thinking it would haue bene so long a journey, where we pa. through a moist vnease, vine-quall, stony, vnheaten (and as it were) overgrown wallethene, wherein often we were to defende and ascend, through many deep and hollow water-courses, our growne with trees from side to side, which were made with the runes swift descent from the hill called the *Table*; and after a while found a beaten path (where in we past, seeing many pens wherein Cattell had been kept) which for that it lead from wards our ship, we were forced to leave, and againe had a moist vile trefoell trauell for a while, till we hit into another path, which led along the Mountains towards the roade, and hauing past a while betweene the Mountains, as nere as they would giue vs leave, still following the beaten path which was our best guide, at length we pulled ouer in the Swamp, betweene the Southernmost *Sugar-lasse*, and the *Table*, at which time we had sight of the Sea side, aloright which we went ouer the sides of the Cliffs, which at length we forsooke, going by iudgement East towards the Swamp, betweene the Northernmost *Sugar-lasse* and *Table*, where in the morning (after we had rested our selues a little by a fire) we made haste and past ouer the aforesaid Swamps; and before brake of day we came to our Tents, where we found all our men that could be spared, disturbedly in armes, diuided into two Companies, the one halfe vnder M. Thornton, the other vnder M. Pemberton, determining at day light to separate themselves, and againe to meete on the other side of the *Table*, to goe and seeke vs, which intent our approach did prevent, refreshing our selues with what our friends had prepared for their intended journey. All the day we kept the *Table* on our right hand, and the Marsh on our left hand, which nere the Mountains is much pestered with rocks, which haue fallen from the top of the Mountain. It is moist ground, and seemeth to be good pasture for Cattell. In diuers places scattering we sawe some trees of small stature, somewhat broad topped, bearing a fruit in bigneffe and proportion like a Pine-apple; but the huske not so hard, and spungie; the seed whereof were deuoured by the birds, and the husks remaining on the trees, the leaues whereof were in forme of our Houlecke in England; but not so thicke.

Garden-seeds
to be ferat
Saldania

At this time was their Spring, both Trees and Herbes blowing ouer the earth. It much repented me that I came vnprepared with all sorts of Garden-seeds, which might be helpful or necessary for reliefe of any Christians, which hereafter might come hither, which though the Saluages should somewhat spoyle, yet euery Christian Captaine would seeke to augment, and re-eddie the same. Also Acornes, which in time may doe good to posteritie, for trees are not here so long in growing, as in our cold Countreys. I will not contradi. all such as vvil esteeme it more idle in me, to wish to know where it is many to one I shall neuer haue; yet for my selfe I esteeme it more idle in me, that I had not bin so prouident as to haue quick means in England to haue performed the same. And I would to God I could or had means, to leaue a profitable remembrance for Christian Trauellers unto the ende of the world, in any place where I shall come.

They depart
from Saldania.

Now hauing to our utmost endeauours here finished all our necessary businesse, to wit, watering, and somewhat relieved our weakke sick men with what refreshing we could get, which was principally Muffels, we prepared our ships to set saile the ninth of August, which by contrary winds was croffed, vntill the thirteenth day following.

The thirteenth of August at forre in the morning, we set saile from the roade of *Saldania*, hauing the wind faile at South South-east; and at fixe a clocke in the afternoon, the Cape *Bona Speranza* bore South-east, distant fixteene leagues.

Cape des Agui-
her.

The sixteenth in the morning, Cape *Bona Speranza* bore North-west and by West, distant two leagues, and by foure a clocke in the afternoon, we had brought the Cape *Aguiher* North-east sixteen leagues distant, our course being South-east. The eighteenth day, little wind, but an high Sea showering on the top like a breach in shoald water. The nineteenth, we had a very strong gale of wind.

The

The sixth of September, at three of the clocke, wee discried the land of *Madagascar*, or *S. Lawrence*, in the latitude of twentie three degrees, thirte eight minutes, and at fixe a clocke wee anchored in twelue fathome water in the bay of *S. Augustine*, where we found the *Vision of London*, the Vice-Admirall of the fourth Voyage (whose people was distressed, wanting vittuals to carry them home) who related vnto my Generall, their unfortunate loosing company with their Admirall and Pinnaffe betweene *Saldania*, and the Cape *Bona Speranza*, and neuer since heard of them, how they put into this bay, outward bound to seeke them, followed also after them, and put into *Zanzibar*, (an land bordering on the *Abacin* coast) where the *Portugals* made shew of fauour and trade, enticing them to land with their boats, where they betrayed and tooke three of their men; the rest seeing the danger, fled with the boat vnto the ship, who proceeded on their iourney, till by contrary winds, before they could recouer any fit Port, for want of water they were forced to returne towards the bay of *Antonyl* on the East South-east side of *Madagascar*, but the wind or the course not suiting with their determination, they put into a good Harbour or Bay of *Ingomer*, on the North-west corner of *Madagascar*, where they were a while fed with good words, and faire promises, and kind entertainment by the King; that in short time the Cape Merchant, in hope of trade for Ambegreece and other things, grew so conceited of this heathen Kings plaine meaning, that at the Kings request went not alone to him, but perfwaded his Capitaine and other Merchants to accompanie him, who being brought to the Kings presence, he sent also for the Chirurgeon, Trumpet, and Drum, who refusing to goe to him presently, there filled out of the woods a great number of people, which attempted to force the boat and men in her, with Darts, Arrows, and Lances, who perceiving themselves presented by the good care and endeauiours of them in the Boat, they pursued the Boat with armed *Canoes* out of the river, vntill by many shot from the ship she was rescued. And few dayes after while they lingered in hope of some good newes from their Capitaine and Merchants, they attempted the ship with a demy army of one hundred *Canoes*, which came in order and forme of an halfe Moone, which to prevent brought themselves vnier saile, and thooke them off, and departed on their iourney. It seemed that they could not fetch *Secarra* or the Master vnwilling to go to the Red Sea, or *Surat*, but went to *Achin*, and there dealt for some fit commodities with the *Gekateri*, & from thence to *Prinam* to lade Pepper: where the Merchant made bargaine to recuite it at *Tecora*, an land three leagues distant from *Prinam*, at fiftene, fouretee, and thirteene Ryals and an halfe of eight by the Bahar of Pepper, euery Bahar is three hundred and twelue there. This ship the Generall plentifully supplied with vittuals, for whose reliefe he made the longer stay he allowed them in loue one vnto another, who at our coming in were diuided, so wit, *Samel Bradshaw* for his sobor, discreet, and prouident carriage in the Companies busines much enuid by their sicious Master, and his adherents; whom wee left in the said Bay, as seeming louers and friends.

In this Bay we continued fuentie houres; it is for the most part all deepe water, and vnertaine, no ground in diuers places (by diuers reports) in two hundred fathome; by vs further examining of deepe had bene in vaine, but we found all the South shore in a manner, from the Wester point to the high cliffe-land, all flat rockie, whose ledges are to be seene dry at the low water. At the Easter end of the rocks nere the cliffe, wee anchored in twelue fathome, and might haue rid nearer the shore in seuen fathome: we came in out of the Sea with a strong gale at South South-west, but coming nere vnto the land she wind grew duller, yet blew reasonable fresh in the day, but in the night or dinarly calmed the time we were there; but that being the new Moone, which makes the fewest weather of the Countreys, I cannot say of other times. On the land it seemes alwaies to be very hot, especially when the Sunne is to the South-wards of the Equinoctiall.

In this place are two trees of diuers kinds, some full of fat fappe, that fire beeing put to it as it standeth Greene, of it selfe it will runne vp, blazing in the leaues and branches: the Timber is soft, and the leaues and boughes yeelds a yellow sap. An other sort of trees, whose timber is nere as hard as *Lignum-vita*, and of colour white, with a small brown heart, whether any kind of white Sanders. I know not; that wood which we cut off for fire-wood in the *Peper-corne*, which was the most plentifull of any sort there, did all hang traied with coods of Greene fruit (as big as a Bean-cool in England) called *Tanerin*; it had a very fowle taste, and by the Apothecaries is held good against the Scurrie; our Admiralls men who had more leisure gathered home as it was Greene, for their particular viles. Here is also plentie of an herbe (which for his forme is scarce to be discerned from a *Semperuiva*) whereof the Alloes, called *Alloes Socarrina* is made of all sorts, but I know not whether their saluage people haue either the knowledge or the vile thereof.

The people, by what occasion I know not, forbore to come to vs, so that wee gat no kind of Cattell for refreshing, neither beife nor mutton, whereof others heretofore haue been offered for a Ryall of eight an Oxe; but now it is said, that for want of government in the *Vision*, when a ny was brought downe, what the Factor did prouidently forbore to keepe downe the price, dis-

A a

Madagascar: or
S. Lawrence, in the
latitude of
23. deg. 38.
minutes

Three of the
Vision men be-
trayed by the
Portugals at
Zanzibar.

Or *Ingomer*.
The Capitaine
of the *Vision*
with the Cape
Merchant and
others betraied
at *Ingomer*
in *Madagascar*.

They attempt
the taking of
the *Vision*,
with an arme
of 100. armed
Canoes.

The *Palm* left
in the Bay of
S. Augustine,
September 9.
1610. bound
for England.

Strange trees.

Semperuiva.

60

Dfordred
barrening burn-
fall.
Note.

September.

Note.

Shrimps.

Current,
Obedient.

Diary of the

Abundance of
Fish.

Tamara.

ordered fellows for their owne particular, gave what the falages demanded, so that now they can scarce get any for tenne shillings a piece. It seems, that in all places of this land, men must stand upon their guard, for the people are treacherous. Yet by report, stout and valiant, and not ignorant in ordering of their people in battell array, as it seemed by their order at *Gauguema*, when they assailed the *Prison*. Their weapons are Bowes and arrowes, Lances, and small Darts which they carry in bundles.

Now having performed all our necessary buisnesses, as wooding and watering, and retired our Country-men to the vnmouth of our powers, we set sail out of the said Bay.

The ninth day of September, at foure a clocke after-noon, we set sail out of the Bay of *S. Augustin*, leaving the *Prison* there as afore-said.

The one and twentieth, the wind being at East South-East, and the Current by my judgement setting South-west, we were intragled with a Lee-shore, which we called the *Caribbees*, which are duers small Islands, of which also lieth duers ledges of Rocks that are by the brash of the Sea only dikeined; and spent fixe dayes before we could quit our Idles of them, being betwene tenne and eleven degrees South latitude.

This Coast lieth neereft North-easterly, and South-westerly, and the wind all these five dayes betweene the East North-east, and East South-east; so that against our walls we were still forced to Lee-ward, though by towing with our Boates, and otherwise, we endeavored to get off. This place by my judgement may be to the North-ward of *Mozambique*, somewhat more then fawente leagues; by night for the most part we were neereft thole dangers, which were then always betwene vs and the shore, that we could neuer discouer neere the maine, nor give any good judgement of the distance: betwene Island and Island, neither let them downe their true forme.

The greatest danger is in the strength of the Current setting on, and no place to anchor in, being deepe water close about the Rocks; and though somewhat neere these Rocks you have ground, yet it is so deepe and foule ground, that there is no anchoring; and on the Northern part hereof, though by my estimation we were little more then two leagues from the shore, yet we had no ground in an hundred and fiftie fathome. These are sandy Islands, and (for the most part) were full of Trees. After it grew darke every night, we might fee the fire on shore made by the Country-people, but we had no light to find so much time as to goe on shore to speake with them. After it pleased God that we had once got cleare of these dangers, we to our great admiration, found the Current to carry vs to the North-wards, as much more as by our judgement the shippe went: as when by our judgement we might goe some fiftene leagues, we went thirty leagues. The second of October we had much raine.

The ninth, we found the Current to cease, except it set to the East-wards, which we could not discerne. The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, we found our Idles to loose every day, more and more by the Current.

The fawenteenth at Sun-rising, we desired two Islands, which for their likelihood are called the *Duas Irmauas* (or the two sisters) which lie one from the other West by South, and East by North, and are distant from the West point of *Zacatona* some leauen leagues and an halfe; we steering North North-east with the West point of *Zacatona*, had these depths, twenty three, twenty foure, and twentie fixe fathome, distant from the said point some three leagues and an halfe. After we had got about the Western point, we found the wind to shurten, so that it would not permit vs to leade it along the coast, but by the helpe of a Current we were put off, the Admirall and the *Darling* anchored in twelue fathome, while I in the *Pepper-corne*, through calmes, and a gale of the land, could not get into shoall water to anchor in, till the ninth day at noone, what time we were anchored in twelue fathome, neere to a Towne called *Galaxee*, and toward the coole of the evening I went with the Pinnasse and Saine, vnto a low landie point, thwart the Admirall and *Darling*, a league to the East-ward of our Shippe, to trie to get Fish for refreshing of our people; being in the coole of the Evening there to meete with my Generall, which fell out accordingly to my desire. God blessing vs with abundance of Fish, which ferued all the whole Fleete two meales, and much longer if it would haue kept. Here my Generall informed mee, how that the people with whom in the Morning hee had spoken, had confirmed that which hee greatly doubted: which to our grieue would prolong our Voyage: which was, that the Easterly Monson was already come, and all our hopes of getting to *Cambaya* were frustrate for this nine Moneths, of which we expected to be better informed by the King at *Tamara*, the place of his residence.

The twentieth day being Saturday, we anchored at a point neare six leagues short of *Tamara*, and five leagues from the point of *Galaxee*, which we did by the helpe of a Sea-turne, which continued long that night, but not contented by gaining and holding that place, till we could by day be better aduised, by reason of an eady tide by the shore on the West-side; by the thore

where wee rode, on the West-side thereof, which forced our sternes to wind-ward, and a little flattering gale of the land, wee weighed, and were forced off into the Current: So that the one and twentieth day wee were carried backe thwart of the Towne of *Galaxee*, and farre off in great depth.

The two and twentieth, we in the *Pepper-Corne* were like to haue bin put cleane off the land, but the Admirall and *Darling* got into shoall water, and there anchored, and about two a clocke I also anchored in the Bay Westward of *Galaxee* in six fathom: & presently went on shore with my Pinnasse, carrying *Barriques* to keepe fresh water; going with a bagge of truse, to see if any of the Inhabitants would come to mee, for I earnestly desired to speake with some of them, in hope to haue procured some Goates, or other refreshing for our people, but none, as it seemeth, durst come to vs, for feare of the Kings displeasure, who will haue nothing sold to any stranger, but from himid'e; it seemeth he would haue none of his people haue to doe with any strangers, but that all intelligences, allowances, for fresh victuals, and prices, must come from himid'e, as afterwards I found, though now I wondered to see the people stand asse off in troups, and came not neare vs, which made me thinke they had spies attending on them by the Kings order to be the case. So at night having filled thirteene *Barriques* of water, I returned aboard: to this night being a high water at nine of the clocke, at a full Moone, I esteemed it flowed vpright, betwene ten and eleven foote; all the time of flowing the streame sets to the Northward, I meane close by the shore and with the ebbe and a small gale of the shore, we set sail, and stretcht it along the shore some foure or five mile, thwart the sandy Bay of our fishing, and neare our Admirall, and finding the Current there to set off to the Westward, we anchored till the next helpe of the tide or wind.

The fixe and twentieth being Thursday, as the wind ferued we set sail, and about eleven of the clocke we anchored in eight fathome, a mile from the land, right against the Towne of *Tamara*, where the Kings house is North from the Castle. on the top of the hill about the Towne; at our anchoring the Generall thot off five peeces of Ordnance, I three, and the *Darling* one. The Generall sent Master *Fennell* on land, hand-somely attended with the Pinnasse, fitted with a red Crimion rils, presenting the King with a Present, which was from the Generall, a faire gilt Cup of ten ounces, a Sword-blade, and three yards of Stannell broadcloth. The King sent him, had by the water-side in readinesse fitted, an Orange-tawny coloured Tent, where hee late attended on by the principall of his Country-men, the *Arabs* and a guard of small thot; they continued conference more then an houre: hee thirteenthly received the Generalls Present, bade him welcome, shewing desire to see him on land, promising him water free, and what else the land did afford, at reason, according to the drought of the land, which continued two yeeres without raine; for Allos not a pound to be had, his owne Frigate being gone to fill it in the Red-sea. For the *Ascension*, hee faith, came first hither in the month of February, and finding a *Gazetist* ship here, within eight dayes shee departed in her company towards the Red-sea, and eight dayes after came in her Pinnasse, who made no stay, but followed her Admirall, and in Iuly, both the *Ascension* and Pinnasse returned out of the Red-sea to *Zacatona*, where they 40 hastened to take in water: and soone after departed toward *Cambaya*. Further hee faith, that his Frigate being at the Port of *Bacaua*, neere *Damara* in India, they were informed by the *Portugals*, that the said shippe and Pinnasse, arriving on the Coast too soone, before the Winter and cold weather was past, were both cast away, but the men saved. The King sent the Generall a Present of twelue Goates.

The fixe and twentieth being Friday, my Generall went well attended on, and with a guard to visit the King; our ships gave him, as before, five, three and one peeces of Ordnance, and hee was received on land by the Kings order, with ten great thots, & otherwise hee was received by the King, in orderly and ciuill sort, and had both for him and his followers so good cheere, provided, as the place could properly afford: but the King shewed no unwillingnes that we should here make 50 any longer abode, for he would not yield that we should fet vs on Pinnasse here; his excuse was, that neither his own ship, nor any other, as the *Gazetist*, which hee hath great profit by, dare not come into this place while we are here: and further, I suppose the time we stay here is very chargeable to him in this respect; for to shew the strength of his Towne, hee hath drawne downe the *Arabs* and others from all parts of the Land, and while they stay here, they live on his charge, which I thinke is the only occasion hee would haue our abience: this day we fild a great part of our water. Saturday, we almost made an end of watering out of a pond, fed by springs descending from the hilles. Sunday our people went on land to recreate themselves, and did no other buisness.

This King of *Zacatona* is called *Muls Amore Benfide*, and now is here Vice-roy vnder his 60 father, who is King of *Fortis* in Arabia not far from *Aden*, and comes into the sea at *Carricam*. Hee faith, that his father holds warre against the *Turkes* of *Aden*, in his owne defence, for hee denied vs a letter to the Gouverneur of *Aden*, saying, hee would not doe vs so much wrong. The people that hee vlieth for his Honor and strength in *Zacatona*, are the *Arabs*, the rest

Galaxee.

Current.

Tamara.

The *Ascension*
and Pinnasse
saw away upon
the Coast of
India.

The King visit-
ed.

King of Fortis,
or Carricam.

that live in most servile slavery, are the old Inhabitants of the Island, which have been banished people.

How Abbesis made.

Sanguis Drac.

na.

There is for Merchandize growing upon *Zacatra*, *Allos Socarrima*, which they make about August, of an herbe like unto *Semper-viva*, which we have in *Spain*, but no great quantitie, not passing a Tonne in a yeere; there is a small quantitie of *Sanguis Draconi*, or Dragons blood, a little wherout our Factors bought at twelve pence a pound. And Dates which serve them for bread, which the King sells at five Rialls of eighty the hundred. Cartell for mans sustenance thefe, Bulls and Cowes at twelve Rialls of eight a piece, Grats at one Riall a piece, Sheep at halfe a Riall a piece, and Hennes at halfe a Riall a piece, all exceeding small, according to the drie rocke barrenesse of the land: wood at twelve pence a mans burthen; euey particular is a very deare pennyworth: and what else this land may yeeld, I am yet to be informed of, but of rockes and stones, drie and bare, it femes the whole land is compoled.

Þ. II.

of Abba del Curia, Arabia Felix, Aden and Moha, and the treacherous dealing of both places.

They depart from Zacatra for Aden.

The length of Abba del Curia.

Two great white Rockes.

Saboya.

Nouemb.

Cape de Guardafui.

fat.

Nouemb.

This day all our important businesse being done, wee set saile, directing our course to *Aden*-wards in the Red-sea, taking leave of the King with three shot out of the Admirall, one out of the *Pepper-Corne*, and one out of the little *Dawing*. Our course, after wee gotte off the land, along by *Abba del Curia*, to Cape *Guardafui*, which is the Easternmost point of *Abax*, was nearest West, distant foure and thirtie leagues; to the Westward point of *Zacatra*, to the East end of *Abba del Curia*, is foureteen leagues. And *Abba del Curia* a long narrow rugged Island, may be in length East and West, some nine leagues; from the West end of *Abba del Curia*, to Cape *Guardafui*, is fifteene leagues; on this land, *Abba del Curia*, the King of *Zacatra* hath some people and Goats; to North from the middle thereof, neare three leagues, are two great white rockes, neare adioyning one to the other, and are some halfe a mile in length; these rockes are not white of themselves, but made white with the filing of Birds.

The one and thirtieth, being Wednesday, at eleuen a clocke we were thwart of the Westward point of *Zacatra*, and at two a clocke, the white rocke, called *Saboya*, wee left North on our Star-board side, which beareth North-west and by West, foure leagues of the most Westward point of *Zacatra*; and at three a clocke after-noon, we descried the two highest Mountaines of *Abba del Curia*, bearing West South-west distant ten leagues.

The first of Nouember, being Thursday, at Sun-rising we were thwart of the middle of *Abba del Curia*, leaving it on our Larboard side, two leagues and a halfe off, and the two Rockes on our Star-board side distant halfe a league; at noone wee were in North latitude twelve degrees and foueteene minutes, the variation foueteene degrees and five and thirtie minutes; this after-noon we met with a current, which set vs to the South-ward; at one in the after-noon, we descried the Cape *Guardafui*, but it was night before we came neare it; so that we wait it by night, without any true discovery thereof.

The second, being Friday, in the morning wee were thwart of an high Mountaine, nine leagues Westward from the Cape *Guardafui*, and between that point, and another high point, five leagues distant West touchly by the Compasse, there is a low sandie point, lying one league and a quarter off, into the Sea; and some three leagues more Westwardly, we anchored, and went on land with all our Boats for to cut wood; where we in the *Pepper-Corne* had great need: here we met with some of the Inhabitants, who informed vs that the last Mount we past, is called *Feluck*, or by the *Portugals*, *Felix*; but so loone as they knew we were *Christians*, they fled from vs.

The third day, being Saturday, we landed againe, and cut more wood; and after-noon we set saile, standing on our way Westward towards the Red-sea, continuing our course till the fifth day ten a clocke, at which time we descried the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, bearing North North-west, and North by East, being distant from the nearest land, some twelve leagues; at noone I found my selfe in thirteenth degrees eight and twentie minutes North latitude: at Sun-set wee were distant from the land some twelve leagues; the Mountaines within the Land all high very rough, without shew of grasse, wood, or any other fruit: Inesse: wee now directing our course Westward by South, as the Coast lieth, loone expecting to see the Citie of *Aden*, for that with my first fall with the land, I esteemed my selfe not above foure and twentie leagues thort to the Eastward thereof: but whereas I esteemed the ships made their way North-west by North, out the Gulf, by reason of the Current, we finde they have made a little better then North; and that at our fall with the land, we were little lesse then threethree leagues thort of *Aden*; we continued our course along the Coast with a good saile all day, and a short saile all night, to the end

not to ouer-shoot *Aden* all the way, for the most part in five and twentie, twentie, fittene, twelue, ten and eight fathoms.

Wednesday at Sun-setting, below the Mountaine, being very neare it, on the sudden we descried *Aden*, which is situate vnder the foot of an vnfruitfull mountaine, a place where I should scarce haue looked for a Towne, but it is fere there for strength, where it is very defensible, and not by any enemy easily to be wonne, if the defendants within be men of resolution, and so that it be formerly vntilled, and provided of munition; and to Sea-ward, though it be in a manner drie at low-water, there stands an high Rocke somewhat larger then the Tower of *London*, which is not by enemies to be in half ascended, by reason it is so steep, and that but one way by narrow steps to get vp, where foure men may keepe downe a multitude: this Rocke is so walled, flanked, and furnished with Ordnance, as it is reach to me, it may command both the Towne and Road: yet who will asid it, may ride in nine fathome water without their command, or within their command, from nine fathome downward. All a little distance to the Northwards of the forsaide Rocke, is another rocke, being low, almost even with the water, which is of small compasse, whereas is a Fort built and well furnished with Ordnance, the soldiers usually continuing in this Garrison of *Aden* I could neuer vnderstand, but according as occasions affe, they are drawne down from other Island Townes. The low countrie adioyning within it, doth supply it with prouision, and partly with their Cakes, which passe in Trade from *Aden* to *Babina*, a Towne right ouer on the *Abessin* side, from whence they bring Cattel, and much fruit, and prouision, with Mirrh and Incense, and what else I must conceale till further information getten. This Towne standeth in the Latitude of twelue degrees, and five and thirtie minutes; the variation Westwardly, is twelue degrees and fectie minutes; it floweth by estimation, ypright between six and seuen foote water on the change day: a South-east by East, or North-west by West, it is full Sea: this mountaine, at whose foot the Towne standeth, is a *Penisula* pointing out into the Sea, and toward the maine is fitt a narrow necke of sandie ground, and within the like, a larger marsh-like ground stretching vp to the Mountaines, which may be from the Towne sixteene or twentie mile. At or fere an, horing, the Gouverneur in the darke of the evening sent an *Arab* in a *Canoe* to view our ships, who refused to come aboard, though he was called.

Thursday morning, the same *Arab* came aboard the Admirall from the Mir or Gouverneur, to vnderstand what we were: friends, we should be welcome to land: this while was a Praelim making ready to send the Gouverneur, which was a great Turkie-fashoned Peece, and a principall wall blade, sent to land by *John Williams*, and one M. *Walter*, Linguist, with other Factors to accompany them. The *Turkes* not permitting them to come into the Towne, entertained them without the Gize, neare the water-side, yet with great shew of ioy, pretending much kindeesse to our Nation, with whom they say they haue had much business in *Stambola*, *Aleppo*, and other places, but vnderstand not one word of any trading with vs, but framed their speech to make vs vnderstand, that they euery day expected the coming of thirte thousand soldiers: which vs seemed very strange, that so barren a Countrie as that seemed to bee, could yeeld prouision for so many people. But vnderstanding their speeches proceeded of feare, it was lignified, that our Generalls request vnto the Gouverneur was, that for his money he would giue him a Pilot, to carrie his ships to *Moha*; then he told them that he was but Deputy to the Mir or Gouverneur, which was out of the Towne, and the next morning would be returned, and then the Generall should be thereof informed. He sent the Generall a Present, which was two *Babors* (sheep, with broad rumps and small tailes, some Plaintains, and other fruits, wherewith our people returned.

Friday, the Generall sent againe betimes in the morning, to require a Pilot for *Moha*; then they were brought into the Mirs house, and I still continued with faire words; but the Mir was not yet returned; but when the Deputie-gouverneur heard our ships were vnder sayle: bound a ship, yet that he would stay one there for their supply, demanding the prices of diuers of our Commodities, which giue present shew of content, in performance might follow accordingly, with glowing shewes of Indico, Olibanum, Mirrh, and diuers other things there fit for vs; but before the Messenger came to giue knowledge to the Generall, our ships were to farre about the point, that by reason of the Current, we could not againe get about the Easter side, o. the point in sight of the Towne, but anchored thwart of a Bay on the South side of the Towne: The Generall seeing diuers people fishing in the Bay, and great store of people of fishion on the hill, went to the shore side in his Pinnace, to enquire of them when the Current might change, and that we might get about. The Deputie-gouverneur showed himselfe angry, pretending our coming was to discouer their strength, and with no good intent, in so much that *John Williams* was in doubt they would haue flayed him: but the Mir now present being lately come to Towne, seemed not so rigorous, but dissembled the matter, giuing good words, granting a Pilot for *Moha*; yet desired that one of our ships might stay for their supply, saying, that that Towne by former Gouverneurs ill usage of strangers was growne out of Trade, which he did endeavour to sit on

A description of the situation of the Citie of *Aden* in *Arabia Felix*.

A Secret. The latitude of *Aden* is 12 degrees 35 minutes the variation Westwardly 12 degrees 40 minutes.

They find a Present to the Gouverneur of *Aden*.

Turkish tricks.

Mis Lord.

The cunning
treachery of
the Turkes.

foote againe, hoping by vs to make a beginning; and further, that as he was a Gouverneur, so had he a Balla was a mercourer over him, from whom if all our ships departed without trading at his Towne, he should have blame, in that it would be imputed to his ill vantage of vs, to drive vs away. And for that we understood by others, that the former part of his speech was true, our Generall and we thought the latter part to be true also (which was merely to delude vs) which the Generall by the Messinger did in a manner grant, so we could not safe riding for our ships, the dangerous Easterly Monsoon on this shore, which he made slight or little regard of, wishing our ruine, and no safetie.

The Darling
was a smallish
of one, cunning.

Munday morning early, *John Williams* was againe sent to the Gouverneur for his Pilot, according to the last nights promise, and had now answer from the Gouverneur, that the Pilots would not permit he should goe, unless we left foure of the principallest men in the shippes in pawne till his safe returne; which bred in vs a generall dislike of their inconstancie, yet the Generall, for performance of his former promise, determined to leave me behind in the *Pepper-corne*, but altered his determination in my direction; for whereas before I was directed not to carry above a quarter part of our goods on land at one time; now we were to carry none at all: for since they will not trust vs with one of their rascall people, but on such disgracefull termes, therefore he thought fit not to trust them with any of our goods; but if they had need of any of our commodities, as they pretended to have, they should buy and pay for it aboard the ship; and in case they mistrust any cull dealing, we should exchange pledges; so that for so many as for doing their business they should need to have aboard, we should deliver on land so many of the necessitie in quantities if not liking of this, that we may follow our Admirall to *Moba*. The same day about none, all things being determined of, the Generall with his owne ship and *Darling*, departed towards *Moba*, and as they prepared to set sail, they desired a faile in the Offing, which they supposed to be a *Governor* bound to *Moba*, out of which the Generall had hope to procure a Pilot, stood off with her a little while, till perceiving it to be a smaller shipp then before they expected, gave over their chase, and stood on their course towards *Babel-mandab*.

Mir, or Amir,
or Emir, signifi-
eth Lord.
Three of our
men staid on
shore.

Tuesday, we laboured with long waves to get vp, both against wind and Current, whereby we got well up (as men striving to lessen their owne harmes) being thwart of the fishing Bay. The Mir of *Aden* sent a Boat and a Messinger aboard, to desire to speake with the Merchants, to know whether they purposed to trade with them or no: whereupon *M. Fowler*, *John Williams*, and the Purser (for other business) went on land, the Merchants declaring to the Mir in what manner we had direction to trade with them. The Mir not liking of that way, in no wise accepted of such trading: this seemed a contradict to his purpose and policie; therefore least after their returne aboard, I should depart for *Moba*, as they said, he thought best to detain those three men, thereby to procure him some thing, though he pretended that he staid them for anchorage, and other duties, amounting to fiftene hundred *Venetianos* of gold, every one at one Ryall and an halfe of eight.

Before this Towne of *Aden*, I made my vnprofitable aboad untill the sixteenth of December, living in continuall danger, if any sterme had happened, which is there ever very doubtful on this Monsoon, or time of the year: by romaging I omitted no meanes for bringing our goods in readinesse, if so it should happen that in the end we find sale or trade with them: for notwithstanding by the varietie of tricks, whereby from day to day they fall deluded our people in their hand, as to send Messinger after Messinger to my Generall to *Moba*, to obtaine licence to bring our goods into their Towne, and then the Merchants would resort out of all places in the Countrey neere-hand, to buy the same, which might be said, least we had discovered the villanie of any Merchants in that Towne, likely to doe the same; yet could I never conceit hope of trade or honest dealing amongst them.

Cunning treachery.

All the time I lay there for the most part, I sent my Pinnasse every two or three daies to land, to know how my Factors did, with some one or two men besides the Cocks gins, which whatsoever they had to doe, they were cunningly dealt withall, the fouldiers frequenting their company, giuing them drinke; and if any man *Jew* or *Bannias* had over reckoned them in the price of any thing, they would ever be ready to do them right; all which I make account was done by the Gouvernours direction, the better to abuse vs, by drawing our people to conceit well of them, and trust their flatterie and lyes, wherein they excell: and on the resort of any extraordinary people into the Towne, they would tell our men, that they were Merchants, come to see if we had laded any of our goods for the to buy, when they were fouldiers called in out of some other neere adjoining Inland Townes, upon some plot in their head newly devised. And likewise our Factors in person were most times kindly vied, and were resorted vnto by such as the Gouverneur appointed, and that should tell his tale: whereas he had provided, that not any, nor so much as an Arab fisherman nor other, were permitted to come neere vnto me, least they should tell me the truth, to his disadvantage. By my people in the Pinnasse I sent of purpose to discouer, by whom I am informed, this Citie in times past hath been great and populous, but at this time, the houses both great and small are greatly ruinated and sunke in euery part of the Towne, shops of merchandise there are none of any account, Merchants none to be discerned worthy of that calling: for mo-

Aden decayed:
the present state
thereof.

my meeth to be very scant amongst them, which appeared when our men offered to change a peece of eight for *Alpers*, they vfe to take it from hand to hand, gazing as at a strange thing; an ill signe in a place where a ships lading of merchandize is brought to sell.

This present Gouverneur time growing neere out that he must be gone, and therefore before his departure, would have been glad to have scene vs so foolish as to land some of our goods by any deuise, would often commend *Captaine Sharpeighs* confidence in them, who was here in the *Assension* sixteen moneths before vs, and how at first he brought goods on land without mistrust, and sold it, and his men came boldly on land like Merchant men, of which since we did not like; he made doubt whether we were lo or not, and that he tooke delight to heare his Trumpets found on his walls; all which I tooke to be no other then hooking deuises, and vtaine delusions, for I cannot thinke, but that if at the first, like harmesell men they trusted much, they repented it before they went away. *Captaine Sharpeigh* was the first of our Nation that came here, and perchance might pale away in some reasonable sort: but since then they have had time to aduise themselves how to doe more villanie,) which they haue, nothing else to plead. My conceit is, that at our first coming they made account to buy our goods without money, and that their plot in desiring first on shippes to stay, was two-fold. First, it was more likely for them to worke their wills on one shippes, then on three. Secondly, in procuring the stay of this heere, the other two were the better to bee dealt withall at *Moba*, since what villanie could be wrought on them at both places, was for the seruice and benefit of our Baha: And they knowing that we were ignorant, that this winter time now ensuing was so tempestuous, and vnfit for any such business of Commerce, and that no ship could long stay there without their fauour and friendship, as in the case of fresh water to drinke only, if there were no wind or Sea to be dreaded, which are both often most vehement, and at *Aden* is low thore, nothing to hinder the mayne Sufie and violence of the vomiting billows, whereby they might with good iudgement thinke, that in little time we might be forced from our Road at nine fathome, into five fathome neere to the Towne, in some shelter of the land, and vnder command of their Ordnance. From whence without their leave, we could not have carried her out againe, or if this faile, he might thinke by coloured kindnesse, or some other deuice for our owne pleasure, or by want of water, sometime to draw some store of our people, and that of the better sort on land to them, which already he hath: whereby to force them to procure the rest to bring in the ship, but indeed hee had all counsell. For his hate spoyled his Market at the first, by slaying our three men, doubting our ship would be gone: which made me very suspitious and warie in sending but few men on land at once.

Saturday, I sent my first Letters to the Generall to *Moba*, by a Souldier of *Aden*, fitted for the Gouvernours turne, whose returne was to order, that he neuer came neere any of vs with an answer: he pretended that the Gouverneur of *Moba* promised delivery of the same, but presently sent him backe with a Letter to *Aden*.

Thursday, the Gouverneur rid out of Towne, who remayned absent till the first of December, in the mean time our people in Prison were more hardly vied, paying in a manner as much as any way shewed them: and it was told them that the Mir was gone, and a new was to come in his stead, but it proved not so for that time.

Saturday, about mid-day, the same Mir returned againe into the Towne, and came to our men in Prison, speaking kindly vnto them, and causing good prouision to bee made for them, at his owne cost, whereby he guld vs by pretended friendship, promising nothing but kindnesse and good dealing, so soone as we should begin to trade, and then they shall haue their full libertie without payment of the aforesaid fiftene hundred *Venetianos* formerly demanded: the custome five in the hundred, all other charges reasonably, and ready Gold for what wee sold, and therefore willing that as before we had sent a Foole of our Messinge, that now we should send a man of our owne, with a guide of his, whom we might be sure would bring true answer from our Generall. This day I made shew to bee preparing to bee gone with the ship: aboard came a Letter from *John Fowler* to impart to me this ioyfull newes, vying me againe to write to the Generall, to know his pleasure herein for landing of our goods, wherein I was not so streightly tied, but I might haue done it my selfe, if I had some any signe or likelihood of good dealing: which seeing no cause of encouragement I kept to my selfe, to the end not to be vrged by the importunitie of others to doe any thing vnadvisedly, which might either prejudice my friends or wrong my selfe; now seeing the time was before me till May, to goe to *Moba* (for so long the Easterly Monsoon lasteth at such time as rigorous weather, or being wholly frustrate of trade, should drive me hence, and being once gone, I cannot come hither againe till the first of May or June, whatsoever thereby were to bee gotten, wherefore, for diuers respects, I desired to heare from the Generall.

Munday, I dispatched away the Messinger with a Letter to my Generall (which proued an after-griefe to me) and eight dayes after we had nothing, but shewes of kindnesse and good quarter, thinking long till our Messinger returned, that we might beginne our good Markets.

Capt. Sharpeigh
the first of our
Nation at *Aden*

Capt. Downings
Letter to Sir
H. Middleton
(suppressed)

Sat.

Saturday, my Boat-swaine informed mee of his great wants of small Cordage, for divers purposes, wishing that he and some others might go ashore, to lay some on the strand by the Towne wall, now while we had leisure, before our greater businesse came in hand, for which I sent to land to intreate the Gouverneur that our people might doe such a businesse in *Mohes* under his wall: which was promised with great fauour, in the best and conuenientest place they could find, with a house at night to put vp their things till the next day. In the meane-time the Gouverneur set Smithies to making of shackles for our people, and some of them were by signes toll of it, which suspicteing nothing, tooke it as a merry left, which afterwards they found in earnest.

Twentie more
of our men be-
trayed.

Wednesday, after-noon, my men were all betrayed that went on shoare, bound, shackled, and pionsed, and some put in the Stocks: all tormented and greuously abused, strip of their money and all else they had: my Pinnasse lost, the ginge gone amongst the Rope layers. So there was two Merchants, a Purser, and one to attend on them, a gadding Apothecarie, my Chirurgion, and Master *Caulker* (who carried my Letter to *Moha* as aforesaid) my Boat-swaine, and one of his mates, two quarter Masters, the Cooper, Carpenter and Gunners mate, and my Cock-swaine, and five more of the Cockes ginge, which in all are twentie persons, some few for their pleasures, the rest to worke, save the ginge who were most of them appointed to keepe the Pinnasse, but being out of my fight, they did what they list, and the Boat-swaine seemed to want their helpe about his Ropes.

An Eclipse of
the Moone.

Munday, I set saile out of the Southernmost Road of *Aden*, directing my course towards *Moha* (through the strait of *Babel-mandell*, in the entrance of the Redde Sea, being distant from *Aden* (West by Souly) thirtie two leagues. The *Arabs* both here and in all other places of *Arabia*, of all degrees, are in great straitude to the Turkes.

Thursday, at four in the morning, the Moone was eclipsed, and at one in the after-noon, I past the *Redde*, or freight being half a league over, hauing in the midle ten fathome water, and towards both sides eight, sixe or foure fathome depth, as one list to borrow to, and may be some two miles through which lets a good strong tyde, both ebbe and flood. I left on my star-board side, a Mountaine and *Cooke Peninsule*, extending from the Mayne, being all neere low-land, with a low narrow necke of land, and on the lar-board side, I left a low land of the same Coast, long East and West, being also Rocky: betweene the West end thereof, and the *Arabs* faine Coale, for ought I can discern is a cleane channel of three or neere foure leagues broad, but I thinke not much vied by the ships, for that the water is deepe, and not for anchoring, besides the other is the neerer way. We being past the *Bab*, were ignorant what dangers lay in our way, or how farre within the freight the Towne of *Moha* stood, whether in a Ruer or Bay, or how else we knew not, but discouering we kept by our lead betweene nine and ten fathomes, all along the *Arab* Coast, and as the day light ended we anchored in eight fathome, nine leagues within the *Bab*, against a little Mount standing alone by the Sea-side.

Moha eighteen
leagues within
the *Bab*.

Friday, at sixe a-cloke in the morning we set saile, standing alongst North, and North by West, as our depths directed vs, first betweene nine and ten fathomes, and lastly, betweene sixe and foure fathomes, when we came to haue the shoales without vs, but as we came neere to *Moha*, which is situated eightene leagues within the *Bab*: on the verge of a low sandy barren ground, Our Admirall we towrde alone (and no *Daring*) some foure mile into the Sea, in sixe fathome, and riding with two thowred, by reason of the vehemencie of the weather, which erit I suspected not: My present care was somewhat in this vnkowne passage, for the safety of the ship, which without great vigilancie and regard to our depths, might haue bene left to our further famine: but the neerer I came, the more my griefe gnawing at my heart, as one while reuising my griefe for the losse of so many of my men, and then casting doubts, what might befall my friends here; my Pinnasse man, I lee along by the ship: side wherein was Master *Thomson* the Master, but durst not put off till wee were thwart of them, for feare they should not recouer their owne ship againe, being once put off by reason of the wind and current. I being somewhat neere, as a signall of heauie weate, they puld downe their Flagge, whereby I vnderstood some misfortune was befalling my Generall, I being anchored, hee with the Pinnasse came aboard: where after the blais of passion and griefe (by the defects and frailties of the flesh) somewhat blowne ouer, he began by degrees to informe me of all things that had happened since we parted at *Aden*: as first of their quicke passage from *Aden* to the *Bab*, wherein they tooke in a Pilot to bring them to *Moha*, where the fourteenth of Nouember they arrived, that was from *Aden* in thirte houres, yet their misfortune was such, that against the Towne and very neere the Road, whether by mis-understanding, or the Pilots neglect to the depths, or being not acquainted with the working of our shippes, it is not materiall to examine, but on the sands the shippe came aground, and so stucke fast that her bigged flood on the shoalest of the bankes; so as notwithstanding the gale at Sea by force of the wind, the head and stern being in deeper water, did heaue and set without any painful striking, but to get her off without lightning they could not, wherefore they could not be precise in trusting themselves without pledges in the hands of the *Turkes*, who omitted nothing to prevent our doubt of being welcome with great

The Trades-
men arriveth
before *Moha* in
the Red Sea,
Nouemb. 1610.

great variety of friendly promises in every thing we demanded, and request once made, they were plyed with Barkes to lighten the ship, wherein they vied great expedition, we landing as well our Wheat-meale, Vineger, Sea-coales, Pitch and Tarre, with our vnbuilt Pinnasse, and other prouisions which came next hand, or in the way, as well Time, Lead, Iron, and other merchandize to be sold, and staued neare all our water. And of all others, Master *Lawrence Fennell* seemed most fearefull, for that in a priuate Boate he speedily carried all his things on land, leaving nothing that he regarded aboard of the ship of his owne.

The ship now hauing laine a ground
the ship, they got her aloft.

It is also to be vnderstood, that this part of *Arabia*, from Eastward of *Aden*, and vp the Red-sea to *Camaran*, which is threelcore and ten leagues within *Babel-mandell*, and I know not how farre within the Land, is called the Land of *Tecman*, and now governed by one *Jaffer Bahaw*, whose residence is in the Citie of *Zenan*, which they account to bee by moderate traile fifteen dayes journey, by post, I thinke they goe and come in that time, And the Gouvernours of *Aden* and *Moha*, which is the better place, in that it is of more reort of ships; and these Gouvernours are yeerly placed by him; as at this present in *Moha* is one *Regis Aga* by his place or office, who was his senile slave attending on him, and he was preferred to *Aden*, where he commanded the other yeere, when Captain *Sharpeigh* was there, and for that he was a beneficiall Knaue to his Master, he was preferred to *Moha*, a better place.

The Trades-
men arrive at
Boate.

Now at our first arrivall, he sent to give knowledge unto his Master, with what informations best pleased him, and was to stay for directions from his Master how to deale with vs; we trusted them as men of humane feeling, being ignorant of what was against vs. Now while the messenger went to know the *Bahaw* pleasure how to dispose of vs: The *Aga* was laying the ground of his Treason, and drawing euery thing toward readinesse, for the effecting of his desired harrell, omitting nothing which might further his villanous purpose. Also by drawing into the Towne from the nearest neighbour Island Townes and Country adioyning, such and so many foulers as might fit his turne, whole rigour and malice against vs hee neglected not to provoke, by scandalous reproches, as might best serue for his purpose, as that we were Pirats and *Christians*, (which they account as bad enemies to their holy Prophet *Mahomet* and his Lawes) and that our coming was to discouer how to ruinate and destroy the holy houses of their god, as *Mosce* and *Medinas*; and what seruice they should doe to God and their Country in destroying of vs; as also informed them that we had so much money and goods, as if they would behaue themselves valiantly when time serued, will make them and their Country happy, with so many other eluding deuises, as seemed fit for such an action; meane while our innocent distrustlesse men lured and stirred their house, and preparing against the returne of the *Bahaw* his answer, for present sale of their commodities, by the abundant shewes and promises of fauour to them. The *Aga* euer veyning, by wondering at our small quantitie of goods in the ship of so great burthen, and euer were Boats sent for goods, after the shippe was aloft, and that there was no more, till further occasion to be landed; his greedinesse seemed to be such, as the poor *Arab* Barque-men shewed feare to returne without lading; but when he perceived there was no more at present to be had, he went another way to worke; which was, he informed our Merchants, that all ships that came to this Towne in Trade, their Captaine, for their better assurance, as a pledge of good dealing, receiued the *Gran Segnior* Vess for their better securitie, which being once inuested in the view of the people, no man after durst offer them any wrong; as all the principall officers of euery ship hadignes of curtesies, the which vellese our Captaine doe come on land and accept of, he should neuer thinke him the great *Turkes* friend, nor beleue his meaning was good, as hee pretended, and therefore should doubt to giue him Trade, lest hee being a Man of warre should turne them to further mischief; which vnlesse he receiue such right, according to the welcome and custome of the place, he could not but thinke his end not for their good.

The ship now moored in a place, from whence within feuen or eight moneths was no returning, the vehemencie of the Stormes so great, the vnkowne dangers in these Seas such, no place of more comfort knowne, and no man permitted to come neare vs, that either could or would better informe vs of the contagious weather ensuing, the dangers there to be expected, or more comfort elsewhere to be found, but as it were, mutely and at the *Turkes* mercy, whether they will giue vs life, or restrain water or other reliefe to maintain the same; our house hired, our Factors and goods on land in readinesse and present sales after answer brought excepted. And now this unexpected doubt call, whether we be true men or theues: And no wayle to appease the former, or to silence the latter; but the coming on land of our Generall, on whose fauour depended the carriage and estate of the whole voyage, which could not but cross their minds and conceit, since they knew his determination was otherwise. Master *Fennell* gaue the Generall knowledge of the *Aga* his words, and further gaue him to vnderstand, that the Companies businesse, without his presence on land, could take no effect, but must rest without doing any thing. Which once knowne, Sir *Henry Middleton*, notwithstanding the little trust he had in the faith and honesty of the *Turkes* in their former places, and the infinite regard and care hee had to follow and

peruse

purfue the plot and benefit of this his journey, as well here, as in *India*, and places of more hope, now being vrged that his abfence was likely to proue prejudiciall to the Company; anfwered, that all his endeauours during the Voyage, were wholly intended for the benefit, and not prejudice of the company and were it not for the fafette of the fhips, and good of the Voyage, he could take delight to recreate himfelfe on land, as well as others: wherefore, now fince his company there might further the bufineffe, and not be imputed vnto him for his pleafure, he would not be niggardly of his prefence amongst them. Therefore he prepared himfelfe to land, to put them out of doubt, and to receive that Veff of the great *Turke* as the badge or alliance of fafette to fuch, as with like follemnitie had it put on their backs. And before his going came *Mafter Fennell* aboard to informe the Generall of what he thought fit to prepare him in, againft his landing: But at the infant, when *Sir Henry Middleton* was to enter the Boat, whether by any fufpitions whifpering amongst the *Turkes*, or whether he felt any guilt of confcience for being the occafion to halten the Generalls landing, to ftand before him in any danger that might happen, or fome fudden apprehenfion of feare (as in faint-hearted people neuer wants) of any violent courfe by the *Turkes* to be attempted, the firft day of the Generalls landing, or what elfe I know not, but at the Generalls going to land, her being Cape-Merchant, and waying the buying and felling, would haue ftayed aboard, but could not in fuch a cafe bee fpared, being fo great an aſtor in the bufineffe.

Maſter Fennell
feare

Sir Henry Middleton
drown gon on
land.

The Generall being come to land, was met by the Gouverneur and principall of the Towne, was carried to the Gouvernours houfe, where he had a rich Veff of Cloath of Gold put on his back, 20 a horfe very richly furniſhed for him to mount vpon, the Gouverneur holding the horfe while the Generall gat vp, all which was reafon *Sir Henry Middleton* ſhould accept of, being as they tended, the Badge of their friendſhip.

The communication, after the follemnitie was ended, was fuch, and fo follemnly, and with fuch profeffion and fhewes of kindneffe and friendſhip, as might deceiue any honeſt man, or which is not a deceiuer himfelfe. *Sir Henry Middleton* in ſhort time after feeing the varieties of kind fhewes by the Gouverneur toward him, and in regard of the long time he had to lay there, deſired leave of the Gouverneur, that he might there fet vp his Pinnale, which he brought ready framed out of *England*, the Gouverneur anfwered was, That the Countrey was before him to doe whatfoeuer pleaſed him, as if he were in his owne Countrey; ſeeming glad that he would com-
mand him any thing which might content him: for which, forthwith *Sir Henry Middleton* cauſed preſently all things to be brought to land, which need to be vied in the ſaid worke, with all his Carpenters, Smithes, or other that might further that worke in hand, and to that end all haſt poſſible might bee vied for diſpatch of the ſame. *Sir Henry Middleton*, with his attendance and furniture, kept houſe on land, by his continuall prefence to further the ſaid worke, which al-
fo cauſed many more to reſort on land, for their ſeueral ends, then otherwiſe would haue done. The eight and twentieth of November, *Feigh Aga* his plot growing to ripenſe, and receiving ſtrength by the directions of his *Maſter Ieger Balla*, ſent the Generall word in the afternoon, that he had recouled fo good newes from the *Baſha* concerning our bufineffe, that he could not altogether conceale the ſame, but the gte good, for his content, to fend him a taſte thereof, till his better or leaſure ſerued him to reueale the particulars; this ſeemed to be done, to make *Sir Henry Middleton* more ſecure, whole vpright thoughts gaue him no cauſe to ſuſpect any ſuch miſchiefe, as at preſent was prepared for him and his. But in the evening, inſtead of good newes from the *Baſha*, he eſt ſent his predetermined treacherie with iron maces, knocking downe the Generall, *Maſter Pemberton*, and the Merchants, with all the reſt that at that time were on ſhore, where they alſo murdered eight of our men, who by reaſon of their former fauours and fhewes of kindneffe, not deeming any ſuch treafon to be intended towards them, were naked without weapons to reſiſt ſuch vnexpected murderers. Thus they without mercy, not only in chains kept priſoners, both by the necke, hands and fetters, the Generall with eight and forrie of his company, and *Maſter Pemberton* with nine of his company, but alſo with three great Boats full
of ſouldiers attempted to ſurpriſe the *Darling*, who rided nearer the Towne then the *Trades-Increase* by
mille, who (not knowing of the betraying of their *Maſters Boat* and men) ſee-
ing a Boat coming aboard, deſcended it to be their own boat, but preſently ſeeing two Boats
more, and all full of people, began to miſtruſt ſaile ſeuerely. But the *Turkes* coming aboard, and ſeing no man ſtirring, thought themſelves ſurely poſſeſſed of her, murdering the Trumpet-
men, whom they found alſo alſo, vpon their owne pates, and made them fall into the pit that they had
made for vs, for in reuelling their vnexpected enemies, thought to the left of two more of their
ſwime men, who were ſlaine in the combat were ſlaine and crowned of the *Turkes* in night,
ſeven and twenty, whereof the Admirall of the Towne, who was their Leader, was alſo one: 60
thus hauing cleared themſelves of yett queſt, they cut their Cable, and ſet ſaile, and ſtood off
and anchored by the *Trade*, who as they knew not of the betraying of the Gouverneur, neither of
their attempting the *Darling*, till they of the *Darling* had informed them thereof, by which
meanes they preuented another miſchiefe, for that the *Trades Boat*, with a third more of her
men,

The bloody
reafon of the
Turkes.

Seuen and
twenty *Turkes*
ſlaine.

men, come to fill water, and others for pleafure were going on ſhore: alſo this morning in the *Darling*, on her gallery, they found one of the *Turkes* ſouldier, who had eſcaped with life, but their Boats gone was left behind: him they carried priſoner aboard the *Trades-Increase*. From this eight and twentieth of November, till the fourteenth of December, by reaſon of the continuall ſtormes, they heard no newes from the Generall. But the fifteenth day, *Iohn Chambers* one of the *Trades* quarter Maſters, with a Flage of Truce went on ſhore, where he found the Generall, and the reſt in Chaires as aforeſaid, in moſt inhumane manner ſo that one could not goe aſide to eaſe himſelfe, but the reſt in a row muſt goe with him, to their great annoyance, yet at his returne brought hopefull newes of the enlargement of all ſue the Generall and *Maſter Fennell*, who were to goe vp to *Zonas*, the place of the *Baſhas* reſidence, there to anſwer to ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt them. Alſo the ſeuenteenth day, the *Maſteſſenger* went againe on ſhore (in manner aforeſaid) carrying with him certayne prouiſions and other neceſſaries for the Generalls reliefe, and the reſt there with him, who returned with varietie of newes, but none good. Thus much *Maſter Thornton* at his coming aboard me, as aforeſaid informed me of.

The one and twentieth day in the afternoon, by the ſame Meſſenger I ſent a Letter to the Generall, to give him knowledge of my miſfortunes at *Aden*, who returning brought me a letter from my Generall, in briefe informing me of the bufineffe before repeated, as willing me if by any means I could get out of this Sea, and to ſtay at *Aden*, till I had heard what would become of them: alſo he had ſent the *Darling* to ply our towards *Aden*, to give mee information of his betraying, and to prevent my coming to *Moha* alſo that he and fixe more of his company were the next day to take their journey towards *Zonas*, the *Baſhas* Court, as aforeſaid.

The two and twentieth, the Generall with all his company, except the Carpenters, who wrought ſill in Chaires vpon our Pinnale for the *Baſha*, and vnable hurt men, who remained ſill in Chaires at *Moha*, ſet forth in their journey, attended on by a ſtrong Guard of ſouldiers, left any of them ſhould eſcape: yet the fame evening, notwithstanding their narrow locking to our men, *M. Pemberton* ſlipped aſide among the buſhes with ſo much liſte, as his weak ſick bodie was able, made to the waters ſide, where, although tyred with running, it pleaſed God that he found a *Canoa* hauing in her a paddle wherewith to rowe in her, hee put to ſea, committing himſelfe to the danger thereof, rather then to ſtand to the *Turkes* merie, and through rowing, his faint wearineſſe increaſed ſo, that in the morning his inability forced him to guee over rowing, hauing nothing to reſteth himſelfe but his owne water, it ſo pleaſed God that the fame morning aboard the *Trades-Increase*, was deſcended a *Canoa* in the eſing, which ſeemed to criue, vnto which being reaſonable faire weather, the *Trade* ſent off her Pinnale, who brought both *Maſter Pemberton* and his *Canoa* aboard their own ſhip, being ſcarce able to ſpeake through faintneſſe.

From this day to the ſuen and twentieth day, the weather continued for the moſt part boyſterous and ſtormy. Alſo this ſuen and twentieth day, the *Darling* through ſoule weather, hauing loſt Anchor and Cable, and not able to performe what the Generall (as aforeſaid) had ſent them about, returned vnto *Moha* Roale: where I, whom they were ſent vnto, in the *Pepper-Corne* did ride.

The ſecond of January with all three ſhips we ſet ſaile out of *Moha* Roale, intending to ply vnto *Bab-mandel*, for three reſpects. Firſt, for eaſe of our ground tackle, being through long boyſterous weather much decayed: and ſecondly, to ſeeke place to fill water for our people to drinke, by want whereof wee were very much diſtreſſed; and thirdly, and laſtly, to ſtop the paſſage of all the *Indian* ſhips entering this Sea, whereby to draw the *Turkes* to releaſe our Generall, people and goods, our great neceſſitie conſtrained this our preſent attempt in this ſea ſeeming weather; at our firſt ſetting ſaile, we ſtood over to the *Abazin* Coaſt, where wee left the *Darling* to looke her Anchor and Cable formerly loſt, we with the *Trades* and *Pepper-Corne* plying vp to wind-ward, but hauing ſcarce any aboard, the better in the evening anchored on the *Abazin* ſide in eight fathome, ſome three leagues to the wind-wards of *Moha*, and ſome foure mile from the ſhore.

The third, in the morning, the tyde of ebbe in hand, we ſet ſaile working to wind-ward, as before in the afternoon, the wind fo increaſing that I in the *Pepper-Corne* ſpent my two top-ſayles and conſtrained to bring other two new ones to the yard, before which was effected, the night approached, and wee more then halfe Sea over towards the *Abazin* Coaſt, where in regard of the ſoule weather we formerly had at *Moha* for two reſpects. I muſt deſire to ſtop; firſt, the next morning if the weather were faire, to haue the *Darling* Company to proceed on our former purpoſe; ſecondly, the weather vniſt, by the place and ſight of the *Darling* to finde eaſier Roade to anchor in this day betweene eight and nine at night, ſo ſoone as we could get in to fixteene fathome water by our founding lead in ſaile ſeeming ground and wee anchored, the *Trade* ſomewhat to the North-ward, or Lee-wards of the *Pepper-Corne*, and as towards morning the wind increaſed with a churliſh Sea, with cloudie darke weather, in which wee loſt ſight of the *Trades-Increase*, but by reaſon of the darke weather doubted nothing, at which time ſhee had broke

December.

M. Pemberton
eſcape.

January.

They poſſeſ-
ſed the
Abazin Coaſt.

broke an Anchor and droue, and let fall another Anchor, which afterward driving from sixteen to fix fathome, they were forced to cut a way to flat the ships head to the offwards to prevent further danger.

The fourth of Januare, day light approaching, wee preparing to weigh our Anchor suddenly, the ship droue from sixteen to eightene fathome, and before wee could flat our ships head to the offwards, we had lelle then fix fathome: which soone after increased to eight, ten, &c. We then (seeing the Trade: to my disturbance) standing our towards *Moba*, and seeing *William Pemberton* in the *Darling*, riding in an eade Roade, to whom I would gladly have gone, both for quiet to my minde, and ease to my ground tackle, but that I knew not what need the Trade increase might have of my Carpenters, in case of any casualties whatsoever: I know not of, in my halting after the weather rigorous, wee lye both our new top-boyles, the night before brought to the yard. They being lowed with rotten twine, as all our layles for the most part hath bene, through which meane it became night, by what time I got into the Road, where presently to my griefe I vnderstood of the Trade: misfortune to lose two Anchors and Cables as afore-said, wherefore I lent my Carpenters aboard to stocke some other Anchors, from this to the eighteenth day with little ease, we continued a wearisome Roade, to the poyling of our Cables, as afore-said.

From the sixth day, to the eleventh day, euery day came Canoes from the Towne, bringing Letter from the Carpenters with variety of forged newes, informed them by the Age, who permitted their lending the rather for that most commonly it was to get wine or beere, where with they pleased the *Turkes*, and sometimes lent some little fresh victuals, according as they had wherewithall to buy or were permitted to send aboard.

The twelfth, the *Darling* returned into *Moba* Roade to vs, saluting me with three Peeces of Ordnance, as a signe of good newes, and by Master *Pemberton* infant comming aboard of me, to my great content confirmed; for that hee had found a good watering place, and a very eade Roade for our ships, and his Anchor and Cables that he went to seeke, which as afore-said: they in his absence were forced to lose ship.

The eighteenth, in the morning there came certaine from *Moba* to vs, bringing two Bullockes, two Goates, certaine Hennes Egges, and some fruits, but no newes from our General: This day at one in the afternoon we let saile, standing our towards the *Abasin* Coast (where Master *Pemberton* found the safe Roade and watering place, and at night we anchored three leagues short of it, vnder an Island (which for the abundance of great *Crabs*, thereon were called *Crab* Island.)

The nineteenth, we weighed againe, and stood nearer into the Bay, and anchored vnder another lesser Island.

The twentieth, we weighed againe, and stood further into the Bay, and anchored right against the watering place, looke halfe a mile from the shore, in eight fathome water. I lent *George Jeff* before in the Pinnasse to seeke out the River, and to see if hee could speake with any of the Countrey people, who no sooner landed, but by and by there did present them selfes vnto our mens sight, at least an hundred of the Countrey people armed with Lances, whereof one came to our people being of a bolder spirit then the rest, who not only spoke with them, but also desired to goe aboard with them, who at his comming aboard informed mee by an Interpreter, how that the *Turkes* had sent word vnto them, how they had betrayed and murdered duers of our men, and wishing them also to doe the like to many of our men as they could lay hand on. This young-man was a principall mans sonne, and was very kind vnto vs all the time we were in this Bay: he this night dailie aboard the Trade *Interesse*, where he was very kindly vied to his great content.

The one and twentieth, I with all our Boats, and most part of our men went on shore, setting some to digging of Wells, some to fetching of ballast, others to filling of some little out of a little Well we there found made ready to our hand, and the rest being armed to guard them that wrought, and soone after our landing came downe vnto me the Priest, the batha, and his brethren of the young man afore mentioned (who as yet was not gone from vs) whom at their comming aboard they very joyfully received, presenting me with a Goat, I also gave vnto them foure of the Trade: shirts put in by the Merchants for the Company, which they very kindly received; promising to bring downe the next day some Goates, to sell vnto vs for our money, which they very honestly performed, as by the sequel may appere.

The two and twentieth, I haue continued aloofe all night with a good Guard, to see that there should no harme be done to our water, I appointed our men to their bulwark as the day before, but by reason of the boisterous weather, none of the Countrey people came downe to vs: the cause of my present continuance on shore, was for that I see such ill vltage of my Generall, and his people betrayed both at *Aden* and *Moba*, although they had made such false shewes and promises, I haue no assurance of the honesty of this people to vs, bred in mee suspicion what harme might be attempted against vs here by the *Turkes*, or by their perfuasion to this Countrey people, either by poysoning our water or other wayes; therefore further then needs must I trusted

trusted none, so also I continued this night aloofe with a good strong Watch.

The three and twentieth, haue I let our Company to euery particular bulwark, there came downe to vs the same men, who the other day had bene with me and after them followed some others, driving before them duers Goates to sell to vs according as they had promised. I very kindly entertained them, and caused the Purser to buy their Cattle, and in the evening they departed very well satisfied, promising euery day to bring downe more, of which they made good performance. This day we made an end of watering.

From the foure and twentieth to the six and twentieth day, they brought downe euery day both Goates and Sheepe, whereof we bought according to our occasions and spending, they returning well satisfied.

The nine and twentieth, the wind at North North-west we let saile, I determined to get vp to the *Bab* with all our three ships, there to make stay of all the *Indian* shippes, that this yeare should enter this Sea, by them to force the *Turkes* to re-deliver my Generall, and the rest of his Company our goods and Pinnasse, as afore-said: but being thwart of *Crab* Island it fell calme, the tyde letting right on the Island, of this time I made the best vse I might, for so soone as we had anchored, I accompanied with Master *Thornston* and Master *Pemberton*, went on shore with all our Boates, and most part of our men whom I appointed to cutting of wood, both for dressing our victuals and other needfull vses. This after-noon we were decried comming our from *Moba*, two *leilus*, one whereof came directly aboard the Trade, bringing me a Letter from my Generall, dated the fiftenth of January, informing me of his safe arrival at *Zenan*, with all his company, save *Richard Phillips*, Master *Pemberton* youth, whom hee left very sick at a place called *Tyer*, who desired to be informed of Master *Pemberton*, whether he were safely escaped before or no, for that he doubted the *Arabs* attending on their Allies, to haue murdered him for his Assistance, of the variety of hopes and seeming promises of his enlargement, being only delusions; this Letter being kept till the fourteenth of the same, also mentioneth of the safe arrival of Master *Foster*, and the rest of my Company (betrayed at *Aden*) at *Zenan*; how God had raile his friends among the midst of his enemies, to wit, the *Raba*, who is next in degree to the *Basha*, with diuers other that fauoreth his iust cause; contradicted my present determination of slaying the *Indian* shippes, for that as yet they haue no iust cause to obiect against him; it might proue preiudiciall, not only to him and his Company, but also to our Nation trading in the Mediterranean Sea, but that the *Basha* had cleared *Regis* Age of the betraying and murdering of him and his Company, taking it vpon himselfe, as that it was done by his warrant and command. To this my Generalls letter by the same messenger, I returned an answer; first giuing him to vnderstand of Master *Pemberton* lifeless: our infortunate loosing and poyling our ground tackle of my present determination intercepted by his letter; my opinion of their faile seeming, yet deluding promises: and lastly of our safe Roade and watering place on the *Abasin* Coast, right opposite to *Moba*, being some 13. leagues distant, where we haue refreshing reasonable cheape.

The tenth of February, the Trade returned to me in the Roade of *Affah*, Master *Thornston* bringing me my Generalls letter, dated the five and twentieth of February, therein desiring me as yet to forbear reuenge on them which haue wronged him: also informing me of the present hopefull estate of his bulwark, also that five days after the date herof, he with all his Company are to take their journey downe to *Moba*, willing me, till his arrival at *Moba*, to expect no more letters from him; all such me knowledge of the death of *John Baker*, one of my Quarter Masters, and *Richard Elmigere*, one of the Trades Company. To this my Generalls letter, for want of conuenance, I wrote no answer.

The first of March, I lent the Pinnasse to the Towne, and in her the Purser, and the Guid *Alle*, March 1. who in their going, found a place of better water defending from the mountains, by reason of the raines within the land (whereof we afterwards filled some water; but the raines once ended it was dried vp.) They haue bought some few Goats and sheepe returned; and in the evening we defriced a Boat comming over from *Moba* to vs-word.

The second, the said Boat came aboard the Trade, bringing me a letter from my Generall, wherein he gave me to vnderstand of the cause of his delay of his journey, partly by reason of a great ill-omne feast of the *Turkes* approaching, but principally to haue the *Sabander* of *Moba* his company, for the more safe traueil; also wisteth the Carpenters forbore to proceed any further in building the Pinnasse, for that the *Basha* intendeth her for his owne vse, and not for vs; also willing me to forbear reuenge.

The fifth, I lent the *Darling* over to *Moba*, to expect newes from my Generall, where shee The *Mahomet* found in the Road a great ship of *Dabul*, called the *Mahomet*. This day the Generall with all of *Dabul* his Company arrived at *Moba*.

The eleventh, I do bet let any euill had befallen the *Darling*, by reason of her so long absence, for saile with the Trade and *Pepper-Corne*, standing our towards *Moba*: but before we were off as *Crab* Island, I saw the *Darling* comming ourward for that the wind thwarted vpon vs; in which case I catched the Road, I lent Master *Thornston* in the Pinnasse, to vnderstand what newes, but in the *Pepper-Corne* with the Trade and *Pepper-Corne*, returned into the Road againe: in the evening

A good watering place found.

Crab Island.

Turkish Pelt-Mace.

The Road on the *Abasin* Coast, thirteen leagues from *Moba*, February 17. The Road of *Affah*.

evening Master Pemberton with Master Thornton, and two and twentie of the *Trades* Company, and fourteene of the *Pepper-Corne* Company betrayed at *Moba* and *Aden*, came over the point of the land, bringing me a letter from my General, wherein he gaue me to vnderstand of his kind hopes of enlargement, to loose at the *Indian* ships of this years were all come in, and the Westerly winds come. Also that the *Turkey* had seduced the afore said *Richard Philips*, whom in his journey vpwards he left like at *Tre*, him by threatening they had forced to turne *Turkey*, and therefore came not downe to *Moba* with him, he reioyceth to heare of Master Pemberton's fidelity, also informeth me that none of the letters I had sent him were deliuered to him; I also desired my opinion, whether best for him to make an escape aboard, if he can, or to remaine at the *Turkey* dejection, also witheth that the *Pepper-Corne* be the next that comes to *Moba*.

The eighteenth, I with the *Pepper-Corne* set sail, standing ouer to *Moba*, but being near-ower, it fell calme, and a lee-ward tide, whereby I was forced to anchor in twentie fathom water, on a banke where we there found three leagues from *Moba*; and in the evening there came off a *Canoa* vnto me, to know what we were, deeming me to be an *Indian* ship, for that by reason of the hazy weather, they could not well discern vs.

The nineteenth in the morning, I set sail, the wind at South standing into the Road, whereas yet was only the fad great *Dabul* manit before I came to an anchor, my General sent his man aboard me with a letter, that frustrated my present hopes, wherein he gaue me to vnderstand that he must be forced to dislodge me away very suddenly, for that my presence caused feare in the *Dabullians*, and discontent to the *Agas*. Notwithstanding this my Generalls letter, I sent *George* to the Pinnace on shore, by whom I sent two letters, the one briefly to giue to vnderstand of our wants, also my opinion of the *Turkey* performance, who through custome of falsehood, their true performance is not to be expected, but only to feed Sir *Henry Middleton* with faire promises, to ferse their owne turns; and then we haue no matter to worke vpon, fee the *emptions* which the *Turkey* haueing their goods on land, would nothing regard, and then my General to remaine at the *Turkey* dejection, whether to be sent aboard according to the *Bahs* his vnforced agreement, or to be ruled at their pleasures, or sent back againe to *Zenan*, and so to *Shawla*. The other, if he should think good to shew the *Agas* therein making them, that so long as he was detained prisoner, his power extended not to command vs that were free & at liberty, and therefore could not keep vs from the Road of *Moba*, nor in any other thing further then we see good our selues. To the my letters the General writ an answer, the copy whereof followeth.

Sir Henry Middleton's letter to Captain Downton.

Captaine Downton, your owne much care may worke your owne harmes, and doe me and my company good, and therefore take nothing to heart more then it canst, for I haue had, and still haue my full share thereof; and whereas you alledge you are loath to depert the Road without me, I am more loath to tarry behind, if there were any remedie: I made a forced agreement with the *Bahs* at *Zenan*, that the ships should be sent from thence out of this Road, till all the *Indian* ships were come in, and then at the first coming of the Westerly wind, both I and all my Company shall be set free; if they faile to performe with mee, then I would haue you from your endeavour: is the meane time you must haue patience, as well as I; I would be loath the agreement should be first broken on our side, without any cause giuen by them. For the promise that should haue been sent in the *lela*, it was my fault it was not sent, in that I did not vowe it to the *Agas*. After your departure to morrow, as I desire you to see performed, I will giue in hand with the lading of the goods in the *lela*, which shall not bee about three dayes absent from you: I haue promised the ships shall not come in the Road till the Westerly winds be come, which will be a month hence at the first best, in the meane time you shall haue from me by *lehas* or Boats, which I will send of purpose: I doubt not but there will be good performance made with me by the *Turkes*, in that my agreement was made with the *Bahs*, and not with *Regib Aga*. If I doubted any new stratageme, I would haue attempted to haue escaped away before this time: I haue had, and still haue means for my escape, were it not to leaue my people in danger of their liues; doubt not, if they performe not with me, when the Westerly winds come, but I shall haue good oportunitie. I had laid a plot to haue escaped, if I could haue persuaded Master *Femell*, but he will by no means be drawne to any thing, till he see whether the *Turkes* will performe or no, he makes no doubt but to be sent aboard with the first of the Westerly winds, when you shall come to demand vs; you may ride in your quiet road, stand on the other side, with all your ships, till God send us that wee will for Westerly wind, twisfe you get a lutch of wind to carry one of your ships to the *Bah*, to see if all be well there, and so returne backe to you. Reason that all sorts of prisoners must in pace in all the ships, which God sending me aboard, I hope quickly to reuew.

The feuen and twentieth, according to my Generalls requests, I sent the *Darling* ouer to *Moba*, for effecting the foresaid businesse.

April 7.

The twentieth and thirtieth, the *Budwes* brought downe both Goats and sheepe to feed. The first, second and third of April, the *Budwes* brought downe either Bullocks, Goats or sheepe, to sell vnto vs.

The fourth, the *Darling* returning from *Moba*, but the wind taking her short, she was forced to anchor to the Northwards or lee-wards of the Road, till the wind should come more large.

The

The sixt, the *Darling* came into the Road of *Assab*, and anchored neare the watering place, neare the *Trade*, to deliuer the victuals and other provisions, which had been so long detained by the *Turkey*, and also brought me a very kind letter from my General.

The seuenth, the *Darling* plied vp to an land neare the *Pepper*, there to be Carreind (this I land we called *Care* land, for that on it we killed most Cranes) from this day to the twelfth day, the *Darling* did land her goods and victuals, and vnrigged their shippes, and certaine of the *Trades* Company were gathering of Breeming.

The one and twentieth, the King of *Rabeta* sent me a Present (by a kinsman of his) being a fat Cow and a Slave, he continued aboard the *Trades-Increase* all night.

The thirtieth, the *Trades-Increase* was heilled and trimmed on both sides, so farre as conveniently might be: this day we filled all our emptic Caskes with water, being nine and twentie Tunnes, the water being faire.

The fourth and fift day of May, wee trimmed all our Boats, being reasonable faire weather, the wind at South South-east. The feuenth and ninth day, the *Budwes* brought downe good store of sheepe and Goates, but through want of cloath, we bought very few, only three Bullocks, which we gaue money for.

The eleuenth, my General made his most happie escape aboard the *Darling*, with fifteene more of his Company.

The twelfth, my General sent the Pinnasse ouer from *Moba*, and by her a letter, giuing me knowlege of his escape, as afore said; also desiring me, vpon the sight of this letter, to repayre ouer to *Moba*, with the *Trades-Increase* and *Pepper-Corne*; which direction I presently put in execution, making the ships in readinesse to sail: but before my coming, he so behaued himselfe in the *Darling*, to the terror of his enemies the *Turkey*, that neither Boat from the shore durst go aboard any of the *Indian* ships, neither from the ships to the shore, without asking his leave, and making knowne their businesses; so that now *Regib Aga* of *Moba*, began to take a new song, and insinuate with Sir *Henry Middleton* by diuers messengers, as by *Nobuda Mahomet* and others of the Generalls best friends there, with Presents, now fearing what harmes might happen vnto them, in recompence of his treachery towards him, and therefore desired to haue peace with the General: for Master *Femell*, before his returne aboard, in more especiall fauour, was by the *Agas* inuited to his house, whereto he was vrged, and there too loone yielded to eate and drinke with him; whereupon some former speeches giuen out by Master *Femell*, that he would make complaint of his wrongs in *Stambola*, which now here remembre at his departure, with a smiling countenance told him they might meete together at *Stambola*. This night being come aboard he seemed ouer-loyed; but three dayes after, about two of the clocke in the morning he ended his life, as we all thought, by pyson: the Chirurgeons opened him, and this was their conceit: whereupon the General enlarged all his ships.

The nine and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the morning, as afore said, Master *Femell*, Cape Merchant, died.

The first day of Iune in the evening, we had a very strong gust of wind, being so hott, that it was able to take away our breathes; it also draue the find of the shore in such sort, we could scarce looke to wind-ward.

The second, came aboard the Admirall, *Alle* the sonne of *Porting* ad parents, being a Captaine, turned *Turkey*, who, for that he had been the Generalls Trueman, or Interpreter at *Zenan*, and so had some acquaintance with him, and therefore was sent downe to capitulate with him of a Peace: he informed the General that Master *Pemberton* said Bey was alreadye brought downe to *Moba*, and promised the next day he should be brought aboard. This *Alle* and *Taccace* a *Banwan*, came to know the Generalls demand, which was an hundred thousand *Rials* of eight.

The eight in the morning, the General sent the *Darling* to *Beloua*, a place on the *Alexius* Coast, being ten leagues to the Northward of *Assab*, to fetch water, and buy some Goats for reliefe of our men, who began to fall sicke of a faint disafe; the belt remedie whereof was, as I found, was letting blood, and purging of the body; this disafe went away in byles and scabbes, and this disafe no man escaped cleare of.

The nineteenth, *Shermall Sabander* of *Moba*, accompanied with many of the chiefe Merchants of the Towne, and the *Alle* *Hadke* and *Taccace* a *Banwan*, came in flate with diuers sorts of muske, from the *Agas* to the General (aboard the *Trades-Increase*) to capitulate of the fore-said summe by his liuelimanded, for satisfaction for our fire goods, which then, in regard the General, and all we saw at the present no more to be gotten, and that which should be agreed vpon, to come out of the said *Sabander* or friend his purse, who day relieved our men in his misery with bread and other sustenance, not so much as our dogge but also had daily allowance from him; so that alwayes his presence admittred comfort to our distressed people: therefore it was concluded, wee to reuene our iron and lead againe, and for the rest of our goods not to be had (wherein was concluded all Vells and other presents the General had giuen) the summe at present agreed vpon, was eighteene thousand *Rials* of eight, and for that at present they had not money to defray so great a summe, they desired the General to take out of

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Care land.

The King of Rabeta.

May.

Sir Henry Middleton's escape with fifteene more of his company.

The death of Master Femell, June 1.

A place on the Alexius Coast.

Richard Phillips,
Master of the
Pemberton Boy, re-
sided.

the said ship of *Dia*, so much goods as he should estimate a fit payne for so great a summe (which they would daily redeem as they could raise money) and then the ship to goe in presently to land and make sale of the rest of her goods: the utmost time limited for the last payment, was fourtente dayes. The *Sabander* brought aboard with him, according to promise, Master *Pemberton* Boy, being clad in apparel of the English fashion.

§. III.

Their departure from Moha to Affab, and after that, higher into the Red-sea, thence to the Socotora, and after to Surac.

July 3:

HHe third of July, having reasonably provided the ships with Rice and other graine (for that our *English* provision consumed space) the Generall with all three ships and Pinnasse set sail, and standing over to the Bay of *Affab*, there by getting daily refreshing, to recover our weak faint sick men; where we arrived: the fourth day, at eleven of the clocke after noone. The fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth dayes, the *Business* every day brought downe either Bullocks, sheepe, or Goats.

The thirteenth, we made an end of watering. The King of *Rabeta* sent the Generall three fat Bull-locks for a Present, by one *Abdella*, his sisters sonne, the Generall very kindly entertained him, and accepted of the Kings Present, presenting him againe with a Vest of Broad-cloth, the Generall also gave the King heartie thanks, for all the kinde and good dealing received from his Subjects, at this his Port. The said *Abdella* then desired the Generall to come with his ships nearer the *Bab*, being by their report a good harbour, and is neare the Kings Towne, and more plentifull of refreshing, where he might better shew his love unto the Generall. This day the Generall feasted him aboard the *Trader-Increase*, and in the evening caused a banquet of sweet meats and wine to be prepared on shore against their landing, whereof he having both eaten and drunke, very thankfully tocke leave of the Generall, and departed to the King againe.

Their endeavor
to take a rich
Turke Shipps,
which came
from *Suez*.

The four and twentieth, we set sail from *Affab*, directing our course towards *Cameran*, an Island on the *Abazin* Coast, some fower leagues to the Northward of *Moha*, in fifteen degrees North latitude, in which is a Towne and fortresse, to which place they thought they were come or neare coming to stay for directions, by reason of our being neare, so the Northwards it is likewise seen: that any will attempt going, while the Westrely Monition listeth, which in the Red-sea bloweth most all Northerly, till the last of July. We turned up all day, and anchored at night, in which we were pestered with a dangerous sea, to which we were unware came so neare: as we had oftentimes enough to doe to quit our selves of them, when we had little more water then we needed: this continuing two dayes, having no Pilot, nor other means (and the Currents uncertaine) ready to find it: And the weather doubtfull, being in uncertaine places to ride: in open water, if the weather in the night should prove adverse, the Generall with griefe being often moved to give out the business of seeking the *Turke* ship of *Suez*; himselfe considered that it was fit for him to provide for the safety of his owne ships, which are to him certaine, then with too much hazard to pursue things uncertaine, and perchance might misse finding her when he came there: so we bore up with the Island of *Inball Succor*, which is bigge and high, and another great Island to the Southwards of it, being all high, called *Inball Arree*; these two neighbour Islands are incircled with divers other smaller Islands to the Southwards, and in divers places ledges of sunken rocks, being discerned only by the breaches on them: those Islands as they lye South and North, by supposition may be in length some ten leagues, they lye North North-west from *Moha*, where in cleare weather they may plainly be seen, which I apprehend very seldom: from the Westter part of *Inball to Beloula*, the course is South-west by South distant some twelve leagues; little wide of which course lyeth two sunken rocks knowne by the breach, they are neare adjoining to the said Islands South by West: from the Westter part of *Inball Arree* are two Islands and a Rocke; and from thence towards the Coast of *Africa* South-west lye fower other small flat rocks, lying distant from the former some fower myles and an halfe: there is no danger in going neare them, for we found deeper water close aboard the South Westermolst of them, being the nearest to the *Africke* Coast.

Two Islands
called *Inball*
Succor and *Inball*
Arree.

August 6.

The six of August, at four of the clocke in the morning, we set sail from our good harbour of *Affab*, and before six at night we anchored in the Roade of *M. ha*, lying neare the Towne wall mored and vnder the said *Gallion* which came from *Suez*, when we had gone to seeke and misse vs, as we were intangled amongst the shoales, and was come into *Moha* five dayes before: so there was come in one *Gally*, and three more every day expected.

The seventh, the Generall went in with the *Pepper-Corne* and *Darling* (for dispatch of his business) so neare as the ships could well ride, and also, if need required, to command all the ships in the Roade: and about ten of the clocke, our old friend *Tuacnee* and *Sabrage*, the *Sabander* man,

man, came aboard with a Present from *Shermal* the *Sabander*: to thefe the Generall gave notice of his business, and dispeided them away.

The tenth about eleven of the clocke before noone, we past thorow the Easter Channell of *Bab-mandel* (in the middle nine or ten fathoms, and toward ether side, seven, six or five fathoms, according as we edged in or off; the *Darling* and *Release* put out through the greater or South-westter Channell, which may be some fower leagues ouer, all seeming very cleare of danger, the *Release* going farre by the shore, on the South-west side of the Island of *Bab-mandel* in twelve fathom; the Easter Channell is not about a mile and a halfe ouer.

The eleventh at noone, the high land of *Aden* bore North North-west, distant some eleven leagues, and by estimation East by South halfe a degree some fixe and thrice leagues. Note also that from this day vnto the end, I reckon the dayes from noone to noone, for that by every daies observation of latitude, I estimate my traueise, as now from noone the eleventh day, to noone the twelfth day, I reckon vpon the twelfth day onely in my discourses, I reckon according to the true day, as from midnight to midnight, &c.

The one and twentieth, from noone to six at night East, some fower leagues before Sun-rising, we descried Mount *Felix*, bearing East by North eleven leagues distant (by which we certainly perceived how the Current had abided vs) from Tuesday the twentieth day after-noone, to Monday the six and twentieth day, notwithstanding some while of the land, and other while sea turnes, betwene calmes oftentimes a prettie gale continuing sometime foure, fixe or seven hours together, yet by reason of the Current we could neuer get a head; but by the said six and twentieth day in the morning, we were fallen to the Westward fower fower leagues, the six and twentieth day at nine of the clocke in the morning (having continued vnder a strepe high whitish cliffe all the foreland time) it pleased God to send vs a small gale of wind off the shore, with which wee came off North North-east into the Sea, in hope there to finde the wind more prosperous.

The seven and twentieth, by iudgement we might runne East North-east fourteen leagues. This day at foure after-noone, Mount *Felix* bore South by East some nine leagues distant; this Mount, by my estimation, may be fixe leagues Westward of Cape *Guadalupe*: this night when it was calme, as also when the wind blew, we met with a potching sea, which well intimated me, that we grew neare the length of the Head-land, and began to bring the Southern sea open of the Cape, or the point of the land: the nine and twentieth we descried *Socotora*.

Note that in this traueise from *Aden* to *Socotora* is no certaintie, by reason we were so much deluded by the Current, wherein by the water oftentimes we seemed to get, yet by the Current we lost, or were driven backe.

Now having effected all our businesses, as watering and getting some ballast, and bought all the Allices here to bee had, and left Letters of aduice with the King of *Socotora*, for such of our nation, as in like manner might come to Trade in the Red-sea, both to prevent their losse of time and further trouble.

The fourth of September, at two in the after-noone, we set sail from the Roade of *Delijba*, September 4. the wind presently grew calme, so that we did little good all the night.

The three and twentieth, at fixe in the morning, being neare the end of an ebbe, we set sail and flood away North and North North-east two howres, fower two leagues, the wind at South, our depths from ten to sixteen fathom, and presently as against a wall, seven, fixe and five fathoms. About eight of the clocke, we did sight of the trees of *India*, which standeth both in South and North *Swally*, which here East by North from vs (by a meridian Compass distant fixe leagues) we name in East North-east and North-east by East with the flood, still raising the land to the Northward, till nere two of the clocke; our depths uncertaine, sometimes more and sometimes lesse, shunning diuvsuspicious riplings, keeping betwene eight and fifteen fathome, we anchored in fift Oz, and by my observation it bloweth East North-east one quarter North, and West by South one quarter South by the Moore, and by this time the flood runneth fixe houres, and the ebbe seven houres, by reason of the Winter frefles by the abundant raines are not yet fully expelled, and therefore doth overcome or shorten the flood-freames; but at other times, though the Spring-freames goe alwayes strong, yet the flood and ebbe are equally fixe houres a piece. In the Winter-freames, which is June, July and August, my coniecture is that Cables and Anchors, nor Ships bowes can be made of force to resist the freames. The Coast lyeth here neare North and South; this day being come to an anchor, my Generall sent off his Pinnace to fetch a Boat which sailed neare vs, who came from *Surat*, and was bound to *Goga*, laden with Rice, who informed him we were ouer-thwart *Surat* a great way toward *Cambaja*, and that we must returne seven or eight leagues, if wee would goe to the Barre of *Surat*: this Boat the Generall kept with him, because they would visit the Master of her for a Pilot.

The foure and twentieth, there came another Boat voluntarily aboard the Admirall, and also continued with good content with vs for Pilots: the former informed the Generall, that there were layeing for vs at the Barre of *Surat*, fifteen armed *Tortugall* Frigates, to intercept what we should there intend; so at full sea, which was at two after-noone, we set sail with a little wind

About of
Surat.

at South, standing off West into the deeper Channell, turning down the ebbe while day light would permit, and then anchored in foure and twentie fathome in a vehement streame, where riding till morning day-light, when the ebbe being spent and we not able to weigh our anchors till the tide broke, so that we made a small tides work; yet this fine and twentieth day night at foure of the clocke, we anchored some league short of the Roade, Southward of the Barre, where we lay riding at anchor three Indian ships.

Eighteen
sailles of Portu-
gal Frigats.

The six and twentieth in the morning, with the tide of flood we set sail, standing into the Roade, where we anchored by the said three ships of Surar, which were intended to be laden for to goe to Sumatra, but partly by reason of our approach and partly for that the Portugals would come to no reasonable composition with them for their Customs and *Carras* (or Palle) their Voyage was given over, according to our Pilots former information. We here found eighteenth saile of Portugall Frigats, whereof some time more, and sometime lesse, according as they see occasion appeared in our view, all being under the charge or conduct of Don Francisco de Seta Maior, Capitaine Maior of the forces of *Damon* and *Chaul*, accompanied also with the Capitaine Maior and forces of *Diu*: who for a long time together without intermission, so pestred the streames about vs, that none could neither out of the River, nor any other way come neere vs, but they would narrowly search and see that they had neither Letters nor other provisions, that might comfort or relieve our necessities, whereby they often tooke occasion to rob diuers of sundry things, with threatnings that they were bringing them vnto vs their Enemies; and therefore confounded by this meanes our men grew to great weaknesse, and every day more and more of our men fell downe with the feare, wanting to refresh or comfort them: at last by our Neighbours the ships Boat of Surar, we received a lame aduice from one *Nicholas Bingham*, left by the Heire to attend on the Merchants there. Yet after many dayes, was gotten from him (which for the purpose was lying by him) both a Letter from Capitaine *Henric* remaining in *Agra* (which is the place of the great *Mogall* his residence) and another from *William Finch* at *Lahor* which was going home-wards ouer land by the way of *Persia*, by which the Generall vnderstood the little hope they conceived of any good for our Nation in this Country people without faith. After some time there was knowledge giuen by the said *Nicholas Bingham*, that Capitaine *Sharpeigh*, *Iohn Iourdaue*, and others were cury day expected in Surar, being coming from *Agra* by the way of *Cambaya*, which gave some content to Sir Henry Middleton.

Mr. Finch intended to returne into England by the way of Persia.

The thirtieth, by the Generals direction, I with the *Pepper-Corne*, *Darling*, and *Reliefe*, set sail, endeavouring to finde the passage ouer the Barre into the River of Surar: but partly by the Portugals diligent attendance to cutt off from vs our Boats which founded before the ships, if they exceeded the command of our Ordinance, and partly the vncertaine and dangerous sudden shoalings we in each ship found, did chiefly frustrate our present endeours.

Þ. IIII.

Many proud affronts of the Portugals. Disgusts from the Indians.

October 1.

The first of October, we all set saile backe againe towards the Roade, where our Admirall rid, but the wind increasing vpon vs, and the tyde of ebbe growing alow strong, we could not fetch the Roade, but were put off some foure miles Westwards of the Roade, whereof it was Wednesday before the wind and tyde so much fauoured vs as to get into the Roade. Sir Henry Middleton wrote vnto the Portugall Capitaine *Chaior*, requiring him that if he could not permit him to Trade here, yet that he might take in the Merchants and others his Countrymen which were heere on shoare in this Countrey, and then hee would be gone from this place; but the Portugall Capitaine answered (to this) was No, for hee would carrie them to Goa, and from thence, they should be sent home: also it seemed that *Iohn Iourdaue*, had beene flatterring with the fathers both at *Agra* and *Cambaya* and had obtained foue commendations to the Vice-Roy, or request of hope of conduction into Portuwall, knowing at present no better meanes to get into his Countrey: by which Sir Henry Middleton could neuer imagine nor expect any safetie to such as continue firme to our State and Countrey. And neere the time of this Letter from Sir Henry Middleton, Capitaine *Sharpeigh* by some principall Portugall then on land in Surar, made motion either by Letter or otherwise, to the Capitaine Maior to giue him his *Segure* (or safe conduct) for his safe passage aboard the English ships; whereupon the Capitaine Maior, in loose wrote vnto the English Capitaine and his Companions, his *Segure* for their safe coming aboard his Gallies, without addition for his departure thence, the thing so which he required. And further to see the base account he made of our Nations, added, that if they would take their passage along with him to Goa, he would vnto him and his Company with as much fauour, as he would giue to *Turkes*, *Moorcs*, or other Nations that visit these Seas; and all other Nations (a few *Persians* excepted) are *Iemes*, *Dannians*, and *Gentiles*, which thought were

Inference of Portugals.

were in him an vnpleasing and vile speech, yet I like well his plainenesse, in shewing them w^t as to trust to before (not thinking they could have escaped his hands) otherwise it is likely, that some of them would have bene perswaded, that their vfrage should haue bene better then is heere promised.

Sir Henry Middleton being very zealous in procuring the libertie of our Country-men, though both by Capitaine *Hawkins* and *William Finch* his Letters, and by all else we could vnderstand of the Countrey, all hope of good here to be done for the Company, eyther for present or to come was wholly quenched; he writ to haue them come by land and meete him at *Dabul*, but that journey was thought too tedious, and by reason of the Warrs in *Decanie*, dangerous. The time 10 this last seemed very tedious; wherein our water and other provisions fast w^t d, our people daily for want of comfortable refreshing, fell generally into sicknesse, which made our escape doubtful, not knowing where or by what means to get refreshing, we being so garded by these our Enemies, that none could come to vs, neither could we goe from our ships: And Capitaine *Sharpeigh* made prison for vs at the Towne, though without hope that it could escape the Portugals, who lay in continuall waite for it. It being prouided, it was in vaine to tell it againe, but order being giuen to send it howeuer, it was immediately sent towards vs.

The eleventh, Sir Henry Middleton, much disturbed in minde at our present doubtful estate, and our great losse of time, and that to so little purpose, and therefore leaving the *Trades Increase* in the mayne Roade, he with the *Pepper-Corne*, and *Darling*, and *Reliefe*, put in practice to discom- 20 uer along the Coast to the Northward, to find out some place where our ships might safely ride so neere the shoare, as to command the place of landing, and frustrate the Portugals attempts for taking our Boates and people: but the day neere spent, we were anchored neere the North point, thwart of the barre at the entrance of the River of Surar, this day *Alonso Granisio* dyed.

The twelfth, early in the morning, the Portugals took the Boate which was coming to- 30 wards vs with our provisions: in losse the Capitaine Maior presently sent thanks to Capitaine *Sharpeigh*, for his care of him in sending him victuals for his supply. This said morning at the first of the flood we set saile standing with the point to the Northwards, and by reason of the quicknesse of the streame, and our suspicion in this vnkowne place, we euer put that ships halfe with our sayles, and before the smallest we sent our rowing Boates, making no more 30 to prevent what perill by these strong Tides might happen, we had our Anchors always in readinesse to let drop wheneuer by their signes ahead, we should vnderstand of any sudden shoaling. The Armie of the Portugals likewise weighed and followed keeping a breift between the *Pepper-Corne* and the shore, they all rowing in order of Battell with their Colours displayed, oftentimes making great shoutes as in some great attempt; the Capitaine Maior in a small Frigate, going from Frigate to Frigate throughout his Fleet encouraging them at length the *Darlings* Boat a good distance of betwene the ship & the land, by occasion of a suspicious rippling & where thee was sounding, presently by the Capitaine *Mauers* direction one of their smaller swiftest Frigates (being over-bold through our long sufferance) row forth with great swiftnesse to cutt off from vs the *Darlings* Boat, being seconded by another of the same kind. The Master of the *Darling* seeing his Boat and men in such danger, could no longer forbear, but for her rescue he began to shoot at them, the former Frigate gat cleere ahead. But the second seeing our shotte flye loo fast at her with teare put on shoare, the men abandoning her ranne away in the muddle; the Armie now comming vp for her rescue perceiving our shot came amongst them so full throught a sterne lea- 40 uing that Frigate so our deuotion woe perceiving them so to leaue her, and for that she was fit for our times, followed the fetching of her. In this Frigate we found some small quantity of Indico, Cinamon, Comm-fell, Corzon Yume, Mirabolans (dry for Phisick) & one small ball of *Cawdickens* mill, & very coarse, all of small value, these things had the Portugals lately taken from a poore *Bamian*. By this occasion we anchored here in fouen fathome water, thwart of the North 50 point in the mouth of the River of Surar, within Musket shot of the shoare at low water, here wee rid till the next day.

Vngracious
Scatitudes.

A Portugall Fri-
staken.

The thirtieth, in the morning we weighed and stood somewhat neerer into the shorewards, and anchored in sixe fathome, presently we descryed diuers men on land, wherefore the Generall sent Master *Isse*, and *Mathew Br-ge* alhoare with a Flagg of Truce: but they being Portu- 60 gals, and perceiving them landed, retired flourishing their Swords as though they had achieved some worthy exploit: this day about nine a clocke in the fore-noon, the Generall sent a way the *Darling* into the maine Roade, where the *Trades Increase* rid, he made no stay there but presently againe returned bringing with her one of the Indian ship Boates, and fountene of their men whom the Generall at times sent away with Letters to the Towne to Capitaine *Sharpeigh* whom before their going the Generall royally rewarded, also promising them better satisfaction at their returne: hue of them were this evening sent away with Letters, who promised to returne againe to vs with Letters, but according to their accustomed practice of lying and deceit, they onely spoke to giue present content and meant the contrary, so that there is no hold in their words. This day there came some what neer vs a great Indian Boat laden with Paddy, the General made

made slay of her, and for our present supply, bought of her one Candie, & fixe Maunds of Paddy, which the next day we tooke into the *Pepper-corne*, and they having satisfaction to their content, being dismissed, departed.

The sixteenth, we seeing two Frigats riding a good distance to the North-ward of vs, which the Generall had a desire to see what they were, and to know the cause of their riding there: which being *Portugals*, and seeing vs rowing along the coast towards them, they set sail, flanking awhile along the coast, and then to the Offing; but finding our ships further and further a sterne gaue them over, and stood in with the River, and point of South *Swally*: we landed, determining with our net to fish, but the depth of the water not fitting the *General* was going with the River in his Galliot to fish, at which instant there came a good gale of wind off the sea, whereby againe came in the two former Frigats, accompanied with two other Frigats, newly come from the bar-foot of *Swat*. In which wasthe late Captaine of our little Frigats, who lately hazarded his life by running away in the deep mud, supplied now by worthy valour to recover her againe, (as soon after we were informed) to whole attempt the wind was as favourable, as adverse to vs, who had farre to row to wind-ward curr a broad shoale, whereon we alwaies had between three and foure foot water; but we somewhat gotten off to set sail, and the *Release* not farre off to second vs; and contrary to their expectations, in stead of flying lee all our endeavours bent to haften the meeting with them, and seeing our Musket shot fall but little short of them, which immediately was like to reach them: but as seemed, their former resolution found some contradiction, for they all at once exchanged their sterne for their prowes, giuing vs some waile fast shot nether 20 running away; we pursued long, since we lost not much, we were ever in hope to get ground of them, but the wind increasing, and what betwene our people tired at the oare, and our too small sail to our little Frigat, put them cleane from vs, and so we returned to the *Pepper-corne*, leaving the *Darling*.

The twentieth in the morning, *Thomas Glenham* in the *Pinnasse* went on shore to attend the coming downe of any of the Countrey people, either with messages or propositions to sell, all giuing direction, if any came to giue him knowledge by shooting off three Muskets together, that the Generall in the Frigat would then goe on shore the *Pinnasse* comming on shore, one man only for a Centinell went on shore, who no sooner came to the top of a small hill nere the water-side, but presently seeing a troupe of *Portugals* rush out of their ambush towards them, 10 retreied to the *Pinnasse*, who rowed a little from the shore and anchored; the *Portugals* comming to the water side discharged their final shot at our *Pinnasse*, who so well repayed them with their Muskets, that presently they ran away, loone after they saw one of the Inhabitants on Horse-back, whole coming down (as they supposed) the present fight of the *Portugals* hindered, and therefore shot off three Muskets together, which the Generals hearing, presently went on the shore with the Frigat, but contrary to our expectation the said *Indian* came not downe to them, neither any Message nor Letter, neither from the General nor Captaine *Sharpeigh*. In the evening some of the poore Inhabitants brought downe some few fruits to sell, which the General caused to be bought, and as our men repayed to the Frigat to come aboard, there came downe unto them three men out of the *Portugall* Armie, who for some disgust there giuen them, fled to vs for succour, the one of them a *Dutchman* borne in *Lisbone*, called *Lorenzo de Campo*, the other two were *Portugals*, the principall of them called *Frances Confusius*.

The one and twentieth in the morning, the Generall in the Frigat went on shore, where hee no sooner landed, but presently an *Indian* brought him a Letter from Captaine *Sharpeigh*, certifying *Sir Henry Middleton* that the next day he would come downe with all his goods guarded by an hundred Horlemen; this day a *Malabar* Boy called *Antono*, who had bene free five yeeres: Captiue to a *Portugall* Souther in this Armie, now finding good opportunity to his desire, fled vnto vs for succour.

The two and twentieth, early in the morning, the Generall went on shore in the Frigat, attended by the *Release*, to expect the coming downe of Captaine *Sharpeigh*, according to his information in his Letter: now approaching nere the shore, the Frigat anchored, and presently landed thirty men with small shot, the Generall appointing one of them for Centinell, to stay on the top of a small hill nere the water side; the rest also to be nere the water side, for the better avoiding any sudden attempt; but all to look about, to see if they could discouer any bodie comming downe from *Swat*-wards: the Centinell in short time saw two *Bannians* comming from the North-wards, whereof he instantly gaue knowledge: these *Bannians* brought downe some Tobacco, and other trifling things to sell; they being come aboard the Frigat, certified the Generall that the last night five *Englishmen* came from *Swat*, to a village some foure miles from this place; and that this morning they came from them, and that this afternoon they would come downe to vs, presently there fell out of a valley between two hills on a sudden, 60 feuen troopes of *Portugals*, with their colours displayed, whom our men seeing made a stand, the *Portugals* also made a stand, as hauing no lift to come within the reach of our shot, although there were nere three hundred of them. The Generall commanded our men to retire, and to imbarque themselves; which being done accordingly, the *Portugals* then made pursuit after them, and with five or sixe Balles (by them brought for that purpose) and other small shot, they began

Three hundred
Portugals assailed
our men.

to shoot at our Boates and men, but did them no harme, who failed not to answer them againe with the like, whereby (as airt. war is wee were informed) they went away with the worst. Now after longer stay, and our people not comming according to our expectation, the Generall returned aboard the *Pepper-corne*, determining this afternoon with the ebbe to be gone from this place to the *Tradef-increase*; but as we were letting sail, a company of men were desired comming from the North-ward, wherefore we againe anchored, and the General went on shore in the Frigat, where presently came downe to them three of our Countrey-men, of the *Assenfon* company, to wit, *Thomas Masgraue*, *Bartholomew Davis*, and *William Morgan*, who with them brought Captaine *Sharpeigh*, and *John Iordaine* clerks and provisions. On this day came downe to them Captaine *Shaugh*, with an hundred horlemen for his guard, all armed with Bowes and arrows and Swor's: with him came aboard *Jaddow*, the Broker, and a *Braman* (or *Bannian* Priest) and another *Indian*, Captaine *Sharpeigh* his servant.

Certaine Eng-
lishmen came
aboard.

The five and twentieth, *Sir Henry Middleton* in the Frigat, went on shore (accompanied by Captaine *Sharpeigh*, and *John Iordaine*) where *Cia Naffar* at the water side promised to meete him, who was there in readinesse according to his promise. The Frigat comming to the water side, the Generall was fetched on there on a Pallankin, borne on four mens shoulders, and there kindly entertained by *Cia Naffar*, and according to the Countrey fashion, a Carpet was spread whereon they late converse of our present business. It was by them in a manner concluded, our ships to goe to *Goga* a place on the Western side of the Gul e nere to *Cambaya*, and to haue 20 Pilots from thence for our more safe conduct; but a sudden (anlar this time of the yeere vntuall) shewre of raine happening, they brake vp their conference, promising the next day three to meet againe, fully to determine of our said business.

Captaine Shaugh
cometh
aboard.
Our General
goeth on land.

The fixe and twentieth, according to mutuall promise, the Generall in manner foresaid went on shore in the Frigat, who anchoring nere the shore side, *Cia Naffar* in one of our boats first off *Jaddow* with a Present of some fine Balles, and fixe Bulbels of Wheat to the Generall, and two Pilots for our safe conduct to *Goga*: the Generall very kindly accepted thereof, and with the *Pinnasse* went to the shore side, where on a Pallankin in manner foresaid, hee was received and entertained on shore, where they proceeded on their former conference; but the Pilots having discovered the manner of the place, whole vntuall shewre of raine happening, they broke vp their conference, promising the next day three to meet againe, fully to determine of our said business.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, the Generall departed aboard the *Tradef-increase*, and there after sent his *Pinnasse* for Captaine *Sharpeigh* and my selfe, to conference about our present business, (also he sent men to fetch away the Frigat and *Portugals* from the *Pepper-corne*.) after a Council held, the Generall sent a letter to *Don Francisco de Soto*, Captaine Maior of the 40 *Portugall* army, therein repeating the manifold difficulties by him shewed towards vs: First, not only hindring our landing, but also the passage of our letters vs; and vs from all relief for our sick men, and what at great charge was provided, he had taken from vs, and kept vs from our people on shore, which if we could haue gotten, we had been gone long since; and also his endeavours the twelfth of this Moneth, to cut from vs our boats joining a head our ships, what time we tooke one of their Frigats, which we now haue done our business, if hee would send for her, we would freely bestow her on him againe. Also the Generall related the *Indian* shippers, whom for conscience of letters betwene Captaine *Sharpeigh* and him, he restrained from going into the River, who now being dismissed, they presently departed towards *Swat*: also wee made ready our ships to be gone off to Sea.

O Obedt.

The nine and twentieth, we let sail to sea-wards, the *Portugall* Frigats still following vs in their accustomed manner. This day we met with a beat borne to *Cambaya*, laden with Coco nuts, of whom the Generall bought feuentene thousand, which he distributed amongst our people, and the *Indian* boat was presently dismissed this day was *M. Mulenne* the second time put into the *Pepper-corne*. The one and thirtieth, *Sir Henry Middleton* seeing that the *Portugals* still followed vs, determined to stand off no further, but againe to returne to doe our business so farre as conveniently we could, in despite of them.

The first of November, according to the Generals predestination, we returned to the North-wards as the winds and tides permitted. Saturday in the morning, we anchored thwart of South *Swally*, where the General in the Frigat went on shore, but heard no news from *Swat*. 60 This night the *Portugals* in the river shot off sniers peeces, which they told the *Indians* were for joy they had received tidings of the coming of two great Gallies, and twentie Frigats more for their assistance, whereby they abused them (clues, in thinking with their lies) to terrifie vs, who were now armed to withstand all their villainous practices, usurping authority in another Kings Dominion, where they haue no more to doe then in *Denmarke*.

November. 1.

The

An excellent
roadside found.

The fifth, Sir Henry Middleton sent William Pemberton Master of the *Darling* (in whose endeavours he had true confidence) with his ship the *Release* and Frigate againe, to discover to the North-wards as afore-said; who there found a hard place, wherein not only our smaller ships might at high water goe, but also the *Trade-Increase*, being a little lightned, might also goe safely over the Barre, and there within Calicut shot of the shoare.

The sixth in the morning, with the first of the fould, we all set saile, standing to the North-wards, and anchored thwart of the place discovered: at high water wee with the *Pepper-corne*, *Darling* and *Release*, went in over the Barre, whereon the least depth wee found was three fathome and a foote, but at low water three foot. Being in, we all anchored within Calicut shore of the shoare, as afore-said in eight fathome, and right a head or to the North-ward of vs, anchored twice *Portingall* Frigats, some what without the reach of our Ordnance. This afternoon the Generall and my selfe, with a guard of fortie small shot, went on shoare to seeke out some place where we might relieue our wants of fresh water: in the salt marshes we found a place of brackish water, whereof till better could be gotten, we were forced to make use. Here the Inhabitants brought downe to sell fowle and sheepe, and some fruits, which for reliefe of our out-ried weak people were all bought.

The seventh, we filled some water, bought some small provisions as the people brought down: we haled the *Release* ground, in hope to stop her leaks, being as it were in a manner desoured with wormes, for the sake of her and her people: we erected a Tent, in which I continued, keeping a Court of Admirall and Centinels about, to prevent the practise of the *Portugals* our enemies to preiudice vs. The eighth, all our Carpenters vied their best endeavours to trye the sound-
ping of the Pinnace her leaks: this day *Nicholas Bangham* came downe, bringing provisions such as by the Generalls directions he had procured, as Limes for our diseased people, bread, lamp-oyle, and candles, and his owne provisions. This evening, some of our inhabiting neighbours of the neerest Villages, informed the Generall, that in the River was arrived two Gallies, and eighie Frigats: vpon which newes the Generall altered his determination, and for the better security thought good to bring all our forces together, the better to frustrate any practises that might be intended against vs; wherefore at his first departure aboard his ship, which rid in the Offing, gave me directions to guard the said Barke vpon the shoare, and as soon as the tide served, to heave her a float by my ship, or the *Darling*, which about midnight was performed; when presently we let fall over the Barre, and rid by the Admirall.

The ninth in the morning, *Coia Nassan* came downe, the Generall being then on shoare; hee certified the Generall, that to loone as all our ships were come into the road, hee would bring downe goods and trade with vs; in the meane time a Market should be kept vpon the sea strand, of all necessary provisions; also informed the Generall, that the Frigats last come into the River, was a Captall or floote of *Portingall* Merchant Frigats, bound to *Cambaya*: at his departure *Nicholas Bangham* went vp to *Swrai* with him.

The twelfth, being in the roa, we had a Market there kept vpon the strand of diuers sorts of provisions, to wit, Meale, Bread, Bullocks, Goats, Sheepe, Hennes, Butter and Chere, Sugar and Sugar-Candie, Limes, Plantans, Water-Mellons, Grapes, Onions, Faddies, Pulling-mies, Cucumbers, Milke, a kind of Peasod which they call *Pappery*, and Grains, a small fruit as big as a little Crab, being in taste between sweet and lower, and in the midst thereof hath a small round stone, Sugar-canes, and Tobacco, also Sale-fish cryed, and Prunes, and Palma wine, which they call Taddy. All these afore-named things were at reasonable cheape rates.

The one and twentieth, my Centinell vpon the Mount, saw over the top of an other hill neere adjoining, the heads of some of the *Portugals*, who there lay in ambush to the number of five hundred men; he had no sooner given the Alarm, but presently they seeing themselves discovered, they all with their colours advanced, with great celeritie ranne downe, to cut off our people from the Boat; but having a little talked of our shot, both out of great and small Peeces, and seeing some of their fellows tumbling in the mud, they made as great hast backe out of the reach of them: diuers of them that fell downe, afterwards came to themselves, and made means to crawl away, only *Antonio de Sousa*, a Gentleman of *Chaul*, having a deadly wound in the head, lay still. We seeing the neglect of compassion by his friends, in commiseration feeght him aboard, whose wound being incurable, he died within two houres after, and we buried him on the shoare. Sir Henry Middleton in his ship in the Offing, hearing our peeces, and doubting of some disgust, hastned with his Frigate full of people vnto vs, yet notwithstanding we gave the enemy leave to take his pleasure on the shoare, without landing to trie any further fortunes with them: going on shoare we found diuers of their reliques, as shoes and socks, which for their more expedition away, they left behind: afterwards we were informed by the Muccalam or Constable of *Swai*, that the *Portugals* had killd and hurt in this attempt, eight of their people.

The four and twentieth afternoon, came downe *Macrib Chan*, with one hundred horsemen, and many more footmen, five Elephants, with diuers Camels, Carts and Oxen, for transportation of his provisions, wherein he shewed his greatness. Furthermore, he had diuers Caris to carrie his Leopards, wherewith at his pleasure he vseth to hunt. Hee was there met by Sir Henry

News of more
Portugals.

A Market at
the road of
Swai.

A second
assault of the
Portugals.

The arrival of
Macrib Chan
the Gouernour
of Cambaya.

Henry Middleton, at whose landing was discharged a Volley of an hundred and threescore small shot, and at the instant of their salutation each ship in order shot, to wit, the *Darling* three, the *Pepper-corne* five, and the *Trade-Increase* nine peeces of Ordnance, then was *Macrib Chan* vnto him the King of *England* Letter and Present vnto himselfe, wherewith all shewes of kinnesse he accepted: and *Macrib Chan* with sixteen *Moguls* and *Mores*, such as he made choice of (leaving the rest of his followers a shoare with *Hoia Nassan*, and *Coia Arjan Ali*, and other Merchants, where was erected as it were a little Towne of tents) boldly accompanied *S. Henry Middleton* aboard the *Trade-Increase*, where in the best manner the ship afforded, he was entertained, and continued all night, and part of the next day. Sir Henry Middleton often urged him to concerning our maine buisnesse, which he still put off with delays till an other time. But all his looking was, both himselfe and by diuers instruments to find out, and buy all such fantasticall toys, that might fit his turne to please the toyish humour of the great King his Master, and for ought that we could gather, further then serued his owne turne, he little respected our killing or buying of our principall Merchandize brought for that place; having satisfie himselfe in this ship by his wittefull inspection, desired in like manner to see the other ships, where he ranne the like course aboard the *Pepper-corne*: he bought all our Chests of Sword-blades, whereof he seemed to be greedy, as he would not trust vs to send them after him, but would see them all sent a shoare before his departure, which in few dayes after, having selected out all the crooked ones and such as liked him, sent backe the rest carelesly, and ill conditioned, as their accustomed manner is to doe all things whatsoever they haue bought, when by all the view they they can haue they dilate the time. Which buisnesse being ended, they hastened a shoare accompanied by *S. Henry Middleton*, my selfe, Captaine *Sharpey*, and *Iohn Iordane*. Hee being landed, carried vs to his Tent, where being all set vpon Carpets, with many of his friends, Sir Henry Middleton againe moued speech concerning our buisnesse, as afore-said: which he againe put off till to morrow. When we saw nothing to be done, and the night approaching, we tooke leave, departing aboard to spend the night in consultation of our next dayes buisnesse or affairs.

The fixe and twentieth in the morning, Sir Henry Middleton hastened a shoare, thinking to doe much buisnesse: being come he was informed that *Macrib Chan* was gone, and yet the better to pacifie him, they told him he was gone to the *Portugals* to make friendship between vs, which the Generall well knew was not so, but rather suspected that his going to the *Portugals* was, having receiued alreadie from vs in presents all hee could get, that hee would now also see what he could get from the *Portugals* to doe ill Offices against vs. Wherefore, laden with discontent, he againe departed aboard his ship in the offing, *Hoia Nassan* yet staying, pretending of purpose to buy our Commodities, whereof the Generall let downe the particular prizes, but this day being farre spent, it was referred till the day following.

The seuen and twentieth in the morning, *Macrib Chan* sent one of his chiefe Gentlemen and his Broker with a Letter to the Generall: which I supposing to be of import and behoofe of our Common-wealthe buisnesse, presently in my Boat sent the Messenger aboard the *Admirall*, the effect whereof was some found to be no other then to beg his persecuted Ierkin and his Spannil 40 Dogge, which was denyed him the day before when he begged his Beater *Rat*: also hee desired our workmen and Smith to make him the modell of a chaine pumpe, also this morning Captaine *Sharpey* and Master *Iordane* went a shoare to *Hoia Nassan*, to conferre with him of the prizes of our Commodities.

The eight and twentieth, *Hoia Nassan* departed to *Swat*, carrying with him the Generalls Ierkin and Dogge, which *Macrib Chan* had formerly begged, and that we should the lesse doubt, he left behind him in his Tent *Hoia Iellardin* his sonne-in-law, pretending he should stay till his returne. *Hoia Nassan* being once gone, he set slight, being carelesse of our buisnesse, and the next night hee dislodged his Tent and departed, to no small disturbance to vs, seeing none left to rectifie any buisnesse. This day *Bartholmeu Dan* one of our Carpenters was lent to *Swat*, to make provision of planks and boards for re-edifying of the *Release*, we there into incouraged by their fassurable promise, in which is very small held, for he once there, found nothing but deductions or delays, for wheresoeuer he found Tyme, either he could not find any to tell it, or not to find it: so all his buisnesse was not only frustrate, but hee also in despai of libertie to returne. This day Master *Iordane*, Master *Fain*, and I othert went vp to a Village: neere adjoining to view some packes of *Inda* Cloth, which *Hoia Nassan* had brought downe thither to barter with vs for some of our Commodities: they returning brought downe the Muftas of euerie sort, and the prizes demanded for them per *Cargoe*: the Generall vpon this, as hee liked set downe what prizes he would give for them, requiring them to doe the like by his Commodities, and to haue answered the next day: but they hold them at high rates, and offered weakly for our Commodities, which they esteemed of necessity, we must be forced to sell them howeuer.

The first of December, they perceiving that Sir Henry Middleton would not give them their demand for their Commodities, nor sell them his at their owne rates, to shew their carelesse-ness, or to try his temper, did not only speedily send for their Muftas of clothes, but also carried backe to *Swat*, all such packes as they had formerly brought downe to *Damie*, a Village three mile

Macrib Chan
came aboard
the *Trade-Increase*.

Bar Vanitie.

Decemb.

mile from vs. Altho the poore Inhabitants were refrayned from bringing downe provisions to sell vs, as formerly by permission they did.

The sixth, the Generall was informed the *Mackrib Chan*, and *Hoia Nassan* were coming downe, and in the evening we see as it were a Village of Tents pitched somewhat more then a mile within the land, to the East-ward of the Road, but whether they came in peace or no, we knew not.

The seventh, *Jadrow* & *Narvan* Brokers came downe, certifying the General that *Mackrib Chan* and *Hoia Nassan* were coming downe, and were now at the Tents, and to morrow would be here with him. They translated our Kings Letter, and then departed, but yet their extraordinary fadnelle, as men sent by constraint, gave vs no hope of good towards vs, the rather that they had formerly refrayned as prisoner our man sent to the Towne about business, as also their fuentie in proclaiming the lacke of their noses, to any that should bring downe any provision to vs, whereby they shewed their desire to force vs away by Famine. This day the *Darling* was againe hailed off to her moring.

The eighth, *Mackrib Chan* and *Hoia Nassan*, came downe with a great traine to the water-side, and at the same time, to put scalcute of their ill dealing from vs, brought downe some forty or fifty packes of *Indian* Clothes, and so increasing to the number of a hundred and eightie packes, yet the sight thereof could not moue all of vs to beleue, they meant faithfully to deale with vs: but they having extraordinary desire to our Quick-silver, and Vermilion, and *Mackrib Chan* to our V-Lace, though they made smallest shew thereof. Yet for that it could not be had by it selfe, without our Lead and other Commodities, by which means they condescended to deale at present for our Lead also, deferring all the rest till some other time, but would not deale with vs otherwise, but so as they would gauge us in the hundred at their owne doores without further adventure, and ours which we haue brought so farre, we could not draw them but to such poore rates, as will beare but a small part of our freight hither.

The ninth in the morning, Sir *Henry Middleton* went on shore, not having any free confidence in their performance, where in words they continued firme. Wherefore the *Trades-Increase* began to land her Lead, somewhat before noone was brought vnto *Mackrib Chan* a Letter from the great *Mogall*, wherewith he was so dampe, that scarce any words was to be gotten from him, but presently after dinner he departed, but *Hoia Nassan*, and others continued, as they pretended, to effect the business: this night before the Generall went aboard, being still in suspicion of inconstant dealing, and seeing the great paines and toyle in landing our Lead, and what intolerable disgust or discontent would arise among our people, if by shrinking from their words we be fort againe to imbarque the same, sent some of our Factors with the Brokers to *Hoia Nassan* to signifie the same, and before it further trouble to know his full resolution: who returned him answere, he should not need to doubt, for they would haue it all: whereby without further do, the greatest expedition was vied for landing thereof. This day in the evening, *William Johnson* Sailer of the *Darling*, and *Iohn Conerdale* Trumpetter of the Admirall, ran away to the *Portugall* Armie, and *Iohn Parfiss* to *Surat*.

The tenth, there came aboard, to see our ships the Gouverneur of *Surat*, and *Cia Asan Alle*, being departed from the *Pepper-Corne* with the Generall aboard the Admirall, in the cing this sudden disturbance happened, which cost the content on all sides, for *Iohn Iordaine* came especially from the shore to informe the Generall, how that *Hoia Nassan* having already the V-Lace and some other things which he most desired, was now in a great fit of wrangling, so that hee though no good for vs, would be done: for he had both made them give cuer weighing the lead, and also sent for his Oxen to draw away the Carts with the packes of *Indian* Clothes: whereat the Generall grew so impatient, that he presently made stay (to enforce performance) both of the Gouverneur and *Cia Asan Ally*, to their great trouble of minde, but after some little pause, the Generall caused them to be imbarqued with him selfe in the Frigate, and came in calling vpon me in the *Pepper-Corne*, to impart what he had done, wishing my opinion, who seeing him in the right way, saw no cause to counsell him to reuoke the same, but rather for securitie of our business to perswade: from me he departed to the shore with a reasonable Guard, and gave *Hoia Nassan* knowledge, what his craft-dealing had forced him vnto, and that since the Gouverneur of *Surat* came in curtesie, and the business concerns him not, whilst him selfe to come aboard and take his place, and he would dismiss the Gouverneur: who seeing no other remedie, with a grimme looke and fowre countenance came into the Frigate, and the Gouverneur to his great content was dismissed, and they were brought to our Lead, and had so lightened the Admirall, that at high-water the night following to our great content, we brought her in ouer the barre, allobauing now all our strength together where our business lay.

The twelfth in the morning, Sir *Henry Middleton* sent for the Gentlemen Prisoners to be brought aboard his greater ship, which *Hoia Nassan* for long time obstinately refused, till I had order to send him p. force: hee being there, in regard of the hastening of our business it was thought fit to enlarge them both, leauing other pledges in their places, as for *Cia Nassan* was

Barbarous in
humanitie.

Chief Com-
modities for
India.

Cia Iherdin his sonne in law, and one of his sonnes: and for *Hoia Asan Alle*, two *Portugall* Merchants. And for pledges on our side to remayne with them in their Tents, were *Iohn Williams* and *Henry Boothby*: this night were opened, counted, sorted and agreed for forty packes of *Indian* Clothes.

The fiftenth, there came to vs two *Portugall* youths from the Armie, one of them being the Captaine *Major* his Page.

The sixteenth, in the morning we saw to the Southward five *Portugall* Colours displayed: wherof the Generall vnderstanding presently by his command, were landed some two hundred armed men with Shot and Pikes to meet them: which they perceiving retired, in which pursuit being neere vnto our Swally, we met with *Hoia Nassan* and all his troups, who was coming downe with some twenty packes more of *Indian* Clothes: he informed the Generall that the *Portugals* were already gotten ouer the middle Creeks, and were neere vnto their Frigats, wherfore the Generall gaue order his pursuit, and returned aboard.

The nineteenth, *Peter Rosemary* (a *Portugall* whom we brought out of *England*) a Sailer of the *Trade*, being appointed as Guardian to attend on (or looke to) *Francisco Consulmes*, they both ran away to the Armie.

The euen and twentieth, there came from *Surat* *Hoia Nassan*, to see if hee could buy any of our Clothes and other Commodities: but not agreeing vpon the prices, hee againe departed. This day by a Letter from *Mafuisipan*, the Generall received a Letter from one *Peter Floris* (a *Dutchman* employed by the Company of Merchants of *London* trading to *East-India*, who had there fitted a Factory) certifying the Generall of three ships, which were coming out of *England*, wherof one was to goe into Red-Sea: which was very vnplesing to the Generall and vs all, in regard of the danger we suspected they should fall into.

The thirtieth, *Master Iordaine* and *Master Fraine* were sent to *Surat*, to agree for some more *Indian* Clothes, as also to vrge the putting off of some of our Commodities. The same day the Generall received a Letter from Captaine *Hawkins* at *Cambaya*, signifying that his determination was with all his household to take his passage to *Goa*, and from thence to *England*. But Sir *Henry Middleton* conceiting, if hee once get to *Goa*, his goods would stop his passage to *England*, if not shorten his life, by the same Messenger did most earnestly and friendly aduise him to the contrary, and invited him to take his passage with vs into *England*: also our people at *Surat* informed the Generall that *Mackrib Chan* made shew to be willing that hee should leaue a Factory for venting of the remayne of our Commodities: which kept vs sometime in hope, but afterwards vanisht by inconstancie.

The eight of Ianuarie, *Nicholas Uphet* came downe from *Cambaya*, with Letters from Captaine *Hawkins* to the Generall, certifying him that by reason of his former Letter, hee determined to come downe to our shippes, and take his passage with vs.

The fixe and twentieth, Captaine *Sharpeigh*, *Master Fraine*, Captaine *Hawkins* with all his goods and Family, and the rest (*Nicholas Uphet* excepted) came downe, whom the Generall with a Troupe of some two hundred men, went some three mile vp into the Land to meete and guard them from the *Portugalls*, whose Armie was not farre off.

The seuen and twentieth, the Generall sent *Iohn Williams* to *Surat*, to know their resolutions for raising a Factory there.

The tune and twentieth, *Iohn Williams* returned with an absolute denyall of hauing any further dealing with our Nation, but were all commanded to be gone out of *Surat*, not permitting them to stay to receiue Debts there owing them: wherfore they sent to know the Generals pleasure, whether they should presently come downe, or vlc means to delay the time, to see whether their determination therein would alter.

The thirtieth, Sir *Henry Middleton* writ to our people at *Surat*, speedily to repaire downe to our ships.

The one and thirtieth, according to the Generals direction, all our people came downe from *Surat* with all their goods.

The sixth of February, there passed by towards *Cambaya*, a great *Caphala*, or Fleet of neere February, six hundred saile of *Portugall* Frigats.

The ninth in the morning, vpon the top of a high water, the Admirall warped ouer the Barre, and anchored in the Offing. This day about noone came downe from *Cambaya*, *Nicholas Uphet*, Captaine *Hawkins* seruant, whom they had left behind in pawne as store-laid, for whom we stayed since the last of Ianuarie, what time our Merchants were expelled *Surat*. This day in the evening we set saile, and went out ouer the Barre, and anchored in eight fathome, some mile in the Offing thereof, neere vnto the Admirall.

Portugall Frigates.

Portugall brauery and flight.

Ianuary 8.

Capt. Hawkins.

§ V.

Their departure to Dabull, Socotora, the Red-Sea, and Aden.

The three-
masted of the
Portugalls.

Observations
of the Tides,
&c. at Swally.

They depart
from Surat.

Dabull.

Latitude, 17.34
Variation 15.34

WE departed the ninth, having continued here the space of an hundred and thirty eight dayes, in which we luttanyed many and sundry abuses by delays, breach of promises, which holding the Country people from trading vs, and having exchanged 10 a few Commodities at very hard and vnpromitable Rates, which holding further trade, and disappointing vs of seeing a Factorie, which holding some debts formerly, and commanding our Merchants out of their Towne, and our ships to be gone. The cause mouing them to hasten vs away (as we afterwards vnderstood) grew thus at the instant of their conference, whether fit for them to permit vs to leaue a Factorie, to vent the rest of our goods brought for that place there or not was deliuered into the hands of *Mockrib Chan* a Letter from *Dangie*, a *Bannan* in *Cambaya*, by the instigation of the Iesuites there; aduising them, that if they gaue place to the *English* in *Surat*, the *Portugalls* would come with force, and burne all their Sea Townes, and make spoile of all the ships they should find abroad, the contents whereof was applauded of most all agreeing it to be their best course, and thereupon dismist our people, as aforesaid.

This Road of *Swally* within the Bar lyeth in twentie degrees, thirtie five minutes North latitude, the variation in sixteen degrees and fortie minutes Westerly, wee found the water higher more on the full Moone spring then on the change, by foure foot: the one being foure and twentie foot, the other twentie, the night tides higher then the day tides by three foot, according as the wind blew, the Coast or Strand within the Barre lyeth nerefist South and North by the Com-
passe, which the variation allowed is North by East, and halfe East, and South by West halfe West, also at West South-west halfe South, and East North-east halfe North, the Moone makes a full Sea.

The tenth, the Generall Rayd to dispatch his businesse with *Jadrow* and *Narwan* the Brokers: also weooke out of a Frigate bound to the *Rebany* at *Gaga*, certaine Candies of Rice and Pitch, giuing them Bills to be paid at *Surat* by two men, who were indebted to Captaine *Hankens* account.

The eleuenth, in the morning at fixe a clocke at high water wee set saile, and at two in the afternoon we anchored in the South Road at the Barre foot of *Surat*, by a new ship called the *Hassay*, bound with the *Rebany* vnto the Red-Sea: also weooke out of another Frigate certaine Charcole, assigning them to be paid at *Surat* in manner aforesaid.

The fourteenth, at one of the twelve in the morning we met with a Banke, whereon wee had from sixteen to thirteene fathomes, and suddenly againe to twentie and twenty two fathomes, after which we haled vp by a wind West by South some three leagues: from fixe a clocke in the morning to noone South South-east some nine leagues, the wind at North, our depths twentie, nineteene, seenteene, and sixteen fathomes, what time wee were some tenne leagues off the Land West-wards in North latitude, nineteen degrees, thirtie seuen minutes. At one a clocke we past by three *Malabar* ships bound for *Surat*, laden with Cayro (or stuff) to make Ropes; & Coco Nuts, who there rid in fourteen fathome, nine leagues off from the land to spend the ebbe, and South-east from seuen other ships nere in towards the mountains, from noone to mid-night, we went South South-east some five leagues, the most part of this night being calme.

The fiftenth to noone South South-east fixe leagues, the wind Northerly a very eafe gale: this night we heard diuers great Ordnance shot off abroad: this night our passage hath bene in fiftene, thirteene, and twentie fathomes, this land is mountainous mixt with diuers Vallies like harbours or entrees. Our latitude at noone was nineteen degrees, foure minutes. At Sun-set, wee were three leagues off the shore, our passage in betwene twelue and fixe fathome. From noone to mid-night our course was South by East eleuen leagues, the winds Northerly.

The sixteenth to noone South by East twelue houres, eleuen leagues, the wind Northerly, the land high and full of harbor like Bayes all along in fixe shoolding in fixe fathome, and foure miles of the land, and nine fathome three leagues of our latitude eighteen degrees, one minute. This day at Sun-setting we anchored in seuen fathome thwart of the Barre of *Dabull*, to which Towne the Generall went in hope to lofe some of his *English* Commodities, or (as it were) to shoot another Arrow after diuers formerly lost.

The seuteenteenth, in the morning, the Generall in the Frigate went in nere the Barre to discover the depths and so aboard againe, which was fixe fathome very nere the South point of the entrance, but very little further North-wards towards the middle of the entrance but two fathome: the latitude of this South point is seuteenteen degrees, thirtie foure minutes, the variation is fiftene degrees thirtie foure minutes.

This

This day about noone came off two Boates from the Gouvernour, the one with a present, which was three Bullocks, certaine Sheepe, Plantans, Bread, and water Millions: in the other Boate came the Messengers, which wee first to know what wee were, and our business, though they before did imagine who we were, partly by our acquaintance with them at *Mocha*, as also their hearing of our being at *Surat*. The Messager, according to the *Indian* manner, was delivered with many complements and promise of all friendship, and further that they would buy our goods for money, and give vs Indico, Cloth and Pepper for the same, which was more then we could expect, or they had order to grant; for what Indico they had with Cloth and Pepper was presently to be employed in their owne ships now bound for the Red-Sea; vpon these kind promises the Generall sent Merchants aboard both with a present to the Gouvernour, and with Measures of *English* Clothes, and other of our Commodities: but of all, except some little Broad-cloth and Kerries of our best colours, as *Strawmelles*, *Poppiniay* greene, and other light colours, and lead in barres, we could sell none: for our Red Lead, the Gouvernour bought and sent it aboard againe: and somewhat after the manner we found at *Surat*, the Gouvernour dealt double with vs granting free leaue to sell, yet vnder-hand had men in waite to retrayne or deate away such as came to buy: so that no man buying made his owne price, for what he desired to buy: for Corne and other prouision and water to be brought aboard for money, wee had with all fauour, and at last we had a Cable of eighteen inches, and nine fixe fathome of the Country stuffe, worth eight pound sterling, for one of the *Darling* Anchors. Now, whether such kindness as we receiued were out of their good disposition to strangers, or not, it is hard to iudge, they having presently blowne abroad and intimated at *Mocha*, that we endeauour to right what wrongs any should impose vpon vs, and therefore might seeme to make the best thewes vnto vs.

The fixe and twentieth, in the after-noon, besides diuers *Malabar* Merchants ships which anchored by vs, we saw also in the Offing a great Ship and Frigate, to whom two boates were sent night the Generall sent off the *Darling* to bring in the said ship: but doubting the misting of her by night, as also the smallness of his force to command her, when night came sent off mee also in the *Pepper-Corne*, with his Frigate well manned to attend vpon mee in regard of the Frigate in her companie. About mid-night, though very dark, I got sight of her riding at Anchor, sending our Frigate to the other running away, and the great ship getting sight of vs, was come to saile, but being commanded to strike saile, did it, also their Captaine and Principals to come aboard mee, he sent a Souldier and two more in a *Cano*, who executed the Captaine to be aged and vnwieldie, and that their great Boat was so pestered with lading, that they could not row her; wherefore, though vnwillingly, I was forced to lend my owne Pinnasse for some of the principall Merchants and Souldiers, but with such freight: direction to my Cock-swaine, that vpon paine of great punishment he should permit none to goe into her, to the end to prevent poyles.

I intended Sir *Henry Middleton* should be the first *Englishman* should enter her: meane-while our Frigate with the other which they had taken, returned to vs; and to my griefe gaue knowledge me, I gaue direction to stand in for *Dabull*: but by reason of their ill storage, which we imputed to be done of purpose, and for that with all our sayles we could not fetch them vp being gotten a little a-head vs, and fearing they might mend their sayling, and get from vs, I called them to be called vnto to take in their sayles, and anchored till day, which directiones guen and our Anchors readie to let fall, I departed into my Cabin to examine some of the *Portugalls*, whose their ship was laden withall: meane-while my Master pretended to doubt whether the ships were anchored or no, without any order or knowledge lent my Pinnasse aboard, wherein went one of his mates, more greedie of pray then careful of credite, who did not only goe into the ship, but there fell to rifling, who though often called made no haste away, till his owne pleasure was fulfilled. Against whose coming aboard, I called *Thomas Glenham*, *John Stanghien*, *George Cockem* and *Robert Mico* the Purser, to bee readie at the Ladder with a Lanthorne and Candle to search them one by one (in the *Portugalls* light aboard our ship) and turned them out of the Boate: which being done, and the things throwne into the Boats sterne by *Thomas Glenham*, *John Stanghien*, and *Robert Mico*, I sent againe aboard the *Portugalls* ships, willing the Purser to tell them aboard if there were any thing else wanting, they that had beene aboard without my direction should make it good: but by reason that *Thomas Lane*, *George Ieff* and *Matthew Bragge*, three Masters Blazes of the *Admirall* lately dead, the Frigate was now commanded by one *Terre* a seruant to *Giles Thornton*, who before our Boat gat aboard againe, notwithstanding they were commanded to the contrary, went aboard with our Frigate, whereas, like disobedient pilfering people, they runne all into the ship, not forbearing to breake open Chests, rumble into the Frigate, and make spoyle of all things that liked them, forbearing no lock language to such as I had sent to refrain them. But the eull being done, it was too late to vnder it: and though it bred in me much trouble and present discontent, yet I wold the best means I had left to cure the same, which was, I desired *William Pemberton* who with the *Darling* came newly to vs, to make the more haste into the Road, and to informe the Generall of our peoples misbehaviour, to the end to prevent.

Unruliness of
Men, when
they are pre-
pared to be
bad.

Ccc a

be

A Portugall
ship of 300
tonnes taken.

Confutations.

They depart
from Dabul
about
on 20
againe.

The Easter end
of Socatera.

before they should have means to come away or remove the same cart, might be taken for bringing off all things to light, which the General so wisely understood, but at one o'clock when we all anchored by him, commanded both the *Frigates* wherein our people were, to anchor off and now, as then to come about him; and Sir Henry Middleton and my self, with the Capitaine, and Merchants of the *Portugall* ship, went first to our own *Frigate*, and then to the *Frigate* newly taken where our people were, and had every one narrowly searched; and all things taken from them, and they turned one by one out, as they were searched, of all what was found belonging to the *Frigate* was there left, and then our small *Frigate* was by our *Pinnace* towed aboard the *Portugall* ship, where all the rest was delivered for the use of such to whom it belonged. This ship belonged to *Cadix*, called the *Saint Nicholas*, of burthen some three hundred tonnes, the Capitaine's name was *Chaul*, being bound to *Chaul*, their lading consisted, was principally dried Coco Nuts, some Tinnie, blacke Sugar, and Racke Nuts, ten Fats of *China* Dishes, some Bages of Allome, and some small quantitie of *China* Dishes, or *bat* Ropes. We made all inquisition possible for their bills of lading; but none they would be knowe of, which put us to great trouble to find out, the little we had from them, which were certaine bils of *China* rawe silke, some small quantitie of Cloues, and some few Cannistars, and three Chests of Cinamon, and some Waxe to make vs Candles: all which was as it were but a mite in comparison of the damages done vs by the *Portugals*.

The *Frigate* belonged to *Chaul* and bound to *Omme*, of burthen sixtie tonnes, her lading *Rice* and *Tannur*, out of whom we took some bages of *Rice* for our provision; this bulle was continued vs in doing every day some what till the first of March. By this *Frigate* the General dispatched away all such *Portugals* as came to him from the *Armie* at *Surat*, to wit *Lorenzo de Campos*, and his consort; he is now taken in the *Frigate* and the two Boyes, that came away from their Masters, giving them money in their Purses, according to their severall qualities; besides the apparel formerly made for export of them unto the *Mercantiles*, that ought the most part of the Silke, the General gave a fine Broad-cloth, and to the Capitaine of the *Frigate*, from whom we took the *Rice*, a fine Kieve. Also this day the Governour sent to give the General knowledg, that the next day or night following the great *Capitula*, which pass by vs the sixth of February afore-said, towards *Cambray*, would either the next day or night following againe pass by towards *Gae*; which howeever they pass either by night or day we saw them not.

The fourth, the fore-said bulle being effected, the General called vs also to consultation what was best to be done, shewing his desire to goe to the Barre of *Gae*; thereto demand of the Vice-Roy restitution of our wrongs done to vs and our Nation by the *Portugals*; to this end if that he refused to doe it, we might the better have warrent to right our selves upon any *Portugall*, which by our endeuours we might meete withall; which demand of the most was thought reasonable, but not fit in regard of the shortness of time and varietie of delays, and treacherous plots we were to expect, to our further abusing; wherefore it was concluded and agreed upon, for that the time now yet serving to go to the Southwards about the Cape *Comoring*, againe, to returne to the Red-Sea in this vacante time to see if we can get away these goods lying upon our lands, in a manner holten fast by the *Turkes* at *Moha* and *Aden*, for the mischief they have formerly done vs, and principally for to relieve, defend or recover that ship sent out by the Companye, the year afore us, coming out, which we heard of from *Masulipatan*, which we have great doubt of, lest the befallen into like mishap as we did in the Red-Sea, but for that this day the wind turned not to let us, we deferred it to the fifth day in the morning.

The fifth, at sixe a clocke in the morning, we all set sail from *Dabul* standing away North North-west along the Coast, the General willing to see the ships of *China*, were vnto her Harbor of *Chaul*, cleave of danger by the *Malabars*, their enemies, and at Sun-set we anchored in seven fathome, some league distant from the land, distant from *Dabul* some fix leagues, and from *Chaul* some nine leagues; the wind at South, and veering to the Westwards.

From the Coast of *India* to *Socatera*, was this time daily found our ship further to the Southwards, then by our course we could expect, and especially when we were thwart of the Gulfe, or entrance of *Sinu Persicum*, which I imagined to be some current setting thence to the Southwards.

The twentieth of March, the General dispatched away *William Pemberton* (in the *Darling*) before to *Socatera*, to inquire of our ship bound for the Red-Sea and *India*, which we heard of from *Masulipatan*.

The four and twentieth, at tenne a clocke in the morning we defrined land bearing West South-west, some eight leagues distant, being the Easter end of *Socatera*, being high land, having foure white cliftes or fald hills; the Northern part whereof by reason of the haziness we could not discern.

The five and twentieth of March, at Sunne-setting, the point of *Delpha* bore South-east four leagues distant.

The sixe and twentieth at foure a clocke in the morning it fell calme, and the current setting North.

Northward upon the rocks, whereby we were forced to anchor in foure and twentie fathome water, on the South South-east side of the rocks (which is *Saboya*) some halfe a mile distant; at this rocke is great store of fish. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, we againe set sail, standing away bynne. Westwards of Cape *Guardafui*, the wind being at South.

The ten and twentieth, about foure a clocke in the morning, the rocks Northwards of *Abba del Curia*, thence distant some three leagues and a halfe, bore North of vs some halfe a mile off, which is by estimation twentie leagues West by South, from the Weiler point of *Socatera*; our depthes we there found was fixteene, seuentene and eightene fathome; day being come, we saw the Iland of *Abba del Curia*.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe a clocke, the Cape *Guardafui* bore South-east March seven leagues distant, and Mount *Felix* West halfe a point South seven leagues: we were within foure mile of the land, and the depthes fortie, nine and thirtie; thirtie, seuen and twentie, three and twentie, one and twentie, eighteen and fiftene fathome, and about three after-noon; in a fret of wind at East North-east, we anchored in rough ground in seuen fathome a mile and halfe Westwards from Mount *Felix*; at which Coast the General coasted along in his *Frigate*, andooke in, and brought along three of the Countrie people, which he gave letters vnto, to be delivered vnto the *Darling*, if they came hence after our departure, and to put them a thorow: they informed the General, that foure dayes since there passed by towards the Red-Sea foure *Indian* ships.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, the General sent letters to other people on land, to be delivered to the *Darling*: the countrie people brought downe to our men to sell, some store of sheepe, small Goats, with some small frailes of *Olibanum* and gumme *Arabicke*, all which they had at reasonable rates; the people still taking vs to be *Mahometans*, and not *Christians*, or (as they call them) *Frangies*, whom they fauour not, so the Boat returning aboard about noone, the General thought good no longer to stay for the *Darling*; wherefore we set sail, standing away towards *Aden* in *Arabia Felix*. At foure a clocke in the after-noon Mount *Felix* bore East by South halfe a degree South, some eight leagues distant.

From noone the thirtieth day, to one a clocke in the morning, the one and thirtieth day, thirteene houres, North-west eighteen leagues, the wind at North North-east; this day after-noon we defrined the land of *Arabia Felix*.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, at one a clocke, being neare the land, we cast about to the Southwards, to spend time till day; at foue a clocke in the morning, we cast about againe North-west to landwards: from sixe a clocke in the morning to sixteene noone twelue houres, we stood along the Coast West by South, and West South-west thirteene leagues, alwayes keeping within five mile of the land, in depthes betweene eighteen and thirte fathome, from sixe a clocke to midnight, fixe houres West South-west fixe leagues.

The first of April, from midnight till sixe a clocke, West by South, halfe South fixe leagues, at which time, by estimation, we were eightene leagues short of *Aden*: This day the General sent for me, Master *Lampf* and Master *Fowler*, to conferre of our separation: at length it was concluded, that I in the *Pepper-Corne* should continue neare, or before the Towne of *Aden*, to keepe that no *Indian* ship should arrive or stay there, but to put them by towards the Red-Sea, and to that end I received a direction or commission from my General, who was with all expedition by the *Trades-Increase* to disperse to the *Bab*, or doore of the Red-Sea, both for fastetie of the Companies ship, whereof we had intelligence from *Masulipatan*, to be following our track, both to the Red-Sea and *India*, euen into the mouthes of the Welues, which by Gods mercy we have escaped, as also there at once to take reuenge, both of the *Turkes*, and subiects of the great *Mogoll*, for the wrongs done to our King and Countrie.

The second, from midnight to fixe a clocke, West South-west three leagues, litle wind at East; about eight a clocke in the morning, what time we should have been separated, some eight leagues Eastward of *Aden*, we found at an anchor the *Darling*, who had got before vs, by reason of our lingering for her foure dayes, who had done their bullefine at *Socatera*, and were againe departed thence, before we sailt it, and gate a day before vs, by the *Saboya*, *Abba del Curia*, and Mount *Felix*, where we lingered for them: they brought from thence the copie of a letter left with the King, by Capitaine *John Saris*, Commander of the ships of our *Indian* Company, to wit, the *Cloue*, the *Helitor*, and the *Thomas*, signifying, that notwithstanding by Sir Henry Middleton letter, he understood of the villanies there done to vs, he with his land ships was gone into the Red-Sea. Immediately the General with the *Trades-Increase* and *Darling*, departed towards the *Bab*, leaving me in the *Pepper-Corne* at an anchor, some eight leagues Eastwards of *Aden*, according to former determination.

The third at one a clocke in the morning, we set sail, and stood to the Southwards, the better to discover, and so all the day vnder sail, we kept vnto windwards of *Aden*: in the morning we saw three saile bound for *Aden*, but stood away from vs, that we could not come neare them all night, for that it blew hard, we did not anchor, but lay a hull to trie our drift, which I found in ten houres to be three leagues, so running further in; and the fourth day morning, about

Frangie. The
Western Christian
in the
Eastern world
are face that
Expedition of
Gulfer of Bal-
tice, called
Franks, be-
cause the prin-
cipal of that
armie were
French in Na-
tion or original.

April 11

General Saris.

about seven a clocke, lanchored in twelue fathome, some league or foure mile from the Towne of *Aden*.

The twelfth in the morning a little after midnight, we set saile to crosse her, and at day-light we defiered her riding at an anchor three mile Southward of vs, with whom presently we trimmed our sailes to stand withall, and shee presently was vnder saile, and stood in with *Aden*. Betweene nine and ten a clocke, by shooting of a Peece at them, they came rounde, and shooke their top-sailes, and lent in their Boat to vs: they told vs they were of *Callicut*, and bound to *Aden*, and their ship belonged to the *Samaritan*, or King of *Callicut*, from whence they had bene fortie dayes in coming; they came near *Socatra*, and toucht at Mount *Felix*, where they saw the Generalls letter left there for the *Darling*, where also they saw a ship of *Dabul*, which came from *Aden*. The *Nobuda* of this ship is called *Abraham Abba Zeinda*, their ships *Cargasse*, according to their information was as followeth: Tamenick three tunnes, Rice three and twentie hundred kintals, *Jagara* or bowne Sugar forty bahars, Cardamius feuen bahars, Ginger drie foure kintals and an halfe, Pepper a tun and a halfe, Cotton one and thirtie packs, each pack containing five or six maunds; there had in her threefoore and fiftene persons, for the vice following: twentie to bale water, and other businell; below, eight for the Helme, foure for top and yard, and other businell aloft; twentie Boyes for dressing funerall mens victuals; the rest Merchants and Pilgrims: this ship was of burthen an hundred and fortie tunnes: thus hauing, to the vtmost examined them, and they being of a place, whose Inhabitants neuer wronged our Nation; therefore without diminishing any part of their goods, but only, with their good wills, two tunnes of water for our need, and so I dismilt them; though to the great disturbance of their mindes, when by no meanes I would permit them to goe into *Aden* to make sale of their commodities; which if they did once attempt, I threatened them I would faine take their ship, and leave only their Boat to saue their liues; yet their unwillingnesse to depart made mee able many more threatnings, that if they halted not away before I see any other faile to give chase vnto, I must then be forced to finke their ship, to be sure to keepe them from the *Turkey* our enemies; whereby they put themselves to saile, and stood foomewhat off the land, but to les-waies, so to our disturbance, we all day and night kept off and on vnder saile, for feare lest in the night they should flippe into *Aden*.

Note that any ship wee here saw, before we could come to speake with them, there had bene aduise sent from the Governor of the Towne to informe them of vs; and when we had the *Malabar* vnder command, the Governor sent a Boat aboard with diuers *Arabs*, and two *Turkey* soldiers of the Towne; which had formerly bene instruments to *Abdrabman Aga*, to bind and scourge our men then in their hands, which now seeing the men they vied ill, brought them in so small doubt what their vfrage now should be, as their guiltie conscience pricked them, whom I suppose came as spies to see what wee did, brought some fruit to sell: at the first sight of our men, whom they knew, they would faine haue put off their Boat and bene gone, but I would not permit them; causing them to be put in mind of their behauiour formerly towards our people in their hand, and when without any cull speech given them, I thought them sufficiently by their own mindes terrified, I caused to be told them, that they should see how far our Nation offendeth from the rigour of inuious *Turkes*, which most cruelly handled our men without offence, whom by all faue promises they betrayed; and that I yet knowing them to haue exercised their forces in abusing my men, yet notwithstanding I would without discurtie or harme, dismilt or send them away; who presently departed, with many promises the next day to bring vs more refreshing: the next morning they lent vs a boat with good fish, and promising to come anon with better provisions, which they were promising; but by reason of my letting saile, and standing off, to put the *Malabar* to leeward towards the Red-Sea, I was too farre for them to row vnto me, which ship, if shee had stayed, might haue bene occasion that the *Aga* might haue permitted them to performe their promises to vs.

A ship of Porten.

Our men vnlade this ship.

The fourteenth in the morning, the wind at East, we dismilt another ship of like burthen, bound also for *Aden*, which about ten a clocke we forced to anchor: I sent aboard to search her, and to bring away some of her men, while I caused my Boat to be hoysed off; vnderstanding they were of *Porten*, a Towne not farre from *Cutt-nagone*, being tributaries to the great *Mogoll*, who depisted our King and abused our Nation; the *Nobuda* being a *Bannian*, I with this ship being at an anchor foure two miles from *Aden*, our enemies, and finding by the *Mail-bari* working the day before, that if any other faile, of neuer so much importance, should approach this place, before I could finish my businell with this, I must either leaue the one or the other to their owne will, for which respect I was more carefull to send to search what shee had in her, by my owne people, then to examine them belonging to her, what was in her. So with great labour in rowing before the darkness of the night our tooke vs, we had out of her fourt-een packs of coramie *Duttie*, of fixe corges a pack; and fixe and thirtie Ballers, containing some fixe and thirtie corges of *Dutties* corrie; one small Baller of Candekins mill (or small blew pieces of Callico) with some thirtie or more Ballas white, a little Butter and Lamp-oyle, which was all fit for vs yet discouered the rest of her loading, being packes of Cotton-wooll, as we terme it, which the next

next day we thought further to examine. This day *Mahamir Aga* of *Aden*, sent me a present of Henne-eggs, Limes and Plantains, which I would not looke at, as to receiue as a Present, but by the messenger I sent the *Aga* word, that the variety of injuries done vnto my friends and Nation here the last yeere, had constrained my present approach, to do my Nation and my selfe what right I way, to the disturbance of the *Turkes*. And as my coming hither was not to doe. Tene any faile, so to them; so my meaning was to forbear to receive any of their dissembling courtesies for since they cutt our throats when we came to them in friendship, what may we expect from them now, when we come in hate and despite of the *Turkes* of all these parts; but in regard it was sent, my people should giue them for their owne vice, so much as the things were worth; also there came aboard a fether-boat, bringing good store of fresh-fish, which I caused to be bought for our lippers, alwayes making the bringer double-paire of what hee brought.

The sixte and twentieth in the morning, we dismilt a saile to the Southwards of *Aden*, plying to the Eastwards, to whom in the afternoon I sent my Pinnasse, which brought her in taste vnto vs, shee being a *felba* of *Shahr* bound home, laden with Graine and other commodities, as Opium and others; also diuers Pilgrims from *Mecca* were passengers in her bound home.

The thum and twentieth in the morning, we saw a *felba* plying to the Eastwards betwene vs and the shoare, wherefore I sent my Pinnasse to fetch her off, whom I found to be the same *felba* of *Shahr*, that had passed by vs the seuenteenth and two and twentieth of this present, as afore said: of shen for a triall we bought nine pound and a halfe of Opium, and so againe dismilt them.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we set saile, plying off and on to windwards of *Aden*, with the wind at East. The nine and twentieth, still vnder saile, as afore said in the afternoon, we dismilt two sailes standing towards *Aden*, vnto whom in the evening I sent off my Pinnasse well maned, to bring them in near vnto the ship, which by foure a clocke the thirtieth day was effected; they both belonged to a place on the *Alasien Coast*, called *Bander Zeinde*, the one of them laden only with Mats; the other with some Mats, and threefoore and eight theese with great runpes, which we bought of them, and so dismilt them, who presently let saile and went in vnto *Aden*, the wind at East South-east, East and North-east.

The eighth, with an easie gale of wind at North-east by East, we continued, plying towards the *Bab*: At tenne a clocke, we dismilt the land on the *Abasien Coast*, side, at nirt heered like an Island, but approaching a little neerer, we plainly perceived it to be the maine land: from thence we steered away North-west towards the *Bab*, which by estimation was some tenne leagues distant, which at neere foure in the afternoon we dismilt, where wee lay lingering off and on to spend the night. Day light appearing, we stood in towards the *Bab*, when in the entrance of the *Bab*, we dismilt a sm. ll saile a sterne of vs, coming into the strait; wherefore I strucke my top-sailes to stay for her, and sent off my Pinnasse to her, who coming vp with vs againe, brought the *Nobuda* and *Maline* aboard, whom I examined, and found them to bee subiects to the great *Mogoll*; they belonged to a place called *Larree*, situate at the mouth of the River of *Zinde*: with them I lufft vp into a bay on the East side, and anchored in feuen fathome; I sending my Merchants to search what shee was laden with, who found diuers packs and fardels of cloath, packs and fardels of feedes of diuers sorts, leather, iaries of Butter, and oyle (whereof some they eate, and some they burne in lamps) a great quantitie: and since for want of water, the haung many Pilgrims, could not sily keepe her with me, being vncertaine of wind I resolved to take out of her the likeliest packs of *Indian* Cloath to serue for our tunnes, with some Butter: I Oyl: for our needfull vices, as by the Purifiers and Factors notes appeare, and so dismilt them to *Mohr*. Into which businell before we could well make an entrie, about three a clocke in the afternoon, I dismilt opening the East land of the strait, a ship of two hundred Tunnes; and immediately following her an huge saile, whole maine yard was foure three yards long.

At fight of which ship (they being very neere before the land permitted me to see them) by what time I had gotten my people aboard, shee only excepted, which I left armed to keepe the ship of *Larree*, had gotten vp my anchor, and was come to saile; but the great shippe though short of me, yet being in a good streame, and a fresh gale, and in a Bay had an eddy and faint gale, shee got an end, & had somewhat our-reach me before I could come to crosse them, so that I was brought to a sterne chase, and being come neere her, by her masts and tops wee knew her to be the *Midsheedy* of *Dabul* our friend, which we could expect no good by; yet knowing the pride of the Captaine, I would very gladly haue commanded our him, for that hee would neuer, neither formerly in the Road of *Mohr*, nor yet at *Dabul* come to visit Sir *Henry Middle-ton*, but I found hee reacht from me, wherefore I gaue them one shot and tosse with the other ship, who seeing vs stand with the great shippe, stracke a Hall thinking to lole vs by the darkness of the night now approaching: Iooke her to be a ship of *Din*, but when we came to them, they told vs they were of *Cutt-nagone*, a place not farre from the river of *Zinde*, where lying Cotton-wool, some few packs of *Indian* cloth, some Butter and Oyle: hauing gotten fume of her principal men aboard me, I caused them to edge vp with me into shoale water on the *Arab Coast*, whereby by lights I encauoured to find out my fume men in the *Larree* ship; and at midnight we anchored in

Fear of poysoning.

Bander Zeinde place on the *Abasien Coast*.

May.

A ship of *Larree* standing at the mouth of the river of *Zinde*.

A ship of *Soc* Tunnes.

The *Mahamir* of *Dabul*.

A ship of *Cutt-nagone*, a place not farre from *Zinde*.

twelue

for the highness we at first esteemed to be the land of Cape *Guardafui*, but the clouds clearing up from the tops of the hills, we plainly perceived it to be the same land I yesterday, whereby we the better understood how the Current had abused vs; which by my estimate setteth neerer South-west.

From the thirtieth in the morning, to the one and thirtieth at noone, we found that the Current had set vs to the North-ward of our course from the last day at noone, what time our latitude was twelve degrees and thirty five minutes, to the fifth of September at noone, the wind at South East-wards, and not to have run about twelve leagues, and by our latitude being thirteen degrees thirty minutes, we find our elues almost a degree differing to the North-wards, and also to have lost to the West-wards, as by the variation appeareth, being less by five five 10 minutes, by reason whereof I estimate the Current there to set neerer North-East.

September.

Snakes swimming on the top of the water, a signe of being neerer the Coast of India.

The second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth dayes, we had all for the most part cleere weather. The tenth and eleventh cloudy weather, with often showers of raine. The twelfth, we saw divers snakes swimming on the toppe of the water, which in boysterous weather seldom appeare, yet an apparent signe of being neerer the Coast of India. The thirteenth we also saw more snakes. This day we had sounding from five five to forty fathome.

The fourteenth in the morning, at Sun-rising we discovered high land, bearing East by North some sixteen leagues, we stood in East by South till foure a clocke afternoon, till the neerer sea-coast land between vs and the high land, bore East eight leagues off, what time we directed our course South along the Coast of India, we found the water for the most part muddy and 20 thicke, and some fildren spots of cleere: our depth while we stood in East and by South were from thirtie to twenty fathomes; and in our South course edging into sixteen fathomes, and to five and twenty fathome.

The fifteenth, we kept at the like depths, having a gentle gale at North North-west and cleere water, but no flakes appeared. The sixteenth, running along the Coast of India or *Malabar*, betweene twenty and sixteen fathome; about one a clocke we were West from an high hill of especial note, which stretcheth out like a point into the Sea, having all low land to South-wards; on the North-side, the land fell away to the East-wards, and on the South-side maketh a Bay; the highest of this Sea-coast Mountaine, standeth neerer in twelve degrees ten minutes, which should be the land of *Magasin*.

The seventeenth, the wind came opposite to vs at South-west, at two a clocke in the morning, with thicke weather, and much raine, continuing till day-light, we on a lee-shore, and an unknowne Coast, what time the wind veered vs to the North-wards; and we edged off into deeper water. In this gulfie time, we lost company of our Admirall, but at daylight the weather clearing up, we came together, directing our course againe to the South-ward, being edged off from the land.

The eighteenth, the land being all foggie, was hardly to be discerned, the most part of our way this day, being by the help of the Current, our depths all this day were betweene five and twenty, and nine and twenty fathom, all Ozie ground. The nineteenth, we were some fourteen leagues distant from the Coast, the wind at South-west, faire weather, with some little 40 drizzling raine, till nine a clocke at night, no ground at fortie fathome. From nine to eleven a clocke at night, we had a very vehement shewre of raine, and the wind very little Northenly, and after the raine East North-east, our depth at midnight was fortie four fathome, being by estimation some tenne leagues off the land of *Malabar*. The twentieth, we had faire weather, the wind very variable, our depths fortie four and fortie five fathome all day, being Ozie ground. The one and twentieth, we had very little wind, variable till three a clocke afternoon, when fell abundance of raine, with the wind at North North-west, thicke weather, and fortie five fathome water. The two and twentieth in the morning at nine a clocke, we discerned the Cape *Commerin*: and by my neerer estimation the Coast here lieth away South-east along 50 vnto the Cape.

Cape Commerin.

The three and twentieth, we had faire weather, and the wind at South-west by West, differing the high land to the East-wards of the Cape *Commerin*; at neere five a clocke afternoon, bearing North North-west, distant eighteen leagues. The four and twentieth, we had a very stille gale of wind between the South South-west and West, and much raine, clouds and fogge, and our course East South-east by a reformed Compass, at five a clocke after noon, we had sight of *Zeilan* through the fogge, rising all full of Humocks, and bearing from the North-east by East, to the South-east by South, some five leagues distant. The five and twentieth, from brake of day till noone, we were pestered with variety of gulls and showers of raine, the wind being large, but the weather clearing up about noone, we discerned the Southermost point of *Zeilan*, called the Cape de *Galle*, bearing North North-east distant five leagues, finding the latitude thereof to be 60 five degrees fortie minutes.

Zeilan.

The six and twentieth, seven and twentieth, and eight and twentieth, we had faire weather, with some few droppings of raine, and the wind between the South-west and West South-west. The nine and twentieth and thirtieth, we continued our course East South-east.

the wind constant betweene the South-west and West South-west, with very much raine, and vehement sudden gulls of short continuance, and followed with an easie steering gale. The thirtieth, in our broad room we found much harme done to our wheat by wetalls, al our coarse Duties or browne Callicoos of *Pormean* (for sailes) put there for most securitie, were found twenty pices rotten.

The nineteen, at three a clocke after noone, we anchored in the road of *Tecos*, where we found the *Darling*, who had continued there from July (vnto our coming in) in a great part of the raine, which are not yet ended, they having before our coming buried three Merchants, and three Sailors, to wit, *John Emier*, *Francis Glasfield*, and *William Speed*. Also they had most of their men sicke, and had gotten but little Pepper, which remaineth on the Island, and little more is here to be had, vntill the next season, which will be April and May; but the cuill warres is a hinderance to our trade. Here also we found the *Thomas*, a ship of the eighth Voyage, being newly come from *Priaman*, where they had as slender successe as our *Darling* here. Here we heard of the life returne and prosperous successe of Capaine *David Middleton* his Voyage; also of the foure ships of the ninth Voyage, whereof two were already arrived at *Baniam*; also of Capaine *Casslem* his man of warre, who having been lately informed of fittent faile of *Hollanders* already come, or neere hand, all laden with munition, and of two ships of *Nap-hansen* in France come also to trade, all which quell the life of the present hopes of our out-tired, croft, and decayed Voyage.

O. Soper. Tecos in Sumatra.

Cuill warres a hinderance to our Trade.

Capaine Casslem.

The two and twentieth, Sir *Hony Middleton* finding 60 cold comfort at this place, departed the night following in the *Pepper-corse* towards *Baniam*, leaving me in the *Trade* (success) to remaine till the sixteenth of the next Moneth.

The second of November, all the men of all forts in *Tecos*, went with *Raisa Bonesso* to the warres, till whose returne we can expect no business to be done on the maine. This day in taking up the wine, by the roteenele of the Caske, there procured great leakage.

The twentieth, we fetched the remaine of the Pepper weighed the day before, in which by the people we found much deceit; in some bags were small bags of Paddy, in some Rice, and in some great itones, also rotten & wet Pepper put into new drie sacks, to our further abusing, yet knowing it, we have no remedie. Having gotten all things in, and our men aboard, we fitted our things to hadden away, and neere midnight in the Moone-shine, the wind at North-west of the lioure, we set saile; we wrought not only to avoid the two knowne Rockes, three leagues from the Island of *Tecos*, the one South by West, the other South by East, having five and twenty fathome between them, Ozie ground: But for the better securitie, we directed our course to neere as we could, the same way we came in; yet as we stood off, the wind something shrunk on vs; yet we lay first West, then West by South, and West South-west, and last of all South-west and by West, and the Current set vs somewhat South-ward, our depths proportional from foureteen to fuen and twenty fathome, all Ozie ground; the next cast foure fathome, and the ship fast on a rocke, a sterne foure fathome, and on the Star-board mid-ship a quarter litle then three fathomes, and vnder the lead three fathomes, a ships length five fathome, a ships length on the Lar-board bow five foot, in the Lar-board mid-ship sixteen foot, vnder the Lar-board gallery twenty foot, 40 and round about within a Cables length deepe water: she remained on the rocke from litle after three vntill five a clocke: the mercifull God so provided, that the wind grew calme, and the sea smooth, and in our feeling, the set or motion of the ship, the place considered, was very ealie; yet the water did increase, that both our chaine Pumps with painefull labour, could not in long time free the flame. But our generall endeavour, with most expectation possible, was to get our sterne anchor, which was let fall in five and twenty fathome right afterne, and two thirds of a Cable out, to heave her off right afterne: wherein the gracious Lord so blessed our endeavours, that before we could with the Captaine heave the Cable taught, the ship was of her own accord set into deepe water, which no sooner done, but we had a Westly gull, which put vs off 50 some mile from the rocke, where we anchored for our Boat, which brought our Casker after vs, and being cleere day, we could not discern where the rocke stood: also a principall reason we anchored was, our exceeding desires and haile for *Baniam*, that without needfull enforced, I wished not to put backe againe, and wait more time, hoping our leakage would easily be come at an anchor. I paid the day till two a clocke, consulting and aduising with such as with their best counsell are appointed to assist me, what was best to be done, our present estate considered, which we find divers wayes to rest dangerous: First, in regard of the leakenle of our ship, which continually employes many people at once to keepe downe the water. Secondly, in a manner no provision of Iron-work for the chanes, but that the Pumps presently employed, which often break, or for weakenle slip to our great discomfort: for if they should be any long while in mending, and the water to increase, that we cannot reach vnder the Pumps to cete the chanes, our worke will some draw neere an end. Thirdly, the desperate carelesnesse of many of our people, in the greatest need considered, their taime weakenle: and inability to hold out labor (by coarse diet as they pretend). Fourthly, to remember what is certain in the ship, which requires care to preserve it. Fifthly, Capaine *Shapoghi* mis-fortunes, and the lewd demeanours of his people,

Sir Hony Middleton in the Pepper-corse hutch to Sattam. Nombur. Raisa Bonesso goeth to the warres. Great deceit of the Natives.

The ship fast on a rocke.

They defend the rocke.

They returne
to Teosa.

In like case of greatest need, too late to bee forgotten. The dangers in proceeding directly aft vp (notwithstanding, at the first, diuers of our men did vrge the same) by counsell reasonable for the safety of all, I made choice to returne within the land of *Teosa*, thereby by Gods helpe to endeavour the stopping of such a part of our leake, as we found to be in the fashioning pieces in the sterne. At Sun-set we anchored in the place, which for our purposes we desired. This day long time we kept both our chaine pumps going to free the water, which ever increased when the chaines happened to breake, which happened often; the two pumps employes at once twelve men, which labour indeed is so extreme, that it can but little while, without shifting of spels be continued; but the water once brought low, and the chaine holding one pumpe at once, hath ever discharged it, and yet it tires all our people by often shifting: in which business, I found it required more then ordinary means to appeale their discontented clamours and murmurs, if the place might haue afforded.

The two and twentieth, three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, we laboured to land Indico, Cinamom and other things, still making way to lighten the sterne of the ship, where we know the leake is, but we cannot come to it.

December.

Vntill the eight of December, we were thus employed in the amending of our leakes: which done, we set saile from *Teosa*, and with our Boats a head, we gate our Barre, hauing foure fathome at a low water, and being without the land, by the helpe of a fine breach at North North-east, North North-west and North-west, as the Sunne grew high, both duller and shrunk vpon vs; so that we lay but South South-west, and South by West, and by estimation came neare the rocks we had formerly fate vpon, we vied great diligence with Boats a head, but could discerne no shew of it, the sea being smooth; we stood away to the Southwards, South by West and South, from Sun-set, to Sun-rising the ninth day, with a small gale, at North-west by West, we stood away South-west by South ten leagues, and the wind at West North-west and West, at which instant we desired some part of a great land bearing South Westlerly, at which time we steered away South; this night we had much raine in gulls, with thunder and lightning, the wind very fickle, shrinking to the South-west, and South South-west, which stayed not long; then to the South-east, East South-east and East, and againe to the South-east; in which time to Sun-rising we had sailed about foure eight leagues. All that part of the land, the last night scene, now beareth South-east distant eight leagues, also Eastward wee see the high land of the maine of *Sumatra*, neare twentie leagues; at noone in two degrees and eleven minutes South latitude; and the Northernmost part of these lands are from the found we came through, between the Wester lies South-east distant nine leagues: it was the twentieth day before they arrived at *Palapassan*.

The high land
of the maine
of Sumatra.

The *Pepper-corne* being fitted there, Sir *Henry Middleton* called a Councell to advise, touching the late harmes which the *Trades-Increase*, had receiued vpon the rocks: by which Councell it was resolved, that three masts of necessity bee new strengthened and careend, before they could well returne home; which requiring long time, whereby they could not goe home this yeere, it was concluded that the *Pepper-Corne* should immediately be dispatched for *England*, to give some satisfaction vnto the Adventurers, vntill the *Trades-Increase* might follow. The *Pepper-Corne* being laden on the fourth of February, set saile from thence for *England*, leaving Sir *Henry Middleton* with the *Trades-Increase* behind. We arrived on the tenth of May in the Road of *Saldania*, where I hoped to haue found all the shippes formerly departed homewards: but coming into the Road, I only found the *Heitor* and *Thomas*, two ships of the eight Voyages, and Captaine *Newport* in the Expedition of the twelfth Voyage, Heere we continued but foure dayes; where, with the helpe of Captaine *Newport* his men and Coopers, wee had taken in all our water, and the fourteenth day at night ended our labour therein.

The Road of
Saldania,
Heitor and
Thomas,
Captaine
Newport.

The fifteenth, hauing watered (but no whit refreshed our weak people yet, to keep company with the *Heitor* and *Thomas* homewards) at nine a clocke in the morning we set saile with the wind all Southerly; but being out, we were much pelted with opposite wind, whereby we were driven to the Southwards. This night we kept company with the *Heitor* and *Thomas* (the Expedition being gotten about the Cape *Bona Speranza*, determining their course towards the confines of *Perfia*, to some place where they might in safetie land Sir *Robert Sherly* and his *Perfis* Lady, and Sir *Thomas Powell* with his *Englis* Ladie, who were bound into *Perfia*.) All the next day we were all in company together; but toward evening the *Thomas* became farr a sterne, but the *Heitor* with losse saile bore away. This night, by what means I know not, they lost our company, which by all means we againe endeavoured to get: and for that by standing to the Southwards, we knew they could not run vs out of sight; yet we thought against all reason to stand in vpon a lee-shore, stood into the land-wards to seek to discouer them, but not seeing them, we lingred in for them vntill the nineteenth day Sun-rising, in which time we were employed in repairing our weakle and decayed sailes. This day at Sun-rising, *Saldania* bore South-east halfe a degree East distant seuentene leagues, the weather being cloudie and dark. The twentieth, one and twentieth and two and twentieth daies, cloudie, dark and overcast weather.

June.

The sixt of June, as we came about the North-east point, opening the Road, and being lured in,

In hauing our anchors readie to let fall, we desired two Carricks in the Road, whose neighbourhood was not to my content, neither durst I trust to anchor by them, in regard of their accustomed treachery: I stood off againe by a wind, a while to deliberate what to doe, and standing to stand in againe, to trie whether they would be gone, which if they were readie, I proposed they would thinke we had more company near-hand: but we found the Current set vs to fast to the lee-ward, that we could hardly recover the Road at two a clocke in the after-noon: seeing no other remedie, wee bore vp the helme, and stood on our course for *England*, our hopes being frustrated both of refreshing our weakle sickle people, and also of further staying to regaine the company of the *Heitor* and *Thomas*. The fifteenth and sixteenth, we had diuers showres of raine. The eighteenth, we crost the Equinoctiall line.

The tenth of September, we had a very strong gale of wind and an hollow sea, and not able to get any part of the South-coast of *England*, wee stood on our course North-east, in hope to fetch *Milford-Hauen* in *Wales*, the sooner to send letters to the Company.

The eleuenth at five a clocke in the after-noon, we desired the Coast of *Wales* to windward, and the Coast of *Ireland* lee-wards, being an high hill betwene *Waxford* and *Waterford*. This night we spent with our head to the Southwards; and in the morning we stood in towards the Irish Coast: refusing now, the winds being constantly aduers, and impellie to fetch *Milford-Hauen*, and our means allowing no longer deliberation, I determined to goe into *Waterford* rather then into any other harbour.

The thirteenth in the morning, we desired the Tower of *Whooke*, the only marke for the river of *Waterford*, being some three leagues distant from it: at eight a clocke we desired a small Boat coming forth of the river of *Waterford*, vnto whom we made a waite, which they perceiving, presently came vnto vs, being a *Frenchman* bound to *Waxford*, whom I hired to goe againe into the river, before to give knowledge of our coming vnto the Lieutenant of the Fort of *Don Canon*, to prevent our stopping there. For that by reason of the narrowness of Channell, it might endanger the ship in winding vp at an anchor there; and at noone wee gate vp into the river to high as the passage. Heere we found Master *Stephen Bonner* of *Lime*, with his Barque, come hither a fishing, who putting apart his owne business, with great diligence endeavoured the beft for the ease and reliefe of our weakle and sickle people.

They arrive at
Waterford in
Ireland.

The eighteenth, I dispatched away Master *Bonner* towards *London* with letters to the Company, to give knowledge of our arrival, and of our wants, where-in I desired to be supplied.

The one and twentieth, Doctor *Lancaster*, Bishop of *Waterford*, very kindly visited me, bringing downe with him his good cheere, and made a Sermon aboard the shippe, and offered mee the Communion; but thereto being vnprepared I refused; yet heartily thanking him for his good will.

The tenth, Captaine *John Burrell* came vnto me to visite me, promising me money to supply my wants, if I would lend some man with him to *Cork* for it. The eleventh day, I dispatched away Master *Mullinew* with Captaine *Burrell* to *Cork* for the money, which he promised to supply me withall.

The twelfth, *Anthony Stratford* Lieutenant of the Fort of *Don Canon*, hauing hired a villanous fellow (whom for his misdemeanour I had caused to be kept in the prison of *Waterford*) to say what might best his present practise, to bring vs within the compasse of *Paric*, haue obtained a warrant from the Earle of *Ormond*, came to the passage, where he sent to desire mee to send my Boat well manned, to fetch him selfe and diuers other Gentlemen aboard to fee my ship: but my Boat, according to his desire, being come to land, hee as pretended my men, and presently came aboard, where he arrested me and my ship for *Paric*, and so committed mee to the Fort of *Don Canon* to prison, giuing extraordinary straite charge ouer me, that none should come at me, but whom he list without warrant from him; and such as by his permission came to me, he would haue put to their oathes to declare what conference they had with me; my man *Ivorne* to bring no letters from me to any one, neither from any to me: also diuers of my people they this night examined vpon their oathes, omitting no means to draw them to accuse me, so I continued in prison till the sixteenth day morning: what time the said *Stratford* brought me a letter from Sir *Lawrence Esmond* his Captaine, intreating me to meet him at the passage, with whom when I came up to the passage, I there met with Sir *Lawrence Esmond*, accompanied with the Bishop of *Waterford*, come from the Earle of *Ormond*, to requite mee in my charge againe, which by their great intreatie and perswasion I againe vnderooke.

The three and twentieth, Master *Mullinew* hauing sent my letters to the Company, to give knowledge of the afore mentioned troublesome business, returned from *Cork* with money to supply my wants.

The five and twentieth, Master *Beniamin Iscoph*, in a small ship of *Brittoll*, came vnto me, bringing with him both men, money, and provisions for my supply, which with all speed wee tooke in, hatching to be gone.

The sixt of October, wee departed the River of *Waterford* towards our long desired home.

Ddd

The

The twelfth in the morning, we were thwart of *Beachy*, and at eight a clocke at night, wee anchored in *Dover Road*.

The thirteenth in the morning, we set saile out of *Dover Road*, and at ten a clocke wee anchored in the Downes, neare unto the *Assurance* (the Kings ship) saluting her with five peeces of Ordnance; immediately came aboard of me, *Malter Cocke*, the Master of her, who againe made stay of my ship, till further order from the Lord Admirall: vpon this I presently sent away *Malter Mullinex* to *London*, with letters to certifie the Company hereof.

The fouenteenth, came downe from the Company, *Malter Aderly*, bringing me a letter from the Company, a release for the ship; and *Malter Pinnat* a Pilot, to bring her about. The eighteenth in the morning, we set saile, and at fixe a clocke at night, wee anchored in the Road of *Gored*. The nineteenth in the morning, at fixe a clocke we set saile, and at night we anchored at *Tilbury*. The twentieth in the morning, we set saile, and at ten a clocke wee anchored at *Black-wall*: where in the afternoone came downe *Malter Deputy*, and diuers of the Committies, vnto whom I deliuered vp my charge. And so concluded this our tedious and out-tyring journey.

CHAP. XIII.

The fueneth Voyage, made in the Globe into East-India, set out vnder the Command of Capitaine ANTHONY HIPPO, observed and written by

NATHANIEL MARTEN, Masters Mate in the said Shippe.



EE weighed from the *Black-wall*, in the good shippe called the *Globe*, being bound for the *East-Indies*, the third of January 1610. and about fixe of the clocke we anchored at *Grave-send*.

They arrived at *Siddania*, the one and twentieth of May 1611. and thence set saile the sixt of June following. They sailed not farre from *Masampagan* and *Comoro*, and *Pemba*: and on the last of Iuly sailed before *Punta de Gale*, vpon *Calon* (all which 30 as being a most maine relation, and the like coure oft runne by others, is omitted.)

August 4.

The fourth of August in the morning, I obserued the variation, and made it to bee thirtie degrees, seven minutes, and at noone we were in the latitude of nine degrees fiftene minutes, and the land was about fixe leagues off, and as much as wee could see it on the poepe, the wind veered North by West, and the North North-west, and we stood in three hours, and then found, being about three leagues off the shoare, and had nine fathome, and the land then bore West North-west to the Northwards, and South the other way, and we iudged the land to lye North-west, or North-west by North. At three of the clocke wee cast about, and stood to the Northward, and the wind veered to the West, and West South-west, and we lay as neare as we could till fixe of the clocke. The sixt, we kept our issues in eight and twentie and thirtie fathome, and 40 then the wind scanted and veered to the West North-west, so the water deepned presently.

The sixt in the morning, we perceived our felues to be in a great Current: by the rippling, and we sent off our Pinnasse to come to an anchor, and we found the Current to lye North by West, and we made our way from foure of the clocke in the after-noone, the sixt till noone, the sixt North North-west, and ran fouenteene leagues, and then we were in the latitude of ten degrees, and one and thirtie minutes, and from noone till two of the clocke wee steered away North-west; and then we saw diuers Fisher-men hard by, so we looked out at top-mast head, and saw land West North-west and North-west, and so we ran in, and then we were in twenty fathom about eight leagues off; and as we ranne in, the water shoalded easily, and at three of the clocke we saw a Tower or Pagod, and a ship that bore North-west of vs, and then the great 50 Pagod of *Negapatan* and the ship, were one in another, and then we ran in, till we came into eight fathom North-west, and then we were about two leagues off the ship, and three leagues off the shoare.

Negapatan.

From fixe of the clocke at night the sixt, till seven at noone, we steered away North by East, and kept a way betweene twelue and fouenteene fathom, and ran fixteene leagues, and were in the latitude of eleven degrees, seven and fiftine minutes.

From the seventh till the eight at noone, we steered away North by East, and ranne about twentie leagues by iudgement, and then we were thwart of the high land, vp in the Country, that rose in hammocks. This day we tooke the Boar of *S. Thome*. The ninth at noone, the Towne of *Maisipor* bore North North-west two leagues off, and the marke to knowe the Towne, is the high hill vp in the country. There is a shoale about two leagues to the Southward of *Paleacate*, which lyeth about a mile or more from the shoare, and the North-east end of it lyeth off about a league: we ran ouer the very end in three fathom, but if you keepe in ten or twelue fathomes, you

Paleacate.

you shall not need to feare any part of it. The ninth at foure a clocke, we anchored against the Towne, and it bore West by North off vs; there is a croffe to the Northward of the Towne, which if you be betweene two or three miles of the shoare you see it, but you cannot see the Towne.

The tenth in the morning, we weighed and stood further to the Northward, and anchored in eight fathom (we not liking our former Road) and then the *Cresse* bore West by South of vs, when the Westmoist point bore West by North, and the Northmoist point bore North-west. The tenth at noone, *Malter Browne* and *Malter Floris* went a shoare (there coming a Boat from the Gouverneur for them) but they went in our Skiffe, and as they were going ouer the Barre, the Skiffe was funke, but neuer a man drowned, God be blessed: *Paleacate* lieth in thirteene 10 degrees and thirtie minutes.

Paleacate lieth in thirteene degrees and thirtie minutes.

The thirteenth, I obserued the variation, and made it to bee one degree and fiftene minutes, vpon the semicircle: The fiftenth, *Malter Anthony Hippon*, our Capitaine, went a shoare to speake with the Gouverneur. The sixteenth, the Capitaine and all the Merchants came aboard, because they could get no trade.

The sixteenth at ten of the clocke, we set saile for *Petepoly*, and from ten till the fouenteenth at noone, we ran about thirteene leagues, and were in the latitude of fouenteene degrees and fiftene minutes, and made our way North by East. From the fouenteenth to the eighteenth, we ran, by my iudgement, about three and twentie leagues, and made the way North, but it was fad weather, and we could not obserue. About foure of the clocke in the morning the eighteenth we 20 spied a Galliot, riding in fouen fathom, some fow remies off the shoare, and the shoal till wee were aloft within Sacker shot of her, and then she weighed and ran into these waters into the shoare, but we stood our stay her, because the water shoalded, and at that time we saw a breach, some two leagues off the shoare to my iudgement, and whereas we steered away North North-east, we steered away East North-east, and East by North, but had no deepe water till we brought the breach, North North-west of vs, & when we saw it first, it bore North by East of vs.

From the eighteenth at noone, till fixe of the clocke in the after-noone, we steered away North-east by East, partly because wee would runne into deeper water, and partly because the land grew out more Easterly, and at fixe of the clocke we made a tust of trees that is neare *Petepoly*, and it bore North-east by East of vs fixe leagues off, and then is the high land to the North-westward of the Towne, which did then beare North by West off vs, and at leuen of the clocke we anchored in nine fathom, the trees beare North-east and by East of vs fixe leagues off, and the wind Westerly.

The nineteenth in the morning, by fixe of the clocke, we weighed and stood with the trees; and about nine of the clocke we anchored about two leagues short of them in fixe fathom, and the trees bore East North-east of vs, and then presently there came aboard two *Gingathas* or Boats: our Merchants sent them ahoare with a letter; and about two of the clocke there came another, and a messenger from the *Sabandar*, who the twentieth day did send aboard two Boats for our Merchants, and brought a Present, and then went ahoare *Malter Floris*, *Malter Lucas*, 40 *Malter Effington*, and *Adam Downton*, and the Purser Mate, and *Lemon*.

The one and twentieth, about eight of the clocke, there came a *Gingatha* from the shoare, and brought a letter from our Merchants, who did let vs vnderstand that they were kindly entertained, and presently we weighed with the wind at North North-west, and ran off: we anchored aloft thwart of the Rivers mouth, and about three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and anchored in the Road, where the tuske of trees bore North-east by East Easterly; and we did anchor in nine fathom and a halfe: the marke to goe in ouer the barre, is a Pal into tree, on the bancke, vpon the Northmoist end of the high cliff, it is but a little tree. I obserued the variation, and made it to be twelue degrees, seven and twentie minutes.

The eight and twentieth, *Malter Floris* came aboard, and *Simon Euans*, about twelue of the clocke: and about foure of the clocke, we weighed for *Masampagan*, with the wind at South-west, and wee steered off into eight and nine fathom South South-east, and then we bore vp South-east, and South-east by East, and kept our issues in nine and ten fathom till leuen of the clocke at night, and then the wind veered to the East, and East South-east; so wee anchored in nine fathom, till fixe of the clocke in the morning.

The nine and twentieth in the morning, about fixe of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and steered away East South-east, and East North-east, and North-east; and at noone the vttermoist part of the land bore North of vs: so by my iudgement, the land Eastward from *Petepoly* lyeth East and by South, and West by North: and at noone wee came into white water off the point, and it shoalded a little before wee came into this a fathom, but when we were in it, we had the same depth five fathom three leagues off: about two 60 of the clocke in the after-noone, the wind veered Northerly, so wee came to an anchor in fouen fathom: about fixe of the clocke, we weighed, and stood in North North-west, and North-west by North, till leuen of the clocke, and being calme, we were anchored in fixe fathom, the Westmoist land bore West North-west Westerly, and we saw two ships which bore North Westerly and North-west, and the Northmoist land bore North.

They land at Petepoly.

Majulapacan.

The thirtieth about one of the clocke we weighed, and flood in for the Road *Majulapacan*, which bore North of vs, and we neuer had about five, and four and a half all the way: so about five of the clocke, we anchored in three fathom and a foot; and the great tree which is the mark for the Road, bore West by North Westerly of vs, and the Southernmost land bore South and by West Southerly of vs, and the Northernmost bore North-east Easterly of vs.

The one and thirtieth, Master *Floris*, Master *Hoffington*, *Simon Evans*, *Cuthbert Whitfield*, and *Arthur Smith*, went ashore to stay there in our Skiff.

Decemb^r 28.

The eight and twentieth of December, I observed the variation, and made it to be twelve degrees, two and twenty minutes.

The point of

Majulapacan is

in 15 degrees,

57 minutes,

North.

The thirtieth, we weighed from *Majulapacan* about seven of the clocke in the morning, with 10 the wind at North-east by East, and we halde it off South-east and South-east by South, till we came into eighteen fathoms. At noon the point that bore South by South Southerly off vs, was West and by North, by the Compass, and then I observed, and made it to be in fifteen degrees seven and fifty minutes, and at eight of the clocke at night we anchored in five fathome and an halfe.

January 4.

The fourth of January, I observed at noon, and made the Road to be in fifteen degrees, five and thirty minutes.

The five and twentieth the five and twentieth, we observed the Sunne and certaine 20 Stars, by the Sunne we made the Towne of *Petepoly* to be in fifteen degrees, nine and forty minutes: the Starre called the *Ship-stearne*, we had in one and twenty degrees, nine and twenty minutes: the foot of the *Cygnus* twelve degrees, four and fifty minutes, and the flanke of the *Centaure*, in fifteen degrees, two and thirty minutes, the foot in fourteen degrees, one and forty minutes, the wind at South-east, and South South-east.

February 7.

The seventh of February, the Merchants came aboard and carried all the luggage quite away, the wind at South South-east night and day.

They depart

out of the Road

of *Petepoly*.

The eleventh of February, we weighed out of *Petepoly* Road, having the wind at North North-west about six of the clocke in the morning, and flood off South South-east, but very little wind, and the current set to the North-east, and we anchored in five fathome and an halfe, it being calme, we having runne off about a mile and an halfe, and the wind came off the Sea all Southerly.

They strike

a

user from *Petepoly*to *Ranum*in *Island*.

The twelfth, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and South-east by East, and we halde off South South-west, and South by West, and South-west the wind would give vs leave, till three of the clocke in the after-noon, and then we anchored in nine fathome water, with the wind at South and South and by East, and made our way South-west and by South, five leagues out of the Road by my judgement, and the high land bore West halfe a point Southerly: in the Road it bore West halfe a point Northerly.

The fourteenth, about four of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South South-west, and flood away South-east, and South-east and by South, as the wind would give vs leave: At noon the *Palmito* Trees bore North halfe a point Easterly, about five leagues off, or seven, and we ranne in ten fathome.

March 12.

From the twentieth of March, at noon till the one and twentieth, we had very little wind Easterly and calme: we made our way South South-west by my judgement, and ranne seven leagues, and at noon we were in the latitude of two degrees, five and twenty minutes, at night we observed the variation, and had it in thirteen degrees, fifty seven minutes on the Semicircle, and the amplitude was four degrees, twenty seven minutes, which being subtracted to thirteen degrees, fifty seven minutes, makes the variation to be nine degrees, twenty seven minutes.

From the one and twentieth at noon, till the two and twentieth at noon we had the wind all Northerly, we steered away South and ran fifteen leagues by the logge, and then we were in the latitude of one degree, thirty four minutes at night, I observed the variation and made it to be ten degrees ten minutes, which did prove a great current to the West-ward.

A great current

to the

West-ward.

From the two and twentieth, to the three and twentieth at noon, we had the wind variable between the North and the West, we had little wind and gullie weather, we steered South by East, and ran eight leagues: and at noon we observed the latitude of fifty seven minutes, at night I observed the variation, and made it to be ten degrees. The Magnetical Azimuth is fifteen degrees fifteen minutes: the Amplitude is five degrees, thirteen minutes. From the three and twentieth at noon till the four and twentieth at noon, we had the wind between the West and South-west, we steered away South by East, and ranne three and twenty leagues by the logge, and then we were under the Line by our observation.

The Equino-

diall.

From the four and twentieth at noon, till the five and twentieth at noon we had the wind between the North North-west, and the South South-west, and we steered away South South-east, we ran by the logge one and twenty leagues, and then we were in the latitude of fifty seven minutes to the Southward of the Line. At night I observed the variation, and made the Magnetical Azimuth to be fifteen degrees, forty minutes. The Amplitude five degrees, 20 minutes, which made the variation to be nine degrees forty minutes.

From

From the five and twentieth at noon, till the six and twentieth at noon we had the wind variable between the North North-west, and the West South-west, we steered South South-east, we ranne fifteen leagues by the logge, and then we were in the latitude of one degree, thirty minutes at night. I observed the variation, and the Magnetical Azimuth, was fifteen degrees five minutes. The Amplitude was five degrees, one and twenty minutes, which made the variation eight degrees, fifty four minutes.

From the one and thirtieth at noon, till the first of April at noon we had the wind Southerly and very little, and made our way East South-east twelve leagues, and at home we were in the latitude of four degrees, one minute. From the first at noon to the second at noon, we had the wind between the West North-west, and South South-west, variable and gullie, we steered away South-east by East, halfe a point Easterly: we ranne by the logge one and twenty leagues and two thirds, and then we were in the latitude of four degrees, twenty four minutes, we made our way twelve leagues East South-east, and ten leagues South and by East by judgement: which did agree with my Observation. In the morning they observed the variation, and had the Almicuter and Magnetical Azimuth, one degree thirty minutes, the Amplitude eight degrees, forty seven minutes, which made the variation to be four degrees, twenty seven minutes. About two of the clocke in the morning, *Adam Digles* departed this life. From the second at noon till the third, we had the wind between the North-west, and the West South-west, we steered away between the East South-east, and the South-east by East, but because of our latches to the South-ward, I judge that he made her way East South-east, we ranne thirty two leagues by the logge, and then was I fast with the West most part of the Ile of *Engano*, by my reckoning.

The six and twentieth of April, about four of the clocke in the after-noon, through the Almighites good assistance, we came to an Anchor in *Bantam* Road, in three and a halfe, where *Pulapacan* bore North the bodie, and *Pulotando* bore North-west by North, and *Pulotando* East South-east, and the Velter-mo^t point thwart of *Pulapacan*, bore North-west by North Northerly: the vetermo^t point bore East by North Northerly, and the East-erm^t Island *Pulo Lima*, was even joyning to the West-erm^t point of *Lana*, and presently after we were at an Anchor, came aboard Master *Spalding* with two ships, and two of them lay aboard.

The one and thirtieth of May, in the after-noon about five of the clocke, our Merchants came aboard, and about nine of the clocke we set sail: we steered away North North-east, with the wind at South.

The first of June in the morning, the wind veered to the East-ward and so to the North-ward, very foule and gullie weather. We bore vp and anchored under *Pulotando* in nineteen fathomes, halfe a league from the shore.

About five and six of the clocke in the morning, we weighed with the wind at South-east, and within a haire or two we had but five fathome, and so shoaled till we had but four fathome, steering away North North-west, the nearest land being South-west five leagues off, which was a long woodie Island, some four miles long, of which we looked for a ledge of rocks or 40 fad. From six till noon we made our way North by West seven leagues. About eight of the clocke in the morning, I espied *Lucapara* at top-mast head, about eight leagues off.

The fourth in the morning about six of the clocke, we weighed the wind South-east, and between five and noon we made our way North-west seven leagues, and about tenne of the clocke, we raised *Montyppe* North-east eight leagues off at last, and after we raised this hill, we had neuer life then ten fathomes, keeping the shoaling of *Sumatra*.

The ninth in the morning, about five of the clocke, we weighed with the wind at South-east by South, and steered away North-west by North, and North-west as the Coast did lye: but we went came nearer the point of *Montyppe*, then five leagues and an halfe, or four leagues, because of a ledge of rocks that lyeth two leagues of the East-erm^t point of *Sumatra*, being the southern point of the Straights: and the ledge of rocks were East and West one of another. We had no sooner weighed, but the water deepned to eight, nine, tenne, and so to fourteen fathomes. When you have *Montyppe* South-east of you, then are you cleere of the rocks. At noon I observed with my quadrant, and made her to be in one degree, thirty nine minutes, and then *Montyppe* bore South-east Easterly of vs.

The tenth, about three of the clocke in the morning, we espied an Island that bore North North-west three leagues.

From noon till six of the clocke at night, we made our way North halfe a point Easterly five leagues: and from six till noon the eleventh, we made our way North eighteen leagues, and we were in the latitude of one degree to the Northward, haueing two Islands, the Southernmost bore South-west by West of vs seven leagues off, and the Northernmost bore West-long, we had from twenty to five and twenty fathomes. I espied land at top-mast head, West by North two leagues off, which was the high land of *Bintan*.

From noon till six of the clocke at night, we made our way West by North seven leagues,

D u d 3

1612.

April 1611.

The Ile of

Engano.

They arrive in

the Road of

Bantam.*August Spalding*.

They depart

from *Bantam*to *Petepoly* and*Sam*.

lune.

A long wood-

die land.

Lucapara.*Montyppe*.

They pass the

Equinoctial

Line to the

North.

The 11th of*Bintan*.

we had five and twentie fathome water, and then the high-land of *Bintam* bore West South-west fix leagues off, and there are three little lands at the South-east end of *Bintam*.

The twelfth, we made our way North by East Easterly fix leagues, and then we were in the latitude of one degree thirtie five minutes, having twentie fix leagues, and the Northernmost part of *Bintam*, West North-west tenne leagues; when four glasses were running after noone, I espied at top-mast head an land that bore North-west Northery nine leagues off.

From fixe of the clocke at night the thirteenth, till the fourteenth at noone, we to my judgement, made our way North-west by North, in regard of the Current nine leagues; tenne glasses in the night we had it calme, and droue North North-west, and we should have it deeper, and should a fathome at a cist, till we had but eleven fathome, and then deeper till it came to fifteene or sixteen fathome. From fixe at night, till the fifteenth at noone, we made our way by judgement North North-east, Northery tenne leagues; but at noone we made her to bee in foure degrees fortie eight minutes; and then we had thirtie fathome: at eight of the clocke we had an land bore North by West of vs, fix leagues off the maine, being foure miles off, and then we had twentie fix fathome.

This great land, and the Rocks, bore North by West, and South by East one of another, and are foure miles in length, we perceived in the night, being calme, to have a great Current setting to the North-wards, and I judged this land to stand in foure degrees thirtie five minutes. From noone till the sixt at night, we made our way North North-west halfe Northery eight leagues, our sounding was thirtie and twentie six fathome, and then we had an other land bore West by North of vs, not unlike the former: we had five and twentie fathome at fixe of the clocke, five or six leagues off the maine: the land lieth about one league from the maine.

From the sixteenth at noone, till the seventeenth at noone, we made our way North North-west twelue leagues; but as we were almost in the narrow-way, we spied a funken rocke in the faire way; so we fearing the worst, having eleven fathome & one league of the maine, we haled it off North-East and North-east by East, to get cleere of two little lands that are to the Eastward, and so we went to the East-ward of all. At noone we observed, and made the ship to be in five degrees fiftie four minutes.

From the seventeenth at noone, till the eighteenth at noone, we made our way North-west, Northery eight leagues. From the nineteenth at noone till the twentieth, we made our way North-west Northery eight leagues: in the morning about seven of the clocke, I saw a little Rocke, about three leagues off at the top-mast head, and as we came vp with it about noone, I went with the Skiffe to sound about it, and we had twelue fathome & stones throw off it: and when our Skiffs head was a fathome we had five fathome and an halfe, vp and downe by the rocke: it lieth betweene three or foure leagues of the Westernmost point of the land, and beareth South-East South-erly alittle; and about two leagues and a halfe from the Southernmost land, or thirtie, we had little wind West-erly, and variable, but for the most part North-erly.

From noone the twentieth, till the one and twentieth at noone, we made our way North-west Northery fix leagues, with the wind West-erly and North-erly; we were faint to anchor twice in the night, because it was calme, and the Current setting to the South-ward, we had very faire shoaldings off, into foureteene and into seven or eight. From the one and twentieth at noone, till the two and twentieth at noone, we turned it along the shore, with the wind West-erly, and then we had the low lande point South of vs two leagues off.

The fourth of August at night, we weighed out of *Patanerod*, about nine of the clocke, with the wind at South South-west, and we steered away North-west and North-west by West, North-west by North: but by my judgement, from nine till noone we made our way North-west, halfe a point North-erly tenne leagues, and then the high land bore South-west of vs in the Roade. Our depths from sixes, to seven, eight and, tenne fathome. From noone till fixe clocke at night, we had tenne leagues, little wind at North-west and North and North-east, but we made our way North North-east one league; and from fixe till nine in the morning, we made our way North North-west halfe a point North-erly eight leagues, with the wind variable and West-erly; and then we espied land, that bore West North-west of vs tenne leagues off.

From fixe of the clocke in the morning, till noone the sixt day, we made our way North North-west five leagues to our judgement, and I we observed, and made the ship to be in eight degrees seven minutes, and then the high land bore West and North tenne leagues off, and then we had seutene fathome. From the sixt at noone till the seventh at noone, we had little wind and calme, we made our way North North-west, to my judgement we could not runne above six leagues, but we made it to be in eight degrees three minutes. From the seventh at noone, till the eight, we had little wind, and variable round about, we made our way North North-west eight leagues or tenne, our depths eighteene and nineteene fathome. From the eighth, to the ninth at noone, we had little wind, and variable round about, and then we made the ship to be in nine degrees fortie minutes; and then the Northernmost great land bore West South-west, and the Southernmost bore South-west. In the morning we saw two lands.

From the ninth to the tenth at noone, we had it calme, and went little or nothing the wind North.

Latitude 4 degrees 35 min.

A funken rock.

A little rock.

August 4. They depart from Patane for Siam.

Latitude 8 degrees 7 min.

Latitude 9 degrees 40 min.

Northerly, our depth one and twentie and two and twentie fathome. From the tenth to the eleventh at noone, we had little or no wind, and went two leagues North North-west, we had it North-erly and West-erly, and our depths twenty and twentie one fathomes. From the eleventh at noone to the twelfth, we had the wind variable and gully round about, and we ran about eight leagues North by West, and the depth twenty fixe and twenty five fathome. From the twelfth at noone till the thirteenth, we made our way North by East twentie foure leagues, with the wind at South, and South South-west, and South-west, our depth twentie fixe and twentie eight fathome, seven or eight leagues off the shore.

From the thirteenth to the fourteenth, we made our way North by West sixteen leagues, the wind South-west, our depths two and twentie, and five and twentie fathomes, five or six leagues from the shore. From the fourteenth to the fifteenth, we made our way sixteen leagues North by West, with the wind West-erly, our depths nineteen, & twentie fathomes, five leagues off. From the fifteenth to the sixteenth at noone, we made our way North by West tenne leagues, we had eight, nine, and tenne fathome, along the low land four leagues off; then we bore vp to the East, and East South-east till midnight, and for an houre we steered away East North-east, till we came into foure fathome, and then took to our files as fast as we could; but presently we had but three fathome and a foote, before we could get in our files, so we anchored in three and a foote till the next day, and the water fell thirteene foot, and more, so that we had but fixe fathome and an halfe at low water; and then we laid out a warpe, and when the floeted we warped into deepe water. The eighteenth we set saile, and haled it off into five fathome, where we anchored, having the Southernmost North of vs East of vs, and the Easternmost East and by South, and the River's mouth North of vs West-erly.

The thirteenth of November, about one of the clocke in the afternoon we weighed out of the bay, where we left our men, and graced our ship, and haled it off from the West to the South South-East, to goe cleere of the land, and so steered away.

The fourth at noone I made the ship to be in twelve degrees thirtie three minutes, having run in thirtie three and twentie houres, but five and twenty leagues, and to my judgement had made her way, one thing with an other counted, South by West, the wind North-erly.

On the eleuenta, we arrived at *Patane*. He was after this at *Siam* againe, and againe at *Patane*, and made a second Voyage from *Mafilipatan* to *Bantam*, 1614, and thence to *England*, 1615. But his Journal is so large, that I dare not expresse it. Note that he saith, that the Ile of *S. Helena* is an hundred leagues more to the West-ward, than is laid downe in *Platts*.

The twentieth of August 1615, they came before the *Leeward*. They spent in this whole Voyage foure yeares and about eight Moneths. Their actions and exploits in this Voyage are delineated more fully by M. Floris, out of whose Journal I have taken the most remarkable. For I thinke, these meere marine relations, are (though to some profitable) to the most tedious, For which cause I have abridged this, to make way to the next; written by a Merchant of long Indian experience, and full of pleasant variety.

CHAP. XIII.
Extraits of PETER WILLIAMSON FLORIS his Journal, for the seventh Voyage, (in which he went Cape Merchant) translated out of Dutch. He arrived in England 1615. and died two Moneths after in London.

Part I.

The Voyage to Palancate, Petapoli, Mafilipatan, Bantam, Patania, and Siam.



Being countenanced and agreed with the Right Worshipfull the Gouverneur and Deputy of the East-Indian Societie, we embarked our selves in the *Globe*, the fift of January 1610. *Sylo Anglie*, and set saile for *Graueled* the fift of February we set saile from the *Damen*. The one and twentieth of May 1611, we came into *Saldania* Bay, where we found three ships, and two boats came aboard vs, one from *Jaak le Mare*, and the other from *Heerke Brouwer*. Much refreshing was not here to be had at this time of the yeare, by reason of great store of raine, being now their winter, the mountaines also covered with snow. We vied great diligence in seeking of the route *Negim*, for which purpose the said two *Holland* ships had come thither, one being of *Japan* that first discovered the secret. But at this time the newe lease began only to peep forth, that had we not received instructions, we could not have knowne it; the right and ripe time there.

They arrive at Siam.

November 1615. They depart from Siam.

Saldania Bay.

Roost Negim.

thereof being December, January and February. It is called of these Inhabitants *Canna*.

We having filled our bay, and refreshed our felies with eight Steepe and twentie *Near*. Set sail out of the Bay, leaving behind vs the boat of *Jaac le Maire* with his sonne *Jacob*, who lay there to barter for hides and skinned, and to make traine oyle; which was to continue there till December. To him we gave letters for *England*. *Neere Tenade Natw*. June the tenth, we were in great danger: a forme of thunder, lightning, wind and rain, almost violently thrust vs on shoare; but God mercifully and powerfully gave vs weasay. And deliverance.

The rit of Augit, we law the Land of *Ceylon* falling vs *Punta de Galie*, and running along the coast. On the six we fell before *Negapatan*, being twentie eight miles (leagues) from our guesing, the Map in that place being very false. The like hath also happened to the *Hollanders*, when in the night might be very dangerous. Neither found we the land so broad as it is there laid. *Al. Muller* layeth *Punta de Galie* in four degrees, which lyeth in fixe. Towards evening we sailed before the Road, and might see the Towne and houles very plainly.

The tenth, we passed *Lavagapatan*, where the *Hollanders* having a Factorie, are weari- because of little doings. On the eight, we came before *Saint Thome*, and on the ninth before *Palacate*, passing over the shallow being in length about a Musket shot, having but three fathome water. Here came two Boates aboard vs, one from the *Sabander*, another from the *Hollanders*. The tenth, the *Sabander* men brought vs a *Caul* or conduct to come safely ashore. Whereupon I and Master *Browne* went ashore, but by the roughness of the Sea were turned over, yet (God be thanked) no man was drowned. The *Sabander* met vs, compassionating our mischance and appointed vs a houlet, promising vs to procure a Letter from the King to the Gouverneur of *Canda* *Mas*.

On the eleventh, *John Van Werfjeke* the Dutch President on the Coast of *Choromandel*, showed vs a *Caul* from the King of *Narvinga*, *Weecapati*, *Raja*, wherein was granted, that it should not be lawfull for any that came out of *Europe* to trade there, but such as brought Prince *Maurice* his Patent, and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had Commision from his Maiestie of *England*, and would therefore doe what we could. Hence arose high words, which the *Sabander* calmed, telling of the Governor his coming thither within three dayes.

On the fourteenth, came *Gonda Mas*, and Captaine *Hippon*, coming on shoare, we were ready to goe to her, when we excused word to the contrary, and that the next day we would fend for vs. We dispatched the *Hollanders* clof dealing, and the next day sent to the *Sabander* (no man coming for vs) who answered the King, had made grant to the *Hollanders*, and we must goe to him (the dispatching of which businesse would have cost vs two monethes space, and hazarded the Manion for *Patane*) if we would procure libertie. The *Hollanders* also had made realie two Elephants to fend to the King. Wherefor we refused to prosecute our Voyages for *Petapoo* and *Masulipatan*.

The twentieth, we arrived before *Petapoo*, and the Gouverneur sent vs a *Caul*. We agreed with him for three thirds per *Centum*, Customs and sent goods on shoare, refreshing that Master *Lucas* and Master *Browne* should stay there: and that I should goe to *Masulipatan*, where was better Road for the ship. Thither we came on the last of August, and *Zalabhar Chan* brought vs a *Caul*. We agreed to send a present to *Mir Sumela* (a great Officer vnder the King, which first met out his Revenues) to *Cosapoli*, in regard of the shifts of the vnder Officers. On the twentieth of January, deceased *Cotibara King of Badaya*, or *Lolongana*, and of *Masulipatan*, and great tumults were feared. But the willdome of *Mir Masuim* prevented the same; presently electing *Mahmud Umm Cutibara*, sonne to the Brother of the deceased (who had left no children behind him) a young-man of great hope. His Vncle had put all in the hands of the *Perfars*, but this threw with himselfe content, and an Enemy to *Mir Sumela* the fountain of Tyrannie.

The Gouverneur dealt treacherously with mee, in a bargain of Cloth and Lead for Lances; saying, he had agreed with me for foure thousand *Pagodes* (intending by that cooverage to raise the Customs agreed at foure per *Centum* to twelve) alleging for reason, that he was a *Mos*, and that he was borne of *Mahomet* Posteritie, whose words must be beleaved before a Christian. I not knowing how to deal with this Knave, the time not offering to fend to the new King at *Glendana*, seeing no deal with this Knave, we ended in a kind of agreement. Having also dealt at last by intercession of other *Mores*, we ended in a kind of agreement. Having also dealt at last by intercession of other *Mores*, we ended in a kind of agreement. Having also dealt at last by intercession of other *Mores*, we ended in a kind of agreement.

Petapoo, we having a good Manion departed for *Bantam*, and arrived there the sixe and twentieth of April 1612. We found the Dutch ready to depart thence for *Lacatra*, by reason of the Gouverneur new exactions. But we having no houlet there, after some contending, agreed with him for three per *Centum* Customs.

By order of *Danid Middleton*, a Factorie was fetled at *Succadania*, and continued by *Master Spalding*, but it seemeth (as things are carried) rather to priuate then publicke benefit.

The thrit of June, we fet a le from *Bantam*, and on the two and twentieth came into the Road of *Patane*, where we found the *Bantam* a ship of *Enkbusen*, of whom we learned the manors of the Country. On the sixe and twentieth, we went on shoare in great state, taking with vs a

present of about fixe hundred Riials of eight, to accompanie the Kings Letter. Wee were well received according to the manner of the Country, the Letter being laid in a Balon of Gold, and carried vpon an Elephant with Minstrels, many Lances and little Flagges.

The Queenes Court was humbly prepared, the Letter read, and free Trade granted vs, paying such duties as the *Hollanders* did. Wee departed from the Court without light of the Queene, and were brought to *Dato Laxmana* the *Sabander* and Officer appointed for Strangers, where a Banquet of Fruits was fet before vs: and thence to the *Oran-caya Sernoa*, and there also did eate something. The next day the Queene sent vs meate and fruits aboard.

The third of July, departed hence a Dutch Pinnalle called the *Grey-bound for Iapon*, the Masters thereof were the same man which had brought the Letter from *William Adams* to the English at *Bantam*: by whom we sent the Companies Letters to Master *Adams*, which he promised to deliuer with his owne hands. This otherwise wee could not haue done; for those of *Iapon* are at enmitie with this place, and haue burned *Patane* twice within the five or fixe yeares.

Much adoe we had to get leave to build a Ware-houfe here, fire-free, which we did hard by the Dutch-houfe in a place assigned vs thirtie fathome in length, twentie in breadth; the Houfe eight fathome long, and foure broad. But their demands seemed very vnreasonable, amounting, besides former charges, to foure thousand Riials of eight, whereunto yet in hope of future benefit we yielded. Sickenesse also much afflicted vs, as if the plague had beene in our ship: and Captaine *Hippon* dyed the ninth of July. Whose Successor was nominated in the Boxe of *N. J.* Master *Browne*, but he being dead before the Boxe was opened, wherein *Thomas Effington* was named, and did succeed. Hereunto was added loss by Theeues, which like relictate Disturbances came into the houfe, a Lampe burning, and stole many out of my Chiefe, two hundred eighty three Riials of eight, and other goods; fifteen persons sleeping in the houfe, and a great blacke Dogge, and Watch kept in the yard, which made suspicion of some of our owne, but we could neuer learne any certaintie.

I and *John Persons*, and fixe more were left here in Factorie; and the ship departed the first of August for *Syam*. I would haue written to *Syam*, of my ill Market of Lawnes, but could not fend by water, and by land no less then foure together would trauell for feare of Tygres, and many Riuer they must passe, which made their demands to passe so faire, that I was forced to waite better opportunity. In September the King of *Sor* our ranne the Suburbs of *Pahan*, burning all before him, and likewise *Campon Sina*, which caused great dearth in *Pahan*. The cause of our want of vent here (where foure yeares before I had scene such quicknesse, as if the World would not haue prouided sufficient) is the *Portugalls* bringing to *Malacca* the wonted quantitie, and the *Hollanders* filling *Bantam* and the *Moluccas*, as also the Trade of *Mores* at *Tanasserin* and *Syam*, besides *Tarangh* a Hauen new found out by *Keda*; the *Guzerates*, and another from *Negapatan* and we, helping to cloy the Market; so that the rumour is sufficient to keepe downe the price for ten yeares. I cannot at this present make due per *Centum*, which made foure of one. This is mans wilddome disappointed, I refused to send a *Cargasin* for *Macassar*, *Macassar* in Celebes.

On the ninth, arrived two Iunkes from *Siam*, in one of which was sent mee a Letter from Master *Effington* and Master *Lucas* of your trouble and small likelihood of sale, besides the former causes, the Country being filled with warres; those of *Cambio*, *Laniam*, and *Iagomam*, preparing against *Syam*.

The five and twentieth, departed hence the Iunkes for *Borneo*, *Lambi*, *Laua*, *Macassar*, *Iortan* and other places, among whom was the Iunker of *Oran-caya Raja Indramouda* for *Bantam*, and thence to *Iortan*, *Anghoma*, and *Banda*, and backe to *Macassar*. I cannot imagine what the *Hollanders* meane to suffer these *Malesians*, *Chingians* and *Mores* of those Countries, and to smit them in their free Trade throw all the *Indies*, and forbid it their owne Seruants, Countrymen and Brethren, vpon paine of death and losse of goods. Surely a token of great ignorance or enuie, suffering *Turkes* and Heathens to grow rich, rather then their owne Countymen should get their liuing. Surely a great ingratitude, and a token that Gods punishment is coming vpon them.

The eleuenth of Nouember, the *Globe* arrived from *Syam*, hauing bene eight dayes in the way. They had arrived in the Road of *Syam* the fiftenth of August, and cast Anchor at three fathome high water: but the next day the water ebbing thirteene houres together they had but seven foot muddie ground, and therefore not very hurtfull. They removed further off, where they had three fathome at a low water, being foure miles (leagues) from the Barre. The Towne lyeth some thirtie leagues vp along the Riuer, whether they sent newes of their arrivall. The *Sabander* and the Gouverneur of *Mancock* (a place situated by the Riuer) came backe with the Messengers to recieve his Maiesties Letters, but chiefly for the presents expected. Captaine *Effington* and Master *Lucas* went with them to the Towne, where the fiftenth of September they came before the King, who promised free Trade, and gave eury one a little golden Cup, and a little peece of cloth. The *Mandarin* (Officers Officers) would haue interuerted the Kings

The Kings Letter, Queen of *Patane*.

July 5. *W. Adams* in *Iapon*. *Iaponeses* burne *Patane*.

Death of Captaine *Hippon*. Capt *Effington*.

The *Globe* at *Syam*. Tyges.

Pan or *Pahan* and *Campon Sina*.

Cambio, *Lani- am*, & *Iagomam*.

A Dutch-mans testimony of Dutch intolence in his owne words; as they are in the tran. Bated Copie. Nouember 11.

command for their owne courtouesie, taking at their owne prices what they please, and paying when they are pleased with Bribes, with worse demeanour then in any other parts of the *Indies* (though there but enough) till complaint being made to the King, they were charged not to molest them: and the goods were carried to the house which the King had assigned, being of bucke, the best in *Siam*, neare to that of the *Hollanders*. Now was the time of raines, and the country couered with water.

Tempest.

The fixe and twentieth of October, arose such stormes, that old folkes had not there fene the like, renting vp trees by the roots, and blowing downe the Kings monument, which hee had erected to his Father. The ship her ly cleaped by the diligence of Master *Skinner* and *Samuel Hays*, casting out a third anchor, being driven, notwithstanding her two anchors, from fixe fathome to foure, and not pasing an *Englishe* mile from the land. Master *Skinner* was beaten from the anchor-*flocke*, but very strangely recovered. Five men were drowned; one after the rest, whom they suppos'd deuoured of a Whale, which they saw loose after they had fene him. This storme lasted foure or five houres, and then followed a smooth sea, as if there had bene no tempest. A tempest yet continued aboard the ship, by reason, as was reported, of the relesonle matterly Master, who was therefore apprehended, and *Skinner* placed in his room, whereby the weather also calmed. As for their Trade, they were too much becalmed, this being the third place of Trade in all the *Indies*, and so farre distant from *Bantam* and *Patanie*. The cause whereof is this.

Road of *Siam* a
facebour,
lur in a bough
Sou' h'well
wind.

Batam Patane
and 3 more
prin. 11 pla-
ces of Trade

p. II.

Relations of strange Occurrences in Pegu, Siam, Ioor, Patane, and the Kingdomes adjacent.

IN hath been a mightie Kingdome and ancient, since subdued and tributary to *Pegu*, which yet continued not long. For the King of *Siam* dying, left two sonnes, which were brought vp in the Kings Court of *Pegu*. But flying from thence to *Siam*, the eldest called in the *Malayan* language, *Ra'aspi*, or the *Fier King*, and by the *Portugals* the *Blacke King*, let vp himselfe as King: against whom the King of *Pegu* lent him his son the Prince, who was slaine in these warres, and hath bene occasion of the destruction of the whole Kingdome, and many millions of *Peguan* lues. For the King fore grieved for the death of his sonne, caused his chiefe *Peguan* Lords and Sou'liers (himselfe being of the kindred of the *Bramas*) to bee slaine. This caused great perturbation, diuers tributary Kings (whereof hee had twentie) falling daily from him: which at the last encouraged this *Blacke King* to make warre against him, going to the Citie of *Ynao* or *Pegu*, before which he lay some two monthes, without doing any thing: he brake vp his siege and returned to *Siam*. But the King of *Pegu* not long after, because of the great dearth and death, gave ouer himselfe, and all his traine, into the hands of the King of *Tangu*: to present all falling into the hands of the King of *Arracan*, coming againe: him with a mightie power. This King of *Arracan* calld him himselfe Master of the Towne: and Country, almost emperie and famillid. Thinking to goe into *Tangu*: that King sent Embassadors, offering to deliuer vnto him certaine portions of the treasures of *Pegu*, the *White Elephant*, and the Kings daughter (both which I haue seene in *Arracan*, Anno 1608) as also the King of *Pegu*, or else to kill him (as afterwards it happened that the King of *Tangu* slew him with a Pilon, wherewith they stampe their Rice, as being ere against any faulting). In this manner came this mightie Empire to ruine, so that at this day there is no remembrance of it. The King of *Arracan* gaue the Towne or Fort of *Sirangh*, lying vpon the same Ruer of *Pegu*, in keeping to the *Portingals*, especially to *Philip de Britto de Nicote*, to whom hee gaue the name of *Xenga*, that is, Houelt, which honor *Xenga* did after requite, taking his sonne prisoner foure three or foure yeeres after, and ranfomed him at eleven hundred thousand Tangans, and ten Galeas of *Rice*; who yet also domineereth and careth for no bodie.

See his *Pegu*
story in my *P.L.*
g. m. 145.

Kings of *Tangu*
and *Arracan*
diuers of *Pegu*
ga.

Sirangh.

See *Arracan*
a *Tangor*

See *Arracan*
a *Tangor*

Thus by *Pegu's* destruction was *Siam* reuenced, and hath since brought in subiection the Kingdomes of *Cambaya*, *Luna*, *h*, *Iagoma*, *Lagor*, *Patanie*, *Tenifer* and diuers others. Anno 1605, the *Blacke King* deceased without issue, and left his Kingdome to his brother, called the *White King*, a cou, thin man, but enjoying his Kingdome in peace: he dyed Anno 1610, leaving diuers children behind him. Hence much alteration: For lying in his death-bed, hee caused his eldest sonne to be slaine, being a young man of great hope, at the instigation of one *Iock*, *gannony*, one of the principall Lords of *Siam*, who lauring many slaues, thought to make himselfe King.

This present King was the second sonne of the *White King*, who not long after dispatched that Traytor, which had amongst other slaues, two hundred and eightie *Lapanders*. Thie thinking to reuenge their Masters death, and to achiue some memorable exploit, ran together to the Court of this new King, possessed themselves of King and Court (being with out suspicion) and com-
villed

pled him to deliuer foure of the principall Nobles to be slaine, as causes of their Masters death. And hauing sometime vied him at their pleasure, they compelled him to lubricate with his owne blood, and to giue some of the chiefe *Palapoi* or Priests for hostages, to such agreement as they propounded, and so departed with great treasure after much violence, the *Siamen* none being able to right themselves. Vpon this occasion, the kingdomes of *Cambaya* and *Luanangh* rebelled, as also one *Banga de Lusa* a *Peguan*. And the King of *Luanangh* came the last yeere into *Siam*, within three dayes iourney of the Towne of *Odia*, hoping to find the Country still entangled with these slauih *Laponian* broyles. But they being departed, the King of *Siam* came forth to meete him, which the other durst not abide. The two other Kings are said to haue ioynd league to come together in April, to dispossesse this young King, being about two and twentie yeeres of age, which yet without treason of his owne, they are not likely to effect. Once, it was our hard happe to hit vpon these bad times fo vnfitting for Trade.

We refolved that the ship should winter here in *Patanie*, forced thereto by diuers causes. The one and thirtieth of December, the Queene accompanied with aboute fixe hundred Prawes, went to sport her selfe: shee lay first at *Sabragh*, where we went to salute her, hauing both sight and speech with her, in company of the *Hollanders*: Shee was a comely old woman, threecore yeeres of age, tall and full of Maistie; in all the *Indies* we had seene few like her. Shee had in company her Sister (which was next heire) and her younger sisters little daughter, which hath bene married to *Raisa Saack*, vnto the King of *Ioor*. This her sister, commonly called the young Queene, was yet an unmarried Virgin, about fixe and fortie yeeres of age. After we had had some conference with her, shee let fall the curten, intimating thereby, that wee should depart, signifying that next day we should come againe; which wee did, and were well entertained. There were twelue women and children to dance, which I haue not seene better performed in the *Indies*. Then were all the Gentilitie commanded to dance, or at least make thew thereof: which caused no small laughter. We and the *Hollanders* must doe likewise, and the Queene therat reioyced. She had not bene out of her house in seuen yeeres before, till this going to hunt wilde Buies and Bulles, whereof there is great abundance. As these passed along with her traine betwixt our house and the ship, we saluted her with some Peeces from the ship, and Musket shot on shoure.

In this winter of Nouember and December, the water, by continuall raine, was higher then had been in the memory of man, so that many beards died, many houses were driven away, and much harme done. The fixe and twentieth of January, we had newes by a *Dutch* ship from *Siam*, that Master *Lucas* had sold more then halfe his goods, and that the King had bought a great parcell thereof: neither would hee suffer the Officers to carry away the goods, with a pretext of the Kings name, without a testimoniall from the King. We had also newes from *Keda*, that the *Portugals* had come with fiftene hundred men from *Saint Thome*, and taken the *Hollanders* house in *Palacate*, slaine their men, and carried away the goods. In March I sent the ship for *Siam* with more goods.

The King of *Pahan* married the younger sister of the Queene of *Patanie*, whom, after hauing not seene in twentie eight yeeres, hauing requested the same by often cleme. Embassies, and not obtaining; hath made slay of all the lunkes that came from *Siam*, *Cambaya*, *Bordelingsh*, *Lagor*, or any other places laden with Rice for *Pahan*, and sent forth all her power by water, consisting of aboute seuentie sailes, with some foure thousand men, vnder the command of *Maba Raisa*, *Duce Besser*, and *Orancayo Simora*, with order to bring her sister hither, either in friendship or by force: that *Pahan* shall haue much to doe by reason of the great dearth, the burning of his house, Rice and barnes; as also the warres of *Ioor*, who as is said, maketh great preparation to goe in his owne person for *Pahan*; and the King of *Borneo* prepareth on the other side for their succour.

In April 1615, here arrived diuers lunkes from *Cambaya* and *China*. In May I received letters from *Siam*, and good newes of sale, and of the *Glebes* annuall. He was bolie to lend a *Cargasin* of goods for *Japan*. Seeing good to be done with *China* Commodities, I tooke vp three thousand Rials of eight of the Queene at interest, for three or foure Moneths, allowing fixe per Centum to the Queene, and one per Centum to the Treasurer. We received ill newes from *Bantam*, that *Com. pohana* had twice bene burnt, the great *Englishe* house also full of cloath, and that of the *Hollanders* with great loile: of a great *Englishe* ship at *Pulo Panian* much distressed, and great mortalitye. There came newes also, that the *Acheners* had besieged *Ioor*.

Iuly the twelfth, here arrived the King of *Pahan*, with his Wife the Queenes sister, and two sonnes, much against his will, leaving his country in great poertie, famine, fire, and warre, hauing ioynded conspiencie. He brought newes that the *Acheners* had taken *Ioor*, and carried all the Ordnance, Slaues, and other things away with them: *Raisa Bangson* with his children were taken prisoners, and the King of *Ioor* fled to *Bintan*. It was besieged nine and twentie dayes. Some *Hollanders* also, whose ship was then at *Ioor*, were there taken and slaine. None of the *Crackes* went to entertaine this King of *Pahan*, onely all the dogs were killed for his sake, because he can endure none. He tooke our shooting as he passed by in his honour very kindly, desiring vs to visit him, and so trade in his Country.

Iuly the sixteenth, we had newes of Captaine *Seru* his being at *Maclean*, in the way to *Iapan*: all

Rebellion.

Oudia.

Queene of *Patanie*
goeth a
hunting.

They had
speech with
her.

Great warres,
January.

Hollanders
house in *Palacate*
taken.

Fires at *Bantam*.

The *Trades*
increas.

Ioor or *Iohor*
taken.

Dogges killed.

Death of Sir
Hen. Middleton.

Solar taken by
the Dutch.

King of Paban
departed.

Wistly con-
fiance,
Maccasar in
Celebes.

Hollanders in
Banda.
R. Welden En-
glishman.

Banda now com-
manded by the
Dutch.

Intervall, And
Awa, and Lan-
angh.

Voyage by Ten-
ner Slaves in
Patania.

Feilities left
at Patania and
Siam.

also of the death of Sir Henry Middleton on the four and twentieth of May, as was thought by grief for the most part, the Trade-increase lying there on ground without Maist, with three and thirteen men the greatest part sick; the ship being sheathed on the one side, and not on the other. In her had deceased an hundred English, and more Chinese which wrought for wages, and eight Dutch, by some strange fickness. Captain Schor had taken the Cattle and Island of Solar, with a great quantitie of Sandalwood. In the Maluccas also they had done much on the Spaniards, and a hot warre was likely to ensue. July the one and thirtieth, came the King of Paban to our house with great state, making great promises of kind entertainment in his Country.

August the first, the Queene sent for vs to the Court, where was made a great feast in honour of the King of Paban. There was also plaid a Comedie by women after the Italian manner, apparelled antiseike, very pleasant to behold. On the ninth, the King of Paban departed, having been here a mocking stocke to the Patanees: but the Queenes Sister would not lette him, but returned backe with him in lieu of getting great presents, having spent almost all the hal. On the sixteenth, I received a letter from Thomas Bess at Maccasar of a bad Market, and that John Perkins was fallen frantike: and that they had bought a Junke with purpose to haue come away, but that in the meane time the Darling came thither, being full of cloathing to fettle a Patanie there.

September the eighteenth, arrived here Raja Indra Monda, which had gone from hence, October the twentieth: he had been at Maccasar, and thence to Banda, where he made a good Market. He brought about two hundred tickles Mace, and a great parcel of Nutmegs. He brought me a letter from Richard Welden. By him I learned the State of Banda; the Generall Peter de Bot, had ministered severe iudicial, hanging some for sleeping in the watch, on a Gallows hard by the Cattle: which caused diuers to runne to the Bandefians, and ten were turned Moors; neither could they of the Cattle by any means recover them. Nor haue they of the Cattle any common at all over the Bandefians: only they make the Junks to ride vnder the Cattle, as also the ships, lo commanding the Sea, but not daring to give a bad word on land to the Bandefians. The three and twentieth, the Globe arrived from Siam, and I received a letter from M. Lucas, that he had no newes from the Caragafon sent to Lagomai, because the passages were stopped by reason of the warres betweene the people of Ana and of Lanangh. The King of Ana is said to haue taken Siriangh, and to haue caused the Xenga to be slaine. The King of Siam expects him with great forces, keeping good watches on his borders. I payd the Queene her debt in gold.

October the fourth, being the Moores first day of Lent, about eight of the clocke in the morning, arose a mightie fire in the Towne, or rather the Fort and Cour of Patania, the cause was this: Datoe Besar and Datoe Laxmanaw dwelling neere to each other, and being (except Raja Shey) the richest in Slaves of Laxmanaw; it chanced, this Datoe Besar had been threatened by the Laxmanaw slaves, that they would kill him, Laxmanaw, Raja Suterbangh, and others, which at last came to their eares. Whereupon Datoe Besar calling in his slaves, examined the busines, which they denied. Notwithstanding he called two which were most suspected to bee bound, which the Ponggola of the slaves would not suffer, who was thereupon by the said Besar thrut through with his Cryse or Dagger. The Laxmanaw slaves enraged hereat, had laid hold on their Lord, but that his other slaves freed him. Their furie neuertheless flew all which came in their way, and set fire on their houses. The Laxmanaw slaves, seeing their Country men in trouble, in fight of their Maister, and in fight of his threats, came to them, set all on fire: and being in all about an hundred persons, ranne to the great gate called Ponto Gorbangh, letting all on fire on both sides as they went, to that the whole Towne, except some fewe, as the Queenes Court, Orancao Simora, Datoe Bandara, and the Melikie, was burned, And the Laxmanaw going along the streets, tooke the best bond-women that they found; along with them, and stayed till one of the clocke after dinner, domineering, none daring to come at them. We meane while were not without feare in our quarter, they threatening to fall on our house: wherefore (with the Hollanders together) we kept strong watch, sending aboard for as many armed as might be, which came in very fit time. For they being landed, and things set in order, we resolved to go to visit them, and to stoppe their way; which happened euen as it was: they were coming down wards. But understanding by their cries of our strength and coming towards them, they retired toward the fields, and fled to Gush-bunga, and so forward to Boralongh, Sangera, and into the Country. Thus we, without harme recovered, got the names of Defenders of strangers. The Laxmanaw were followed afterwards to little purpose, three or foure sick men being taken prisoners: what became of the rest was not knowne at our departure. This is the third time that Patania hath been burned, twice by the Laxmanaw, and once by the Laxmanaw, a thing strange and almost incredible.

On the one and twentieth, weooke our leave of the Queene, which gaue to mee, and to Maister Effington a golden Cryse, We left William Ebert in the house with Robert Listeward and Ralph Cooper, with letters all for M. Lucas at Siam. The same day arrived the unhoped for Hope from Iohor, where arriving and going on shore, before they could returne aboard, the Armada of

of Achen was before the Towne to besiege it. Wherefore they sent a letter aboard for thirtie armed men to be sent by land, and to come as high as they could in the Ruer with the hope to fight against the Achener, which by reason of the shoalds they could not do high enough to hinder them, but that after twenty nine dayes the Towne was rendered by composition. Thus remained twenty three Hollanders prisoners, and twelve came aboard, where none of command were left, but the Masters mate, and one Affiant. They refused for Patania: but encountered with a storme, were driuen on the Corall ground of Borneo, and I were by a larger wind put thence vpon Pulo Condor. It being now impossible to recover Patania, they sought refreshment in the Walla, where they had a good Bay, but an ill Kitchen, the people being their enemies. They came to Patania with eighteene men, the most lying in pitifull plight in their Cabbins. Shiee brought seuentie thousand Rials of eight, and twentie nine packs with Indie cloth.

§. III.

Their Voyage to Masulipatan; accidents during their long stay there, and their returne.

THE next morning we set sail. The five and twentieth we were with the Southerliest hands of Ridangh (which are about eightene or twentie, lying in fixe degrees) and in the Evening by the Iles of Capas, which are three little Iles, lying some thirtie leagues from the former, and two from the Continent. The six and twentieth, we saw Palo Tymen, South and South by East from Capas twentie eight leagues. The nine and twentieth, being calme, we came to Palo Tingi. If you keepe at eightene fathome, you neede feare nothing but what you may fee.

The first of November, we saw the point of Lantana or Iohor, and the Mount vpon the Iland of Bantam, and the next Morning came in sight of Pedra Branca, and about ten of the clocke came to the dangerous rife which falls off from the point of obor foure leagues into the Sea. John Huger describes this shoald very well, which we passed not without danger having the point with the three little Ilands West South-west from vs. It is good to keepe towards the Sea, till you bring the little Iles shut in with the point of Iohor, and Pedra Branca open with the Iles of Bantam. Pedra Branca is a rocke full of fowle, and be-lunged, which catch the toppe thereof so close till we were past the Ruer of Iohor, and came about two leagues from Sinca para. On the eighth, diuers Prayes came aboard vs hard by the straight, being of the Saleties vnder the King of Iohor, which for the most part kept in their Prayes, with their Wiues and Children, and lue on fishing. By these we understood, that the King of Achen had sent Raja Bony Soc, younger brother of the King of Iohor, backe againe with great honour, attended with thirtie Prayes and two thousand Achener, to rebuild the Fort and Citie of Iohor, with good force of Ordnance, and other necessaries, hauing married him to his sister, and that he should bee set vp in the old Kings place. Here we tooke a Pilot to carry vs through the Straights.

The nineteenth of December, we arrived at Masulipatan, where we found an English shippe, and two Hollanders. We understood that Mirs, dardo was out of place, and that Amachan and Buzbuleran did gouerne. The English ship was the Lames, and was sent expressly to second vs in our Voyage. M. Marlow, M. Danis, M. Guency, and M. Cob came aboard vs, and deliuered vs Letters. The one and twentieth I went on shore, where we were met by y^e entradada, sonne to Buzbuleran, with the Sahandar and other Moores, and were well received. They gaue vs diuers entertainments, and to the Director Warner and me, to each a faire horse. They gaue vs diuers their treachery, but was compelled to accept it. I took a Caul at foure per Centum, & landed goods.

The twentieth five of January, the Lames departed for Petapoli: and on the twentieth of February, the ship was brought into the Ruer drawing nine foot three quarters, and hauing ten and an halfe, contrary to the reports of some, which whined no good to vs. The three and twentieth I arrived againe at Masulipatan, and dispatched the Peon for Surat, writing to M. Aldarob. That day arrived a Nauette from Pegu, wherein came Cornelius Franke, by whom we understood, that it was certaine that the King of Ancha had taken the Fort of Siriangh, and slaine all the Portugall, and that Xenga or Philip de Brito, was either spotted or loathed. This was done in March last. The King had giuen order for rebuilding the old Towne, calling all the Peguers together, and making many faire promises. Hamille went forward toward Tenserrin, where Banga de la Moores in Masulipatan reioice greatly at this conquest, hoping to get the trade of Pegu into their eluen ships arrived at Goa, eight from China, and three from Malacca, which brought downe the price of the Market, in a good houre for me, which had almost dispatched before.

The severall
Rocks visited.

shore and received of Master John Jordaine, (principall Factor at Bantam) Letters, from Sir Thomas Smith, testifying that the Company was joyned in one, &c. From Master Cocke at Macassar, that he had received the Cargeon sent by William Ebers, with other circumstances: from Adam Denton and Master Gurney, complaining of the dead Market because of the Warres: from Master Lucas also, of his fares in the same regard, but the Darling being gone thither, I hope, will comfort him.

Here we agreed that the *Hoffander's* goods should be discharged into the *Globe*, and Edward Christian (made Captaine thereof in that Countrey by General Beaulieu) should be Captaine of the *Globe*, and Nathaniel Salmon Master; and Master Skinner should goe Master in the *Hoffander*; and that in the *Globe* should goe fiftie men, in the *Lamer* five and fiftie, twentie in the *Hoffander*; which was to say here; and three or four: to keepe the *Concord*. On the thirtieth, the *Lamer* departed to goe on a month before and to stay at the Cape, or at Saint Helena, that we might goe together. Seeing the *Hoffander* could not so quickly be made ready, it was thought fit to send the *Concord* for Ambona, George Bale going in her; and George Chancey was to stay in Macassar. The ship *Zelandia* arrived from Japan, and brought Letters from Master Cocke, that Master Pencocke with the *Hollanders* was staid in Cochon China, and that Master Adams and four other English were gone thence for Sym.

Letters from
Japan.

This is sup-
plied out of
M. J. J. J.
Journal.

The fourteenth of February, arrived Captaine David Middleton with the *Samaritan*, Thomas, and Thomasin, the men being well and in good disposition. Captaine Middleton understanding so of his Brothers death, and the loss of his ship the *Trades Inceps*, was perplexed and refused to goe home, wherefore he called a Court to see the disposing of the ships, and the manning againe of the *Hoffander*. It was then thought fit to send home the *Samaritan* with the very first, the *Thomas* to Sumatra, and the *Thomasin* for Ambona, to succour the *Concord* and the *Hoffander* for Petaricia and Japan, to visit those Fortresses, which was put in execution. They set layle out of Bantam Road, the two and twentieth of February, April the thirtieth, they entered the Road of Soldania, where they found the *Lamer* which arrived the day before, the *Adelfe* & *Attendant* outward bound. The fourteenth of May, they weighed, and the first of June came to Saint Helena.

CHAP. XV.

A Journal of a Voyage made by the Pearle * to the East-India, wherein went as
Captaine Master SAMUEL CASTLETON of London, and Captaine
GEORGE BATHURST as Lieutenants: written by
JOHN TATTON, Master.

* For the fur-
thering of Ma-
rine know-
ledge, I have
thought good
to adde this
Voyage, how
our holding
Society with
the East-Indies
Society,
Lancaster.



He two and twentieth of August 1612. we departed from Black-wall for Gravesend, and being much hindered by contrary windes, it was the first of November, before we could attayne to the Lands end of England.

The feuen and twentieth of Nouember, we fell with *Lancaster*, one of the *Cannarie* Iles.

December, 1611.
Teneriffe.

A small ship of
London taken
by an Holland
man of Warre.

The third of December, we towed into *Lanzarotti* Road. The fifth we were put out of the Road by foule weather, and spent the whole month about this Ile, and *Teneriffe*, and took in fixtente Pipes of Wine.

The last of this month, we met with a small ship of London, a little in the Offing, which had formerly bene in the Road with vs, which an *Holland* ship of Warre had taken, whole men being all drunke in the night, the shelle away haung but three men in her: into whom we put two men, and a Merchant, whom we should haue set on shore at the Grand Canarie, but the weather not permitting vs, he agreed to goe for the Ile of *Palma*, we thinking there to better our provision. The small ship this day did beare vs companie.

Roscoff Road.

The fifteenth day, we anchored in the Road of Cape Verde where we watered, and got some Oxen.

The one and twentieth, we weighed and went over to *Roscoff* for Beues, and at fute of the clocke anchored in *Roscoff* Road in fute fathomes. Note that there is but eleven fathomes over the Bayinan Eastland by North course: for so lyeth *Roscoff* from the Ile which maketh the Road at Cape Verde. The two and twentieth, we got futen Beues.

The first Ter-
nado.
February 20.
They cross
the Line.

The three and twentieth, in the morning we departed from *Roscoff*. The eight and twen-
tieth, being in latitude sixe degrees, thurte two minutes, we met with the first *Tornado*, lasting
some two houres.

The twentieth of February, we crossed the Equinoctiall Line, and made our way South
South-east.

The

The fifteenth of April, 1612. the latitude thirte two degrees, thirte nine minutes, the wind South-west, we steered in East South-east, and met with many great weeds, called *Trombas*, by the *Portugals* and the water was much changed: we steered away East South-east till fute of the clocke; then we saw the land between the East South-east, and East North-east: we steered away East till futen in the morning: then we were thwart *Punta de Santa Lucia*, some fute leagues off; we found, and had forty three fathomes, Rocks: then it fell land.

The sixteenth at noone, latitude thirte three degrees, no minutes. At fute of the clocke at night, we were shot so farre into the Bay, that we brought a ledge of rocks South South-west off vs: then we steered off.

The seuenteenth in the morning, we were fute fute leagues off the shore, having got some three leagues to the Southward. This day our latitude was thirte three degrees, no minutes, we stood in for the shore, and at three of the clocke came in faire by the point in fiftene, fourtene, and thirteene fathomes, and had sometimes hard ground, sometimes soft Ozie: and when we were shot within the point two miles off the shore, we had nine fathomes for the most part soft Ozie: Then we anchored in the South-east side of the Bay in fute fathomes (off ground), the one point North-east (some fute leagues off); the other which we came in by, North-west.

The eighteenth in the morning, we went our Boat and Skiffe on shore: the Skiffe presently returning, brought newes of people, whereof some twentie came to them. We sent the Skiffe on shore againe with an iron hoop cut in pieces, and some hatchets: and for a small piece of this iron hoop we had a Callee, and for an hatchet an excellent good sheepe. Then we sent our Boat people drinke, making fute that there was none other. This Countrey seemed to be a very barren place. Our Boat went into a Riuer in the bottome of the Bay, hauing fute fute water, and a barren Countrey.

The nineteenth in the morning, at two of the clocke, the wind came vp at North North-west, and blowing right in, we weighed, and made a bound over the bottome of the Bay in ten, nine, eight and fute fathomes. Then the wind came to the West South-west, and West by South, and so we played it out, all night becalmed some three leagues without the point of the Road. The two and twentieth at noone, latitude thirte three degrees, fitee three minutes, we were fute leagues off the shore. The three and twentieth in the morning, we were fute leagues off the shore: fute fute fute leagues off. All night was calme. The fute and twentieth, we came into the Road of *Saldanha*: The people desire nothing so much as Copper: Braile they regarded not.

The four and twentieth of August, we departed from *Praimor* for *Tecoa*: *Praimor* standeth in thirte eight minutes of South latitude, and the variation there is fute degrees, fute minutes North-west. *Tecoa* standeth in fute and twentie minutes of South latitude, hauing three or fute leagues between them: but keepe some fute leagues off the shore, and there is no feare.

The one and thirtieth, we ran into a Bay, and there (being a willermet) we brought on a warshaw off, called *Arishage*. This Bay is called by the name of a Towne, a little to the Southward about the shoald going in, is nine fathomes and a quarter less: but between the maine and cables length off to the Northward, some two miles off the there thwart the wester point, which is to the Northward of *Arishage*, lyeth a shoald, whereon is but eight or nine fathomes water, fute leagues off: it is but eight and twentie and thirte fathomes, which lyeth some vp with the wind off the shore, within two miles of *Pantaban*.

The eleuenth in the morning, we anchored at the South-west end of the Ile of *Pantaban* in fute fathomes Ozie: and at two in the after-noon we anchored thwart the Riuer of *Pantaban*, in fute fathomes Ozie. All this Coast is Ozie: neare the shore, thwart it is the shoalds. This Riuer is very good water, and you may goe into it six or fute fute vpon the Barre; it standeth in no degree, twentie eight minutes of North latitude.

The thurteenth, we went from *Pantaban* with two Gouernours for our Pilots, for *Barons* and *Jehon*, with fute Boyes.

The sixteenth, we were a little short of a bigge Island, which lyeth some two miles off the maine, with two other small Iles on the South-side of it: and between the maine and it lyeth in an high round homocoe being an Ile: This is some twentie fute or twentie fute leagues to the Northward of *Pantaban*. This bigge Ile standeth in one degree, fute minutes. And on the North-west side is a fresh running downe a steepe cliffe, like a little Riuer, all in a breach, and sheweth white a great way off, fute or eight leagues you may very well see it. On the North-side of this Ile is a fine Bay: going late by it, we had fute fathomes Ozie. South-west or West South-west some fute leagues from this Island lyeth a shoald: within this Ile your depth is a shoald two and twentie fathomes, and so close into the maine twentie fathomes, all Ozie, your anchor oner both shoalds.

April 15.
Weeds called
Trombas, signes
of being neere
the Cape of
Borneo, Effe-
vance,
Punta de Santa
Lucia,
The Bay.

They goe on
shore, and
finde people,
A Callee for a
piece of an
iron hoop,
and good
sheepe for an
hatchet.

The Table,
The Road of
Saldanha.
Copper in
thirte requert,
August.
Praimor in
thirte of the
minutes of
South latitude,
Variation fute
degrees fute
minutes,
Tecoa.
Arishage, a
Towne eight
minutes North
latitude:
A shoald.

The Riuer of
Pantaban.
Latitude no
degrees, twen-
tie eight mi-
nutes.

A bigge Island
in one degree
fute minutes.

- The last of October, we departed from *Nienber*, where we had good refreshing for the 11th of *Ceylon*; and the Canoes full trading, so long as we were any thing near.
- November. The twelfth of November at noon, the Sunne shining, we made our ship in five degrees, thirtie five minutes. By which observation I found our ship fortie leagues farther Southerly, then I could iudge by our sailing, in less time then two dayes. At eight of the clocke in the morning, we saw the land of *Ceylon*, North-east by north off vs some twelve leagues off, being the high land within *Punta de Galle*. Then it proved calme, and we got our our Skiffe to sound, but found no ground.
- Punta de Galle* in *Ceylon*. The thirteenth at noone, latitude five degrees, thirtie two minutes, variation thirteene degrees, twenty foure minutes at night: all night the wind variable, little wind, but very much tame; we lentled it in to the Northward: the next morning the land was East North-east. 10
The fourteenth at noone, our latitude was sixe degrees, or fix or five. The Souther point of *Ceylon*, called *Diandra*, East of vs.
- The sixteenth in the after-noon, the wind Southerly out of the sea, we weighed and went into the Bay, where the Boats were, called *Velayam*, thinking there to water, and anchored in feuen fathoms fine blacke land, the one point West North-westerly, the other point which wee came in by South South-west Westerly, and rode within a quarter of a mile from the shoare. This night we sent our Skiffe on shoare with a flage of truce, but went not on shoare, the people making shew they could not vnderland *Portuguese*.
- The seuenteenth, we lent our Boat to the other side of the Bay, where there were houses built by *Christian Portugals*: where the people came downe to our Boat, and one of them came into the water near the Boat, speaking very good *Portuguese*, in habite one of the Countrey people: but we iudged him to be a *Portugall*. He answered our men, that we could haue nothing till they had acquied the King; and so bid vs returne the next morning, and we should haue answere from their King, with very pleasing words: but soon after we perceived an ambush of the *Portugals*, and weighed.
- The two and twentieth, we sent our Boat and Skiffe on shoare, thinking that for their two Boats and men, they would haue giuen vs water. But we commanded our long Boat not to goe near the shoare, but to lye off to succor the Skiffe, if need were. The people on shoare keeping themselves close, sent one man downe to speake to our Skiffe, that if they would giue them money we should water: who made answere, that our Captaine was very well content to giue them what it pleased them to require, and told them that we were bound for *Matineis*, a Citie vpon the Ile, to Trade. Then he drawing nearer to the Skiffe, seemed to be afraid, and told them in the Skiffe that: they had Gunnes and would shoote him: but they making answere they had none, as indeed they had not, (for the Boat was fitted for the defence) coming neare, hee talked very friendly, seeming to yeeld to any thing. But on the sudden hee retiring from the Skiffe, there came off such a volly of small shot, as the lark hath beene feldome seene, I thinke not less then two hundred, which hurt all our men in the Skiffe, being fixe, but none deadly, thanked be God. In the long Boat none were hurt; but the Skiffe was euen in the wath of the shoare. At their discharging of their shot they killed out of the bulhes, some of them running vp to the necke, to haue gotten hold of the Skiffe: But two of our men hauing better hearts then the rest, although hurt, rowed her off. The long Boate discharging her fowle and her small shot, made them retire into the bulhes againe; and so both our Boats came aboard againe.
- The foure and twentieth, we stood to the Eastward about *Diandra*, the Souther point of the Ile, and anchored all night some five leagues to the East.
- The fixe and twentieth, wee stood to the Eastward along the shoare, and at noone anchored thwart a Riuer, which the people called *Wallam*, in eight fathoms, blacke Ozie land, yet shewed a great Riuer within, but the mouth was dord vp. Our Boat being at the mouth of it, thought it to be a Rocke that lay thwart of the Riuers mouth: and the Sea going high they could doe no good, but came aboard.
- The feuen and twentieth, we fide of the clocke at night, we were thwart a shoald in the ofing 50
of vs, and being thort to the Eastward of it, weooke in all our sailes but our fore-courfe, and stood it off: a try to spend the night, and not liking the weather, I called to get vp our new fore-courfe, and while it was getting vp, the other split. Being some foure miles off the shoare, we laid it a hull till nine of the clocke, hauing foure and thirtie fathoms. Then we laid it about to the shoare, and at eleuen of the clocke anchored in thirteene fathom fine land, some three miles and an halfe from the shoare, being lesse wind.
- Another shoald. The eight and twentieth, in running some five leagues, we met with another shoald without vs some three leagues from the land, the shoare being sandie hills. The depth some five or sixe miles off, five or eight fathoms: at one caft we had but five fathoms, which was another shoald, but it shewed not, being a smooth Sea. Then we came into ten and sixteene fathoms: and fanding still to the Eastward, we came to a point of rockes, and there being a fine Riuer, we anchored on the East-side of the point in nine fathoms blacke Ozie land; the point bearing South-west and by South off vs. Heere we watered, keeping a guard vpon the Rocke of thirty small shot.
- A point of Rockes. A fine Riuer. They water.

- shot. Here some people came to vs with feare, making shewes of great friendship. They haue for the most part of them very great holes in their eares: and some of them haue their haire vpon their heads, like the *Chinefes*, long, and made vp with a knot vpon their Crowns. They are all naked, they wear only a piece of cloth about their middles, hanging downe to their knees. Heere two came aboard vs at severall times, which spake good *Portuguese*. They promised all things, but performed nothing. But finding the first to play the villaine with vs, yet as farr as we perceived, not by his owne meanes, we tooke occasion to detain the one aboard, sending the other with threatnings and promises on shoare to procure vs victuals: who staying somewhat long, put his fellow which we had detained in great feare; who fained himselfe sicke, and would 10
haue gone on shore. But the next day his confort came with two Caluts.
- The fourth of December in the morning, we stood to the East-ward till the brifc came, which was about two of the clocke, & fetcht not the place by five leagues: we anchored in ten fathoms two miles from the shoare, fine blacke sand latitude sixe degrees fortie minutes. Variation twelue degrees fortie sixe minutes North-westing. Heere we rode till the eighth: then we stood to the West-ward, and anchored all night thwart a great Hamocke. The ninth, we anchored all night all the way to the West-ward of the Westmost Shoald. The eleventh in the morning, we stood rare in by the riuer *Wallam*; but the sea going high, we went along to the West-ward, and at night were thwart the point some five leagues to the East-ward of *Diandra*. Heere wee rode till the sixteenth, at which time the Current letting strongly to the East-ward, which was very feldome, we weighed and played to the Eastward.
- The seuenteenth, we stood it in, and fetcht in a little to the West-ward of *Diandra*, thwart the two red Clifffes, and anchored in twentie five fathomes, the point East a little North-ly. The eighteenth, we broke vp our Pinnack, being too worne-aten, that the wearied our men with firing her of water. Heere we rode till the twentieth all this Moneth out.
- January. The twentieth, Easterly winds began to blow, then we bare vp for the riuer of *Wallam*, where we staid, and laid vp new throwds vpon our maine Mast, hauing very much wind Easterly. We rode here tenne dayes together in tenne fathoms, three quarters of a mile from the shoare, the point lying East Southerly off vs. The nineteenth at midnight we espied a sayle. The twentieth in the morning in lesse then three leagues chafe we took her. And the same day we stood it away to the North-west out of sight of land; then we stood in againe. The foure and twentieth, we anchored some five leagues to the North-ward of *Punta de Galle*. The five and twentieth, we began to discharge her, riding in thirte fathomes some three miles from the shoare.
- The second of February, we had done with the ship, leaving in her neere an hundred tunnes of Pepper and Sanders. The third day, we set saile home-wards. At fixe of the clocke at night we were in foureteene fathomes, some five or sixe miles from the shoare, thwart an Iland, which is some five leagues to the South-ward of the *Portugall* first vpon *Ceylon* called *Colombo*.
- The twentieth of March, Latitude thirteene degrees foure minutes: Variation twentie foure degrees twentie five minutes, being the greatest that we found. We steered away South-west, and felt no current. Note, that we met with Currents, and many ripples from South latitude 40
foure degrees thirtie minutes, till we came into thirteene degrees no more. Sometimes the Ripples making a noyse like ouer-fals, especially being in the parallels of *Pedra Branca* to the West-ward of it.
- The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteene degrees fiftie minutes, variation twenty three degrees tenne minutes: we steered South-west. The twentie feuenth, latitude twentie one degrees, then we saw an Iland West South-west, and South-west and by West some five leagues from vs, being very high land. At fixe of the clocke at night, we anchored on the Easter side of it in tenne fathomes fine blacke land a mile from the shoare. From fortie fathomes to foure fathomes close into the shoare, you haue fine blacke land. Heere we sent our Boat on shoare, and found infinite numbers of great land Tortoises, as big as a man might well carrie, which were very good meate.
- The North-east point of this Ile is very high and steep; and a little to the South-east of the point is low land, where is a fine running water like a riuer: and though a Boat cannot goe in, yet it is a very good place to water in, somewhat distant from the shoare. The Ile is like a Forrell, and therefore I called it *Englands Forrell*; but others call it *Peale* Island, by the name of our ship. There is store of land fowle both small and great, plenty of Doves, great Parrats, and such like. And a great fowle of the bignesse of a Turkie, very fat, and so thort winged, that they cannot flie, being white, and in a manner tame: and so are all other fowles, as haue not been troubled nor feared with shot. Our men did beate them downe with sticks and stones. Ten men may take fowle enough to serue fortie men a day. Our men traueiling into the land, found another riuer and a Pond with great store of Mallards in it, and wild geese. Moreover, they found infinite store of great Eeles, as good, I thinke, as any in the world. Strike them with a Pike, and they will flie from you not palt two or three yards, and there will lie still againe: you may made after them at your pleasure. I weighed one of them, because they were bigger then euer I saw, and it weighed five and twentie pounds, and they are the sweetest fish that can be eaten. I thinke it is 60
so good a place as the world can afford for refreshing, being also without people.

The description of the people.

December.

Latitude 40. degrees 40. min. Variation 12. degra. 46. min.

Two redde Clifffes.

January.

They take a Shippe.

February. They returne homewards.

The greatest Variation 24. degra. 46. min.

Variation 13. degra. 10. min. A new land discovered in 11. degrees.

Infinite numbers of great Tortoises. A good watering place. Forrellle.

An excellent place for refreshing.

The

April 1613.

Variations deg.
48. minutes.38. degrees, 47.
minutes, the
great & ant-
tude South-
ward.They were
to the West of
Cape de Buona
Esperanza.
June 1613.The third of
June.
The fight be-
tweene the
three Hollan-
ders and two
Cafacks.The Lion of
Holland blowne
vp and sunke.
Forty nine
Hollanders
blowne vp and
drowned.July 1613.
The Sea of
Grafte, or Sera-
gola.
They cross
the Tropick
of Cancer.

The first of April 1613. we went away, and bearing about the North-east point, all the North side of the Ile was fine low land, and full of trees, more pleasant in sight then the South-side. The second, latitude twentie degrees fiftie eight minutes. The Ile bare South-east by East some five leagues off. Note that we lay no dangers about the Ile, but the shore it selfe. At fixe of the clocke at night, the South-west point was off vs South-east by East, variation twenty two degrees fortie eight minutes.

The first of May, latitude thirte eight degrees fortie seven minutes, which was the greatest latitude that we ever raised to the South-ward, wee steered away West North-west. The eleventh at noone, latitude thirty three degrees fiftie eight minutes, by which observation I found a N. rtherly Current, and found my selfe to the West-ward of Cape de Buona Esperanza.

The first of June, all these ships, the *Salomon* and foure great *Hollanders* departed from the Road of Saint Helena. But within foure houres after they were gone, there came about the point two great Carackes, the other ships being still in sight; we hauing most part of our Company ashore sicke, I sent the Boat on shoare, hauing not aboue ten men aboard: so there came as many as were able, some of our soundest men being vp in the Mountaines. When the Boat was come aboard, we cut our Cables in the haule and droue away, letting 'aile as fast as we were able, being in all but fixe and twentie men; hauing left behind vs sicke and found five and twentie men of our owne Company, and one *Indiar*, with all our water Caske, and diuers other things for the vse of our sicke men were left on shoare. So hastening toward the *Hollanders*, and making signes for their stay, an I within might coming vp with the *Admirall* of the *Hollanders*, and telling him of this newes, hee was very glad, and desired to make saile for the Road againe, and make legges to his Fleet to follow, and so stood for the Road as wind would serue. But in the morning his biggest ship both of force and burthen was missing, with the *Salomon* of London. Yet his three ships and we played it vp for the Road, and gat in the third day at noone. The *Admirall* of the *Hollanders* went first in, and anchored on the Broad-side of the *Admirall* Caracke. He veered so much Cable before hee brought vp his ship, that his sterne hung by the galleries of the Caracke; but with his two sterne peeces lying very low, and his quarter Peeces hee fogalled the Caracke, that he put her from two peeces of Ordnance, and might haue sunke her, if they had not been too couetous, hauing desire to carrie both. The next came the *Bantam* and anchored in such sort, that she had her Broad-side vpon the Bow of the same Caracke, and so racked her afore and ast, that it much cooled the *Portugals* courage. Then came the white *Lion*, whoseof one *Simons* was Capitaine, and laid her thwart the haule, and so tarre her that a man might see all the Sea wash into her betweene wind and water, and withall cut her Cables, and so the droue off from the white *Lion*, and had chruen on shoare, but that the Vice-*Admirall* Caracke had a Cable fast on hoare: and so the Caracke lying in the byre of this Cable, in time got another Cable and Anchor ready, and so brought her vp againe, though long first. Then the white *Lion* making way to venter aboard againe, with a general consent that all three ships should lay her aboard: the white *Lion* filling with her Broad-side along the Vice-*Admirall* Caracke, let fye her whole Broad-side, and likewise the Caracke at her. But first vering to get aboard the *Admirall* Caracke, his men still plying his lower Ordnance vpon the Vice-*Admirall*, one of his Peeces brake out his Powder Rosome, as some thought, and the shippe blew vp all to pieces, the after part of her, and so sunke presently. In the time of this fight eleven of our men came out of the Mountaines: whom wee clyuing fastched from the shoare, out of the Bay to the East-ward of the chappell, leaning on thre fteene of our Company, one being an *Indian*. In the white *Lion* were *Henric Bacon*, and *Henric Tiddman* blowne vp, & nine and fortie of the *Hollanders*. Then the *Admirall*, whereof *Iohn Derickson Lembe* was Capitaine, seeing his forces so much weakened, him selfe lading two of his Peeces dismounted, with many of his men killed and hurt, and we being of small force, thought it best to leaue them, for want of helpe, promising to humbly vs with water.

The third of June, loosing one after another, and changing a few shot with the Carackes, we stood away for England.

The eighteenth of July in the morning, we met with many weeds, and a small long leafe with white berries of the bignesse of a corne of Pepper. The Master of the Carauell aboard the *Hollanders* reported, that farther Westely the Sea is so thicke with these kind of weeds, that they hinder a ships way. They call it *The Sea of Grafte*. Hee affirmed that in former Voyages hee had bene in it. The nineteenth, we crossed the Tropique of Cancer.



10 ENGLISH VOYAGES BE-
YOND THE EAST INDIES, TO
THE ISLANDS OF IAPAN, CHINA, CAUCHIN-
CHINA, THE PHILIPPINÆ WITH OTHERS;
AND THE INDIAN NAVIGATION'S
FURTHER PROSECVTED:

20 Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish*
Treachery, victoriously defended against *Portugall Hostility*,
gloriously advanced against *Moorish* and *Ethiopia* Perfidie;
hopefully recouering from *Dutch* Malignitie;
iustly maintayned against ignorant and ma-
licious Calumnies.

30 THE FOURTH BOOKE.

Hauing brought to light (rather as a *Midwife*, the fruit of Others Trauels then mine owne as a *Parent*) the imperfect untimely Births of Other Englishmen, and that more mature, well complexioned, strong limmed, and (if *Genethliacall* coniectures faile not) hopefully promising Riches, Honour, Happie Successes and Long-life, of the East-Indian Societies, which we haue also in a Scenical Historie, or an Historical Scene, (the Actors being the Authors, and the Authors themselves the Actors of their owne Parts, *Artes*, *Acts*, *Designes*) brought from the Cradle to the Saddle, from weaker Infancie of first beginnings to the happie Progresse and growth of youthfull vigour and courage: I made a stand, and, in the midst of our Indian Course, finished the former Booke; that as after a long ascent of some steeper Hill, Men take breath, and renew with delight, that which with irksome labour and wearie steps they haue passed; or like the Land-traveller resting in his Inne, or the Weather-beaten Mariner refreshing himselfe in some mid-way Harboure (which heere you see our Indian Navigators doe in Soldania, or at Saint Helena.) You might also after that stay beginne a fresh Carcer, with renewed spirits, and renewed alacritie, resume this Booke-Voyage, and Reading Navigation. So may your Mindes in few houres and a safe course, without feare of Rocks, Sands, Winds, Stormes of unseasonable Mistons, unreasonable Men (*Fugitives*, *Traitors*, *Pyrates*, *false Friends*, *open Foes*) of an ill Market, hard Customes, or harsh accounts to be giuen at last; communicate in that which the selfe with so long labours, and so perillous dangers, haue done and suffered.

And here first we present vnto you, the East-Indies made Westerly by the illustrious Voyage of Capitaine JOHN SARRIS, who hauing spent some years before in the Indies, by Observations to rectifie Experience, and by Experience to prepare for higher Attempts, hath heere left the knowne Coasts of Europe, compassed those more unknowne of Africke from the Atlantike to the Erythrean Sea, and after Commerce there (*nam Mariæ, quam Mercutio*) compassed the Shoares, and pierced the Seas, to and beyond all the names of Indian
and

and Asia, penetrating by a long journey the Islands, Cities, Courts of the Iaponian Empire, where I setleth an English Factorie, and after safe returne, is ready to render thee the pleasure of his paine, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant Discourse way, to discover to thee the Rarities of that Discoverie; and by hand, by the Eyes to lead thee along with him all the way: and then leave thee to those that shall tell thee after Accidents and later Occurrences in the Iaponian, Indian and Asian Affairs.

CHAP. I.

The eighth Voyage set forth by the East-Indian Societie, wherein were employed three Ships, the Cloue, the Hector, and the Thomas, under the Command of Captaine IOHN SARIS: His Course and Acts to and in the Red Sea, Iaua, Molucca's, and Iapan (by the Inhabitants called Neffoon, where also he first began and setled an English Trade and Factorie) with other remarkable Rarities, collected out of his owne Iournall.

§. I.

Their saying about Africa, visiting diuers Islands thereof, and coming to Socotora.

April 18, 1611



He eighteenth of April 1611. wee set saile out of the Domes.

The sixth of Iune following, we passed the Equinoctiall Line. The first of August 1611. we arrived in the Bay of *Saldonia*, where having well refreshed our selves the space of eight dayes, the ninth of August in the morning we weighed Anchor, and about foure in the after-noon we were five leagues off the Cape *Buona Esperanza*.

The second of September, of latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie one minutes, way East by North Northerly six leagues. *Nota*, That since our coming from Cape *Buona Esperanza*, We found no Monsons of West-winds, (as hath bene reported) but to the contrarie, did find North Easterly, South Easterly and Easterly winds with extreme Stormes, Raine, Thunder and Lightening: yet at that present very faire and so that calmes were to be doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by West twentie three leagues: wind at South.

The Bay of St. Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Island of *Madagascar*, otherwise called *Saint Laurence*, the Bay of *Saint Augustine* bearing East by North about six leagues off. And then steered away North North-east, variation at Sun-setting fiftene degrees, eleven minutes Westerly. We founded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high, but Sandie. And then we passed the Tropique of *Capricorne*, to the North-ward.

A Prong current.

The tenth of September, latitude seuenteen degrees, three minutes, way North-west twelue leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly. Heere wee found a strong Current setting South-west by South: for the last foure and twentie houres, these could not haue runne lesse then foure and twentie leagues, hauing a stiffe gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the evening we made the Island *Primeiras* bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

Note.

The eleventh, latitude seuenteen degrees, thirty three minutes way South by East halfe a point Easterly fourteen leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by East, a storme. Note that hauing stood but one watch and an halfe to the East-wards, the Current did carry vs thirte minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last observation: then we stood in for the land North-west, hoping of a better wind near the shoare with lesse current, an suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hundred fathome. In the evening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about six leagues off, finding

it to be the Islands *Primeiras*, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then before, for it did beare from the North-west to the North of vs; we founded and had twentie fathom small glittering sand; and founding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozie, with black shells. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day: and hauing stood off one glasse, we founded and had two and twenty fathome, gray sand and shells.

The twelfth, latitude eighteen degrees seuenteen minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that these last twenty foure houres we were carried by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former observation, variation fourteen degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind varied to East North-east, so that we lay North with the steme.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteen degrees, sixteen minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind at North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against vs.

The fiftenth, latitude sixteene degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west, we steered North-west, North. Note heere we found not the Current so forcible, for we haue deprest the Pole one degree, seuen and twenty minutes these foure and twentie houres. The reason wee supposed to bee that the Island *Iuan de Nova*, was betweene vs and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eighteen leagues off, variation at Sun-setting twelue degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixteen degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eighteen leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-rising thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seuententh, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelue degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of *Moscambique*, making it to be the Islands of *Angoxa*, bearing West South-west seuen leagues, The Westermolt part of the said Islands seeming whitish. The maine to the Northward bearing North by East, smooth champion ground: we steered North-east by East, and towards evening we saw the land trending to the Northward, seeming to the Seaward to be full of trees: here we found the Current to set North North-west, for we could perceive by the land that we ran very fast to the Northward, and hauing little wind, we founded often, but could not find ground at an hundred fathome.

The Islands of Angoxa.

The nineteenth, latitude fifteen degrees, twentie nine minutes, way South by East foure leagues, wind at East South-east, we steered North-east, but by extremite of the Current, we were carried to the Southward. So that we were heere ten dayes, and could not get to the Northward; notwithstanding we had a faire and reasonable stiffe gale.

An extreme Current to the Southward.

The one and twentieth, latitude sixteen degrees, twentie minutes, way South by West foure leagues, wind North-east, and North-east by East, little wind: in the morning we were near the Northernmost of the Islands of *Angoxa*, bearing West by North about three leagues off. And to windward of vs, we espied a very dangerous shoale, lying East off the North part of the main, at the least three points into the sea, hauing a drie spat of white sand betweene it and the maine: We founded and had ground at thirte fathome, red stones like Corall, with gray sand and shells, we stood off, it being a lee-shoale and Westerly Current. And finding by our skiffe, which was sent off, that the Current did set exceeding strongly to the South-west by West, and such vncertaine shoaling, we stood off for *Saint Laurence*. Note that these Islands of *Angoxa* (which are many) doe liue in the plat in fiftene degrees, fortie minutes, and we find them in sixteen degrees, twentie minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall, variation thirteene degrees, no minutes Westly.

A very dangerous shoale.

The Isles of Angoxa in sixteen degrees, twentie minutes.

The two and twentieth, latitude seuenteen degrees five minutes, way South South-east eight leagues, wind North-east, and in foure and twentie houres that we parted from the land, we lost no degrees, fortie five minutes. But towards evening the wind came to the South-east, and South-east by South: we steered North-east, and North-east by east, and East North-east for the Island *Saint Laurence*, looking out for *Iuan de Nova*, which *Hugen van Linschooten*, willett to beware of, and not to come near it in a small Moone; notwithstanding wee were inforced to put our selves in hazard to get out of this Current and dangerous place, variation at Sun-setting twelue degrees, fortie foure minutes Westerly.

The three and twentieth, latitude sixteen degrees, foure and twentie minutes, way North-east, two and twentie leagues, wind at South South-west, we steered East North-east, to rid vs of the Current, hauing deprest the Pole these last foure and twentie houres, no degrees, one and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting thirteene degrees, sixteen minutes Westerly.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteen degrees, sixteen minutes, way East North-east ten leagues, wind at South-west, and South South-east, till eight in the morning, it came then to the North, and North by East, little wind. In the morning at brake of day (to our great admiration) wee saw land to the Westward, bearing North by West five leagues off, not once looking

Land unexpectedly marcht at day-break.

and Asia, penetrating by a long journey the Islands, Cities, Court of the Iaponian Empire, there settle an English Factorie, and after safe returne, is ready to render thee the pleasure of his paines, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant Discourſe way, to discourse to thee the Rarities of this Discoverie, and by hand, by the Eyes to lead thee along with him all the way: and then leave thee to those that shall sell thee after Accidents and later Occurrences in the Iaponian, Indian and Asian Affaires.

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Their saying about Africa, visiting diuers Islands thereof, and comming to Socotora.

April 18, 1611



The eighteenth of April 1611, we set saile out of the Domes. The fixth of Iune following, we passed the Equinoctiall Line. The first of August 1611, we arrived in the Bay of Saldana, where having well refreshed our felues, the space of eight dayes, the ninth of August in the morning we weighed Anchor, and about foure in the after-noon we were five leagues off the Cape Buena Esperanza.

The second of September, of latitude twentie foure degrees, twentie one minutes, way East by North Northerly fixe leagues. Note, That since our comming from Cape Buena Esperanza, we found no Monſons of West-winds, (as hath bene reported) but to the contrarie, did find North Easterly;

South Easterly and Easterly winds with extreme Stormes, Raine, Thunder and Lightning; yet at that present very faire and so hot that calmes were to be doubted.

The third, latitude twentie three degrees, fiftie minutes, way South by West twentie three leagues wind at South.

The Bay of S. Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

About five at night we made land being the Island of Madagafcar, otherwise called Saint Laurence, the Bay of Saint Augustine bearing East by North about fixe leagues off. And then steered away North North-east, variation at Sun-ſetting fifteene degrees, eleven minutes Westerly. We founded, but had no ground at one hundred fathome. The land not very high, but Sandie. And then we passed the Tropique of Capricorne, to the Northward.

A Strong current.

The tenth of September, latitude feueenteen degrees, three minutes, way North-west twelue leagues, wind at North-east: we steered North North-west, variation at Sun-ſetting thirteene degrees, fiftie foure minutes Westerly. Heere we found a strong Current setting South-west: for the least foure and twentie houres, there could not haue runne lesse then foure and twentie leagues, hauing a fiftie gale: but for the reason aforesaid, in the evening we made the Island Primeiras bearing West by North about foure leagues off.

Note.

The eleuenth, latitude feueenteen degrees, thirty three minutes way South by East halfe point Easterly twelue leagues, the wind at North-east, and North-east by East, a storme.

Note that hauing flood but one watch and an halfe to the East-wards, the Current did carry us hirtie minutes to the Southwards of the latitude we were in, by the last obseruation: then we flood in for the land North North-west, hoping of a better wind neare the shoare with lesse current, an suddenly the water changed, but we could find no ground at an hundred fathome. In the evening we made the land bearing North, and North by West about fixe leagues off, finding

it to be the Islands Primeiras, but being to the Northward of it, it shewed somewhat longer then those Primeiras, before, for it did beare from the North-west to the North of vs; we founded and had twentie fathom small glittering sand; and founding againe, had twentie fathom blacke Ozier with black shells. Then we stood off to the Eastward, the storme continuing with more wind in the night, then in the day: and hauing flood off one gale, we founded and had two and twenty fathome, gray land and shells.

The twelfth, latitude eighteen degrees feueenteen minutes, way South-east by East eight and twentie leagues, wind at North-east, a storme: so that the least twentie foure houres we were carried by the force of the Current forty foure minutes to the Southward of the former obseruation, variation fourteene degrees, one and forty minutes Westerly. About night the wind weered to East North-east, so that we lay North with the storme.

The thirteenth, latitude nineteen degrees, sixteen minutes, way South-east by South, two and twentie leagues, wind North-east by East little wind, the Current very strong against vs.

The fifteenth, latitude sixteen degrees, six and forty minutes, way North North-east, halfe a point Easterly thirty leagues, wind South-west, we steered North-east by North. Note here we found not the Current so forcible, for we haue depreſt the Pole one degree, seven and twenty minutes the foure and twentie houres. The reason we supposed to bee that the Island Iuan de Noua, was betwene vs and the Current, for we made account it did beare East by North eighteene leagues off, variation at Sun-ſetting twelue degrees, eight minutes Westerly.

The sixteenth, latitude sixteen degrees not nine minutes, way North North-east eighteen leagues, we steered North-east by North, wind South-west by South, little wind, but a strong Current, variation at Sun-ſetting thirteene degrees, not three minutes Westerly.

The seueenteen, the ships way North by West eight leagues, variation twelue degrees one minute Westerly: in the morning we made the land to the Southward of Melambique, making it to be the Islands de Angoxa, bearing West South-west feue leagues. The Westmost part of the said Islands seeming whitish. The maine to the Northward bearing North by East, smooth champion ground: we steered North-east by East, and towards evening we saw the land treading to the Northward, seeming to the Seaward to be full of trees; here we found the Current to lie North North-west, for we could perceiue by the land that we ran very fast to the Northward, and hauing little wind, we founded often, but could not find ground at an hundred fathome.

The Islands de Angoxa.

The nineteenth, latitude fifteen degrees, twentie nine minutes, way South by East foure leagues, wind at East South-east, we steered North-east, but by extremite of the Current, we were carried to the Southward. So that we were heere ten dayes, and could not get to the Northward; notwithstanding we had a faire and reasonable stiffe gale.

An extreme Current to the Southward.

The one and twentieth, latitude sixteen degrees, twentie minutes, way South by West foure leagues, wind North-east, and North-east by East, little wind: in the morning we were neare the Northmost of the Islands de Angoxa, bearing West by North about three leagues off. And to windward of vs, we spied a very dangerous shoale, lying East off the North part of the maine; at the least three points into the sea, hauing a drie slate of white sand betwene it and the maine: We founded and had ground at thirte fathome, red stones like Corall with gray sand and shells, we stood off, it being a lee-shoale and Westerly Current. And finding by our skiffe, which was sent off, that the Current did set exceeding strongly to the South-west by West, and such vncertaine shoaling, we stood off for Saint Laurence. Note that these Islands de Angoxa (which are many) doe stand in the place in fifteen degrees, fortie minutes, and we find them in sixteen degrees, twentie minutes to the Southward of the Equinoctiall, variation thirteene degrees, no minutes Westerly.

A very dangerous shoale.

The Isles de Angoxa in sixteen degrees, twentie minutes.

The two and twentieth, latitude feueenteen degrees five minutes, way South South-east eighteene leagues, wind North-east, and in foure and twentie houres that we parted from the land, we lost no degrees, fortie five minutes. But towards evening the wind came to the South-east, and South-east by South: we steered North-east, and North-east by east, and East North-east for the Island Saint Laurence, looking out for Iuan de Noua, which Hugon van Linſchoten, willeth to beware of, and not to come neare it in a small Moone; notwithstanding we were informed to put our skiffes in hazard to get out of this Current and dangerous place, variation at Sun-ſetting twelue degrees, fortie foure minutes Westerly.

The three and twentieth, latitude sixteen degrees, foure and twentie minutes, way North-east, two and twentie leagues, wind at South South-west, we steered East North-east, to rid vs of the Current, hauing depreſt the Pole the least foure and twentie houres, no degrees, one and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-ſetting thirteene degrees, sixteen minutes Westerly.

The foure and twentieth, latitude sixteen degrees, sixteen minutes, way East North-east ten leagues, wind at South-west, and South South-east, till eight in the morning, it came then to the North, and North by East, little wind. In the morning at break of day (to our great admiration) we saw land to the Westward, bearing North by West five leagues off, not once loo-

Land vncertaine in sixteen degrees, twentie minutes.

king

L and vnespe-
died neere la de
Noia.
The Ile Ango-
sa.

Note of I. de
Noua.

A fithood of
the Portugali.

October.

The Il-Moyella
where they
had refreshings.

Mahometan
natives of Pa-
fent all Sum-
ter.

king for any that way, but to the Eastward for *Iuan de noua*, which we made account could not be about fixe leagues South from vs, and being be-calmed, did doubt least the Current would set vs upon it in the night: but the day clearing, we found it to be the Northermost Iland of the *Angosai*, whence we departed the one and twentieth, ditto in the afternoon, which so amazed our Mariners, as that they were discouraged of getting our Voyage this way. The reason of this difference was (as we supposed) by 2. Coaster currents, which certainly in the small of the Moon: doth set East North-east, and West South-West from the *Pislahe* or point of the shoare, which lieth North-east by East of the Northermost part of *Iuan de noua*, which meeting with our ancient enemies the North North-east Current, hath thus violently put vs ouer to the West-wards, notwithstanding we have had a treble gale and faire wind, vntill this morning that it fell calme. Note, that if there be any such Iland as *Iuan de noua*, it lies not so farre to the West-ward, as *Daniels* plots make mention, but it is neerer the maine Iland, otherwise we must of necessitie haue seen it. They of the fourth Voyage in the *Affronson*, made account that they passed to the East-wards of it, and *S. Laurence*, which thing the *Portugals* hold impossible, saying, that it stands so neere the maine Iland, as that there is no passage but a little channell, which once one of their ships was enforced to put through, and since nor afore they have not heard of any to haue done the like. Wherefore it was held amongst vs to be but a cunning of the *Portugals*, to place such an Iland so farr to the West-ward, to the end that such as shall take this way, being not so well experienced as themselves, might (giuing it a birth) fall into this extreme Current which we certainly found to set more Westerly then North-East, and South-west. Wherefore it is necessary for all such as shall bound this way, to be vpon the Coast of *S. Laurence* by the first of Iune, and from the Cape *S. Aguilone*, vntill they come into twelve degrees no minutes, to keepe vp to the East-ward, and not to make their way to the West of the North, or North by West, for feare of the South-west Current, which with calmes, and foureteen degrees two minutes variation Westerly, will perforce set them ouer vpon the Coast of *Soffala*. And most certaine it is, that in August and September, you shall find very violent North-west winds, so that if you would stand it ouer for *S. Laurence*, you shall not fetch it without great danger of the shoals of *India*, (the current taking you on the broad side.) I mean, if you bee to the North of the said shoals, neither can you top vp vpon the maine to keepe your Latitude, for it is broken ground, and very deepe water.

The third of October we came to an anchor (after much trouble by Currents) between *Soffala* and *Mysobique*, in thirteenth and foureteen fathome: Latitude sixteen degrees thirty two minutes: Longitude fouente fixe degrees tenne minutes: Variation eleuen degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. We anchored vnder an Iland neere vnto the maine, vpon which wee neither found people nor fresh water, though we dig'd very deepe in the land. The tenth, we weighed, the wind at South South-west, and flood ouer East by North for *S. Laurence*, hoping thereby to get ouer of these Currents. Thus were we tossed to and fro with variable winds, and still troubled with the Current coming out of the North-east, vntill the twentie sixth, wee came to an anchor vnder *Moyella*, which is one of the Ilands of *Comora*, Latitude twelue degrees thirtee minutes, to the Southward of the *Equinoctiall*, where we refreshed our selues eight dayes procuring Bullocks, Goates, Hennes, Limons, Cocos, Pines, Papanes, Plantans, Pomgranates, Sugar canes, Tamarin hennes, Rice, Mille, Rootes, Egges and Fish, in exchange of small *Haradathry* wares, and some money, and had here kind viage and great store of fresh water, the rather for that we flood till vpon our guard. I invited the King of *Moyella* being a *Mahometan* aboard the *Cione*, and I entertained him with a noyle of Trumpets, and a consort of Musiques, with a Banket, which he refused to eat of, because it was then Lent, which amongst them is called *Rammadam*, but hee took away with him the belt of the Banket to carrie to the Queene his Mother, saying, they would eat it when the Sunne was downe. The Queenes name was *Sultana Mowaragalla*. The Kings name was *Saffin Bokoocaree*. He requested the Generall to leaue him a letter in his commendations to thole, that should haue heretoe come thither, whether they might vnderstand of his honest dealing with vs. The like letter he had procured from *Stephen Vrbachien*, Admirall of twelue *Holland* ships, who arrived here in the year 1604, which he deliuered vnto our Generall, who gaue him the like, with this caution in the end thereof, that they should not giue too great credit to them, but stand vpon their guard, for that oftentimes weapons continue peace.

The Inhabitants here are *Negrees*, with short curled haire, and *Pintados* about their middles, so ne wearing white caps, others turbans, by which we knew they were *Mahometans*. The King himselfe was apparelled in a white Cotten coate, a Turbante vpon his head, and a *Guzerate* Pintado about his middle: he was little whiter then the ordinary people, who are blacke: hee was leane, he had a round thimble like beard, great eyes, of a low stature, and of very few words: he could speake a little *Arabique*, which he had learned in his Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, from whence he had the name of *Sheriffe*. Here they desire money (where y we vnderstand *Spanish* Ralls of eight) rather then commoditie. But for Crimson broad Cloath, Red scold Caps, *Cumbaya* cloaths, and

and Sword blades, you may haue any thing the Iland affords, which serueth onely for refresh-
ing, and no way for merchandizing. He gaue the Generall a note vnder his hand of friendship,
which being not long, I haue here inserted.

اَيْنَا سَبْدَكَوَنَ بَرَ اَبَسِيْدِي شَرِيَفُ چَتْسِين
بَاقِيَه كَدَمَه اَلله اَه مَزِيَك

كِر سَارِيَس

Sharif neba-
ke King of the
Iland called
Moyella his note
vnder his hand
for further
friendship.
1612.
written in A-
rabique.

The fourth of November, we set saile from this Iland *Moyella*. The fouenteenth in the mor-
ning, we made the land being the maine of *Malindae*, the Bay or Gulfe called *Fornela*, bearing
North-west about foure leagues off. The land trending North-east South-west, we had thirte
fathome, small gray land and shels, wind at East North-east, we stood off South-East a stiffe gale,
and a very great sea, which sheweth to be shoale water, and a Current which we found to set a-
long the shoare, North-east. Latitude two degrees tenne minutes, variation at Sunne-setting
twelue degrees thirtee one minutes Westerly. Note, this land lieth more Easterly then in our plans,
otherwise we should not haue fallen therewith so foon: for by our reckonings we were at least
fortie eight leagues off.

The nine and twentieth, latitude foure degrees fortie minutes, variation fouenteen de-
grees thirtee foure minutes Westerly, being as we supposed twelue leagues off the shoales, called
benee *Shook-water*; but sounding found no ground at an hundred fathome, the wind came about
here to South South-east, our course North-east.

The first of December, Latitude three degrees fortie minutes, our way North North-east eight
leagues, wind at North North-east, East, East South-east, and North East by North, little wind
for the most part calme, and had a very fearefull rippling of the water, much like vnto the fall at
London Bridge, being out of sight of land, and finding no ground at an hundred fathome: when
we stood into the land it Jett vs, but bearing off, (being fiftie leagues from land) we found very
terrible. Variation sixteene degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. The second, Latitude two degrees
fiftie five minutes, way North-east by North eighteen leagues, wind variable, the Rippling
continuing, variation fiftie degrees fiftie fetteen minutes Westerly, which moued vs to thinke
that we had a Current setting to the West, the variation decreasing so suddenly. The third,
Latitude foure degrees foure minutes, way South twelue three leagues, wind variable, most
part calme, with great Rippling of the water, and a very strong Current Southerly, so that the
last twelue foure houres, we are carried backe to the South-wards of our former latitude, one de-
gree nine minutes. The fourth, latitude foure degrees thirtee three minutes, way South tenne
leagues, little wind and variable betwixt the North-east, and East by South, very strange Rip-
pling of the water, and strong Current Southerly, variation eight degrees fortie foure mi-
nutes Westerly. The fifth, latitude foure degrees fiftie foure minutes, way South by East seauen
leagues, wind variable, betwixt North-east by North, & East by South, the Rippling continuing
60 and Current Southerly, variation eight degrees seuen minutes Westerly at Sun-setting. The
sixth, latitude five degrees five minutes, way South-east by East eight leagues, wind variable
betwixt North-east by North, & North-east by East a gale, and at sometimes more fearefull Rip-
plings of the water then before, yet could haue no ground at an hundred fathome. These Ripplings
be like shelles, and are not at all times alike, but sometimes more, sometimes lesse; but met with
many times in a day, and make a noise by the ships side, as if the did runne five leagues a Watch,
when the deeth scarce goe a head. We were much terrified therewith, the rather, because wee
could not imagine from whence it should proceed, seeing no land; but supposed our selues to bee
amongst the Easter-most Ilands, which lie off the Northermost point of *S. Laurence*. Here wee
had raine, thunder, lightning, and fudden quils which continued not long. The fteenth, way
East by South eighteen leagues, wind betwixt the North and North-east, the Rippling still
continued. The eight, way North-east twenty two leagues, wind at South-west, and South-west
by West, with Rippling, but no ground at an hundred fathome: variation twenty degrees fouen
minutes Westerly. The ninth, latitude foure degrees eighteen minutes, way North-east eighteen
leagues, wind variable, little Current and no Rippling: variation twentie degrees fortie eigh-
ten minutes.

Nouember.
The maine
Iland of *Malindae*

Note.

December.
Fearefull Rip-
pling of the wa-
ter.

F ff

They had passed the Line a month and five dayes before.

Note.

January 1.
Magadoca,
Cape Das
Bacon.

The Maine
land called
Doara.

A notable
thing, concern-
ing the Vari-
ation.

February 1.

Cape Dorfy.

minutes Westerly; here we found it extreme hot. The tenth, latitude four degrees, twelve minutes, way East North-east feuen leagues, wind from North-west by North, to North-east by East, many times calme, with no rippling, nor Current Southerly. Note wee have found continuall calmes, ever since we came off the Maine, and the further off, the leise wind. Variation twenty degrees, fife feuen minutes Westerly.

The five and twentieth; Note, it is a month and five dayes since we were in latitude no degrees, one minute to the Northward, close by the shoare; since which time we have been put back into five degrees, five and twenty minutes to the Southward; wherefore those bound to Socotora at this time of the yeere, must hold to the Eastward of Pemba two hundred leagues, East by North, the variation there encreasing Westerly, which will bring you the more Northwardly; and so keeping the Island Socotora open of you, betweene the North by East and the North North-east, you shall be in the greatest possibility to make the best use of these winds, which neare to the maine we found to keepe betweene the East by North, and East by South a continuall gale; but off at Sea, about the Islands *Majochorus* at North-east North, and sometimes at North-west West, and West by South, with calmes, ripplings of the water very fearefull, thunder and lightning. And albeit the North-east and Northerly winds are but bare helps, plying to the Northwards; yet this benefit you shall have, that by how much easterly you are, by so much the more you shall recouer to the Northward of the Line, before you meete with the Maine, which if you can auoid, fee not in this time of the Easterly Monson, vntill you fee full in the latitude of ten degrees, to the Northwards of the Equinoctiall. But in the time of the Westerly Monson, keepe the shoare aboard, for it is very bold, but lyeth much more Easterly, then in our Plats.

The first of January, latitude three degrees, fife eight minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, here we made land, being the Maine of *Magadoca*, Cape *Das Bacon* bearing North North-east eight leagues off; the land low, sandie and barren, all alongst; the wind at North-east and East by North, a thiffe gale, we stood off to the Eastward, way North by West twelve leagues.

The second day, latitude two degrees, one and thirte minutes, way South-east by South five and thirte leagues, much wind and Current Southerly, hauing deprest the Pole in these last four and twenty houres, one degree, feuen and twenty minutes, whereof fixe and twenty leagues fife had runne by dead reckoning, and nine leagues the was carried by the Current contrary to expectation. The eighteenth, latitude fixe degrees, feuen and twenty minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, way North-west by North four and twenty leagues, wind at North-east, and North-east by East. About two of the clocke we made the land, being the maine, called *Doara*, the South-part bearing West, and the North-part, North-west by North about eight leagues off, seeming not very high, but sandie and barren, we stood off with much wind, and a Current setting North-west, as we supposed; otherwise wee should have gotten further to the Northward.

Note, that although the variation holdeth little proportion, yet did we find by experience, that in running to the Eastward wee have variation Westerly increasing; and standing into the shoare North-west, our variation was Westerly decreasing; so that by reckoning according to our plots, we found our lies much further off the land, then by iust proofe by variation; which truly is a most certain thing to be credited; obseruation being taken by one of experience, with an exact instrument, our lo to often filling with this maine, hath gained vs this knowledge, variation at Sun-rising feauenteen degrees, thirte fife minutes Westerly, and at setting feauenteen degrees, twentie minutes Westerly.

The first of February, we made the land bearing North-east by North about feuen leagues off; we founded, and had ground at twenty feuen and twenty eight fathom, soft sand; this land is called *Cape Dorfy*, being very high and barren by the Sea-side; many gulfs.

The ninth, latitude ten degrees, thirte feuen minutes, way West by North sixteen leagues, wind North-east by East; we had now fight againe of *Cape Dorfy*, from whence we departed the first day, contrary to our expectation, bearing North-west, about nine leagues off, hauing found a strong Current in the offing, setting West North-west; which vntill meeting with this land againe, we dreamed not of, but rather thought we had beene fiftie fathoms off, or fiftie leagues off, not once looking for the land, we founded and had fiftie fathom fine small fine, about feue leagues off; this land is high and full of mountains.

The tenth, latitude eleven degrees, twentie minutes, way North-east by East, Easterly fiseeene leagues, wind from East by North, to North-east, we founded and had ground at five and fortie fathom, small blacke land, about eight leagues off the high land of *Cape Guardafiu*, we made triall of the Current with our Pinasse, and found it to set North by East. Towards evening we had sight of the Island *Abba del Curia*, bearing East North-east about ten leagues off, being very high land, rising in two parts like two Islands.

The fourteenth, latitude eleven degrees, two and thirty minutes, wind North-east, and East North-east calme; here we had sight of the Eastermost *Irmana*, seeming to the Eastward low land, about fixe leagues off.

The fiftenth, latitude eleven degrees, feuen and twenty minutes, way East South-east fixe leagues, wind East, East North-east, East South-east, and North-east calme for the most part, making account to be eight leagues off the Eastermost *Irmana*: But wee were mistaken; for it was *Abba del Curia*, and the *Duas Irmana* did beare North-east of vs twelve leagues off; variation at Sun-setting feauenteen degrees, three and twenty minutes Westerly, and in the night the wind came faire to the South South-east, we lay East with the flemme, with helpe of a Current Easterly; contrary to the report of former Nauigans, and by breake of day, wee were fixe leagues off the Westmost *Irmana*, bearing East South-east, and had sight of *Socotora* ten leagues off.

The sixteenth, latitude twelue degrees, nineteene minutes, variation at Sun-rising feauenteen degrees, two and twenty minutes Westerly, wee bare vp and went about the Wester point of *Socotora*: towards evening we had sight of the white Rock, which lyeth about foure leagues off the Westermost point of *Socotora*, the point and the Rocks, bearing one of the other North-west by North, and South-east by South, the said Rock looming like a faile, standing to the Eastward, larboord tacke aboard; and was so made for, by them of former Voyages. The Current still helping vs to the East-ward.

The feauenteenth, latitude twelue degrees, feuen and fortie minutes, variation at Sun-setting feauenteen degrees, two and twenty minutes Westerly, wind variable, at South-east, and South-east by South calme, but a strong Current setting alongst the land, after wee were about the Westermost point of *Socotora*, this night wee came to an anchor, one league and an halfe to the Westward of the Kings Towne, called *Tammara*, in twentie fathom water, distant from the shoare two miles; our shoolding in, after we had ground, vvas two and twenty, twenty, nineteene, twenty, twentie, twentie, small white sand, the wind East South-east, and South-east calme.

The eighteenth, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Tammara*, right before the Kings house, in nine fathom water, a league from the shoare, fine sandie ground.

The Road of
Tammara.

¶ II.

Of currents at Socotora and in the Red-sea.

The Generall sent Master *Richard Cocker*, Cape Merchant, with the Skiffe vvvell appointed vnto the King, to acquaint him vvvat vvee vvere, and the cause of our coming, and to prouide cattell and fresh victuall. Master *Cocker* returned, hauing beene friendly entertained and feasted by the King, and the rest that went with him. They brought a Present of fresh victuall from the King to the Generall, together with a Letter left there by Sir *Henry Middleton*, dated the first of September 1611. aboard the *Trader-Increase* in *Deliba* Road, in the Island of *Socotora*: the original our Generall kept, and returned the copie vvvritten, for the future ships.

The nineteenth, they went in solemne manner on shoare, where the King bid vs welcome, and feasted all the Company in his Royal maner, himself being richly vested in crimson Velvet, and rich with gold lace. His house was built of free-stone, Caille-like had about an hundred attendants, whereof about fiftie were we well appareled, according to the *Moors* fashion, the rest were naturalls of the Island. After many compliments and curtseys, at night we took our leave of him. His name was *Sultan Amor Bersaid*, sonne to the King of *Culbin* vpon the *Arabide*. We paid here for kine twelue Ryalls of eight the piece, (these three thillings the piece, and for Goats one Ryall of eight a piece, which though it be deare, yet are the moit of them not mans meat, being so wildely, and more then beattly buggered and abused by the people, as that it was moit lothsome to see, when they were opened. We paid for Rice three pence a pound, Dates three pence a pound, Hens twelue pence a piece, Tobacco feuen hundred leas a Ryall of eight, Eggs pence a piece. The King vvvill take no *English* money, but all Ryalls of eight.

The twenty feuenth, our Generall caused a meeting of his merchandizing Council, vnto whom he read the Companies Remembrance, and the Letter received by the hands of the King of *Socotora*, from Sir *Henry Middleton*: and shewed them, That whereas he had beene put in good hope by the Companies Remembrance, to haue obtained good store of *Aloes* here at *Socotora*, which now he found frustrate, the King being wholly vnprouided, and not able to furnish vs therewith vntill August: And whereas we were appointed to goe from hence to *Aden* and *Mocha* in the *Red-sea*, (the Monson not seruing for *Surat*) we were now vntely disswayed from the view of those parts, by the treachery and wrong done to Sir *Henry* and his Fleet. And lastly, whereas if we did not goe for the *Red-sea*, if we should remaine here in *Deliba* Road fixe monethes attending the Monson, wee should find it very chargeable, and be able to effect nothing, (for vntill the end of September, there is no coming vpon the Coast of *Cambaya*) his opinion was, that notwithstanding these bad tydings recieued from Sir *Henry*, yet that we should goe for *Mocha*, we

Fit 2

hauing

bale fellow, from Christian to turn *Moor*, but willed him to acquaint the *Gouverneur* therewith, and that we were appointed in honour of the said *Faile* Paie to shoo off fiftie one Peeces with, and that we were appointed in honour of his Road, which he intended presently to doe. The *Italian* intreated that he might have of his Maſter to vnderſtand thereof, which was granted, and the *Purſer* willed him to take him five Riſals of eight, and his *Boate* one, his name was *Muſſaſſa* *Tegmama*, and the *Gun* five Peeces of eight, and the *Boate* nineteen, *Heller* *Leone*, *Thomas* ſixteen Peeces. The *Towne* answered with five Peeces of excellent Ordinance, and two Gallies three a-piece. Their Gallies were flout Gallies, of five and twenty Oares a ſide, and well fitted, yards up. The Captaines name whereof was *Mam*, and the Captaines name of the *Towne* *Mahomet-ber*.

The Lieutenant, the General received a present from the Gouverneur *Ider Aga*, that is to say, three Bullocks, twentie Hens, twobaskets of Plantens, and two of Limons, with many complements, desiring him to come ashore. He returned him a faire fowling Peece, and willed the Messenger to tell him that he desired to have a sufficient pledge from him for his safe returne, (when he should come) for reasons not knownne to the Gouverneur,

turne, (when he should come) for reasons not to be reveal'd: with a Letter to know what answer he had formerly returned him by *John Kerrie Trademaster*, for heaving giuen him at much intreatie a Bottle of Wine was sent him: & afterwards before he got to the Gouernour, as that he could not speake: which being thus notified by the Secretarie, on the eighteenth Math *Cockes*, and *Balou* our Linguist were being to be sent to the Court, to acquaint the Gouernour that the Generalls coming was to inuade the Towne, and that whereforent it pleased him to send a man of equal worth to remayne with the ships, as a pledge for his late returne, hee would in person come and visit him: and also to let him to vnderstand that our Generall was not ignorant of the wrongs done by *Repb* *Aca* vnto *St* *Henry Middletons* his Country-man and his Companie. But if we might now haue quick Trade, all matters passed should be forgotten, and we would treat with him of his own business: as th. *G* and *Signior* had giuen vs. &c. which we heard hee had said: hee did ease of his vnsatisfied the Secretarie remayned abroad, pledge for *Maister Cockes* and *Balou*, as we understood hauing been wd fled, feasted, wed in Iach of *S* *luer*, and carrie away the goods of the Towne with Muliacke before them, to giue the people to vnderstand that they were come downe, as *Maister Cockes* vnderstood it. But at their coming away, the people were brought into a house, and did-robed of their Vests. The Generall asked the Secretarie whether it were ordinary and vsuall with them to doe so, he answered, Yes: he replied that in no other part of *Turkie* the like was done, that euer he heard of. In the end the Secretarie was dismissed, and halfe a *Turkie* Kerrie giuen him: hee was very importunate to know whether the Generall were not of kinne vnto *St* *Henrie Middletem*. The like was demanded of *Maister Cockes* by them afores, fearing that hee was come to take reuenge of them.

The Letter written from his
mouth is this.

[illegible]

Dus Como bono Amico

Aidar Aga Aga de Mucha.

I haue also diuers Letters of *Mamy* Captaine of *Mucha* (*Moba*) or of the Gallies there, vnto the Generall, which to auoide prolixitie, and because the substance is as the former, I omit. I haue yet caused some of the Seales to be cut, and heere added for the raritie, being not in wax, but stampes of Inke, in forme as heere is expresse.

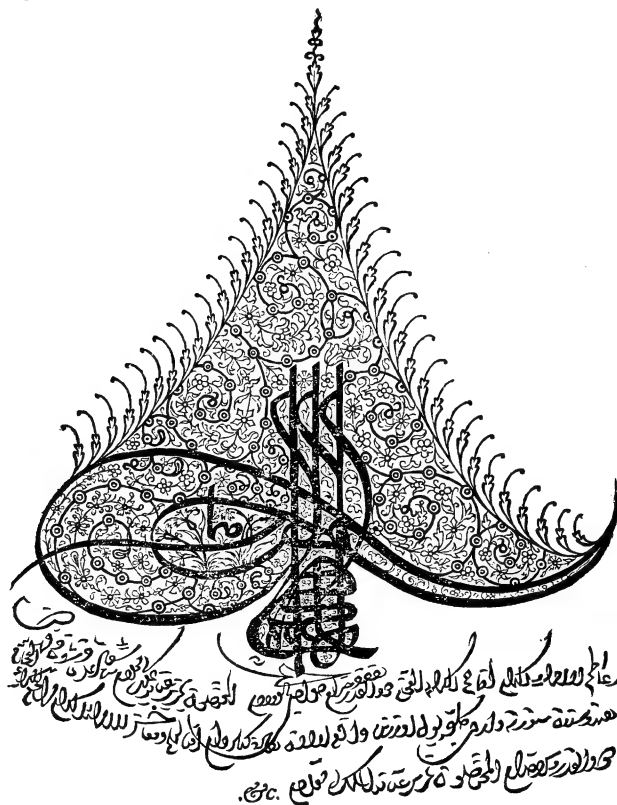


Likewise I have added a piece of a Letter in the *Bavian* hand and Language (common in great part of the *Indies*) written from the *Sabander* in *Moba*, to Captaine *Saris*.

১৪। মূল্যের নির্ণায়ক হওয়ায় প্রচলিত মূল্যের উপর নির্ভর করে
 (১) মূল্য নির্ধারণ করা যায়।
 (২) মূল্য নির্ধারণ করা যায়।
 (৩) মূল্য নির্ধারণ করা যায়।
 (৪) মূল্য নির্ধারণ করা যায়।

The twentieth, the Gouernour sent aboard, according to agreement the day before, *Abraham* *Agua* Admirall of the floare, and Commander of the Roade for the *Turkey* Customs and Anchorage, And *Naluffa* a gaule old man, with two attendants proper men to remayne pledges for the Generall. So he went aboard with all the Merchants, the three Skiffes well fitted, and had one and fiftie Peeces of Ordnance put out of the ships at parting. Hee was received at the landing place by the Captaine of the Gallies, and diuers other principall men, with Waites, Drums, and other Musickall Instruments playing before, and diuers Peeces for out of the Cattle, the people following in such abundance, that we could hardly passe. Hauiug called two Guards of verry proper men well clad, we were brought into the Gouernours House, which is built all of Free-stone, with verry faire and large flaires, and so were led into a roome fpreid with rich Carpets, at the vpper end of the roome was a window made after the fashions of our Bay-windowes : where a Silke Quilt was spread vpon the floore, and two Cushions of Cloath of Siluer, laid thereon, he was requested to sit downe. But presently the Gouernour came forth of another Chamber accompanied with fure or fixte persons richly apparell'd, himselfe in a Gowne of Cloath of Siluer, fashon'd with rich Furre. He tooke the Generall by the hand, knit his owne hand, and put it to his throat. Then he led him by the hand to the first window, where they fate downe, and after some fewe conuolations, he deliuer'd into the Generall a verry Kinges Letter, which Master *Cocky* did reade, and *Baltou* our Linguist interpreted to the Captaine of the Gallies, who said to the *Agua*, which couer'd he held for fiate. After, he deliuer'd him the *Grand Signors* Pulse, which he gaue to his Secretarie to reade, which done, he tooke it, knit it, and layd it vpon his head without further cere nouce.

The Original I have in my hands, and have caused a little of the beginning to be here expressed, and therewith the forme of the *Grand Stignors Scale*, (a little contracted to come within the Page) and here, to give delight to the *Curious Reader*, annexed. All the larger strokes or lines are Gold, the rest Azure, with Red here and there beautifully intermixed. After which followeth the same Letters Patent, for better Patencie, Englished out of the *60* *Rabique*.



The Great Turkes Letters Patents Englished.

YOU that are My most Lovable, Fortunate, Wealthie, and great Vice-roys and Beglerbeys, that are on the way from My most Happy and Imperiall Throne, both by Sea and Land, unto the confines and Bounds of My East-Indies: Owners of some part of Dyemite, and those unto whom belongeth to give aide, helpe, and succour in Gods cause, and Multimanicall Religion, upon their Emperors becke, The Wealth and Greatesse of whom let it continue for ever. Likewise

to yee My most Lovable and Valiant Saniaq Beys, that are under the above-named Beglerbeys, owners, and helpe of future greater Dignities, and those unto whom belongeth dost give aide and helpe in Gods cause and Religion, upon their Emperors devotion: the Honour and Dignitie of whom bee ever continuing. And unto yee, My most Lovable, Wise, and Princesse, Justices of Peace, Judges, and Majesties of Justice, that are worthy the Presents of the said Saniaq Beys, whose Judgements, Justice, and Words doe serve, as from a fontaine of all Wisdome and Prudence: The Worthinesse and Greatesse of whose Dignities and Functions, let it continue for ever. Also unto yee My Lovable, Great, and most worthy Captaines and Reyes of all Our Navies and Shipping that swimme upon the face of the Sea. Knto yee My Lovable Captaines, of the Castles, Cities, and Townes: And unto yee worthy and Lovable Customes, dwelling upon the Sea-coast, upon Rivers, Bridges, and all other parts of our Dominions, and thencein adiacent. Upon sight of this My most High and Imperiall Commandement, in conformitie of your most bound duties, yee shall arise, and doe obedience and Reverence thereunto.

Herby yee shall understand, that the Emboording of the King of Great Brittainie that resideth in Our happy and most high Port, hath given us to understand by his application; That first of all, as some of his Majesties the King of Great Brittainie his Subjects, have with great charge and labour, discovered a Trade in the East-Indies; and withall understand of Wealth, and likelihood of Trade in some Parts of Our Dominions by the way to be had in their Passage to the said Indies, being therefore desirous to use those places for the better enlarging of their said Trade. To the end that such men may in so good and a Lovable enterprise have all favour, aide, and helpe (so farre as lawfully and conveniently may be granted.) Hath requested us in the Name of his said Master the King of Great Brittainie, to touchsafe them our favour, conduct and recommendations. In conformitie of whose request, as also in regard We and our Predecessors, are and have beene for the space of many yeeres in strict league and Amitie with the afore-mentioned King of Great Brittainie, and the Subjects of that Kingdome, who long have had, and at this present have free Traffique and Trade in merchandizing in our Dominions and Provinces through the Molitteranean Sea. Wee therefore doe command, and expressly charge yee all, and every of yee, our above mentioned Subjects and Officers, that yee will not only kindly and lovingly intertaine and receive the said Merchants and Subjects of Great Brittainie, coming or passing through or by any of Our Dominions, especially intending to trade, to the Dominions of Yemen, Aden, and Mohit, and the parts adjoining thereto. Affording and releasing them with all things needfull for themselves, their men and Ships: but also freely to permit them by Land or by Sea, to goe or sail, outward and returning even at their occasions, as they shall require, and to remaine in any of our Dominions, Countreys, or Cities, granting them such liberties of Traffique, and Priviledges as shall be reasonable without giving or suffering any let or hindrance, injurie, or molestation to be offered or done unto them. Yea, yee shall yield unto them such Offices of Benivolence and Humour, as shall bee meet and convenient to be yielded unto honest men, and strangers, so distant so long and laborious a Voyage. And if so be that We shall understand, that contrary to the Capowation, the Amitie, and League, which is betwene us and the King of Great Brittainie, yee doe offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said Merchants in their Traffique, and ought else: Knowe ye for certayne, that yee shall not onely incurre Our high displeasure, but yee shall be punished for example unto others: and therefore carry your selves conformable to this My Imperiall Commandement, and give credit to this My Imperiall Ensigne. Written at Our Mansion Guard at Constantinople, on the fiftenth day of the Moone called Zul. igiu. Anno. 1019.

The Governor afterward tooke a Copie thereof, and returned it againe.

He told our Generall that he was welcome, desiring that what had formerly beene past, touching Sir Henry Middleton, might not be remembered, for that the quarrell grew by two drunken men, and was by the then Governor rashly followed, for which he was displaced his Moneth since. And as concerning Trade, he could not permit any great matter, till he had direction from his Master Isahar Bahá of Sivas, whom he had written unto, and would within tenne or twelue dayes returne an answer, earnestly intreating that he would permit his people to come on shoare to buy what they wanted, and to kill small matters, to the end that the Naturalls might see that we were in peace and amitie together, and that what was past was forgotten. These his speeches made good what the Generall had formerly conceived, touching the doubt that the English ships would make of their coming in here, vntil they understood that wee were all friends: and that not coming in here, would bee a great humilitie to eutry Officer of this Port. Besides, we riding to meete the shoare (as we did of purpose) as that no laden ship could come in, but that the maine purpose ride within call of vs, which did put them in the greater feare: whereby he reckoned, his selfe free of Trade, either a shoare or aboard the ships, and that keeping the Towne in this awe, he might the more boldly adventure his skiffe and people to the shoare, to catch what our ships wanted.

The Governour feasted them very royally at a dinner, with all sorts of will fowle, Hernes, Gates, Mutton, Creame, Custards, dishes made dishes, and Contentions, all served in Vessels of Tinn (different from our Pewter) and made Goblet-fashion with feet, the dishes layed out the one upon the other, that they did reach a yard high as we sat, and yet each dish fit to bee dealt upon without remouer. The meate was all served up at once, and that before we fat down. Our

Our drinke was water simply, or elfe water boyled with an herbe called *Cambay* therein, which is in salt somewhat bitter. We did fit croile-legged vpon Carpets laid vpon the floare: for there they vied neither Tables nor Stooles. Dinner ended, he led the Generall into an inner Chamber, where he had fowre little boyes that attended him; being his bugging boyes: there they two being fet vpon a crimson Velvet Carpet, the rest of the Chamber floare being spread with very rich Carpets, one of the boyes bearing a hinnen napkin in his hand, did vsser in two of the other, whereof the first had a silver Chaffing-dish with coales, the other brought a dish wherein were diuers rich perfumes, *viz.* Amber-greece, Lignum Aloes, and others. The Governour requested the Generall to let the Boy couer his head clof with the napkin which done, the other boy held the Chaffing-dish, with the perfumes put therein, vnder his head, that he might receive the fume which was very pleafant. After he had finished, the Governour and two other chiefe men about him did the like, being as it seemeth a ceremony much vied among them. Haueing conferred a while together, there came in three of the Boyes againe. The one brought a Velt or Gowne of cloth of Gold, wrapped vp in a cafe of Taffatie, died in Saffron to preferue the colour of the Gold. The other Boy had a Shash or Turbant striped all with Gold, and in length twenty yards: the third a Damaskeen, or Turkish Sword, richly garnished with Silver and Gilt, both Hilt and Scabbard. The Governour himfelfe did put the Velt vpon the Generall, & did girt the Damaskeen vnto his side, telling him, That they were not presents from himfelfe, but commanded by the *Grand Signior*, who (as he said) did bestow them, and intreated him to ride with the *Cady*, 20 (who is chiefe Iustice there) and the Captaine of the Gallies, about the Towne, that the people might take notice of the amitie and friendship that was betwixt vs. They brought a horse richly trapped, the mettall worke of the bridle all of Silver: but he rather chose to go on foot, that he might the better view the Towne, where to they gaue consent, and so we walked together about the Town, and haueing viewed a house wherein to haue fetled our Factory, I was brought to the house of the Captaine of the Gallies, where he had a cosly banquet. And thus returning by the Governours house, he met him vpon the Hayres, where againe earnestly intreating that the discourtesies offered Sir Henry might be forgotten, and that it might appeare by his often coming or sending his people a shoure, they tooke their leaues one of another. And so accompanied with a great traine of the best of the Towne, he returned aboard, where the shippes discharged fifteen peeces of Ordnance. The *Turkes* that remained pledged haueing diuers Presents giuen them, were free friendly on shoure, and had fifteen Peeces shot off at their parting.

The one and twentieth, the Generall sent M. Cocke and others a shoure with a Present to the Governour, a case of Bottles fill with *Rosa Solis*, which he did earnestly desire the Generall to giue him, and to send it so wrapped vp, as that it might not be knowne what it was: likewise was sent two Vests of Violet broad cloth to his Eunuchs. They had further directions giuen them to enquire a shoure what Customes were due in and out, the weights, measures, valuations of Coynes, prizes of Indicos, Callicoes, Cotton-yearne, and other Commodities fit for vs to lade. Also to procure the Iewe to come aboard, who was in the *Ascension* at her casting away, neere the Barre of *Surrat*, and could giue vs certaine intelligence of Sir Henrys successe.

Note, that this Road of *Moha* is very open and dangerous, with very shoale water a mile off the Towne low land euen with the Sea. At this present the wind South-west a great flerre, which caused Chafe a Sea, as that we did fend not leffe then seuen fect, riding in fue fathome; and the wind at West you haue no succour. But the country people say, that in the time of these winds, which beginne in the fine of May, the extremite of heate is such, as that it deads the wind, which maketh that season very contagious.

The thirtieth one, the General vnderstood from the Captaine of the Towne that yesternight late arryued the Messenger from the *Grand Balha*, with Letters to the Governour to this effect, That he should yeeld vs peaceable Trade, both on shoure, and with the *Indian* shippes, as he would answer the contrary at his perill, and to let vs furnish our selves with what we wanted. He was doubtful of the certaintie of this pleasing newes, for that not halfe an houre before, M. Cocke had speech with the Governour, who spake of no such matter. The Captaine said, that the reason of the Governours not speaking thereof, was, because here was a *letha* bound for *Meca*, and readie to depart, which he would not haue to know, that the Balha had graunted vs trade, fearing lest they should acquaint the Sheriffe at *Meca* therewith, who by his Letters to the *Grand Signior*, might cause the graunt to be reuoked. But whether thinke the Balha hath returned some harsh answer, with direction to doe that vnto vs, which as yet he cannot effect, we being so watchfull and wary our him, and therefore will not be knowne to haue receiued answer from *Smarr*, till better be thinking. Note that *Hosrooff* (one that cloely had sent a letter of M. Fennells, testifying their treacherous usage here) did now fend word by our Linguist, That the Generall should beware of committing a shoure himfelfe, vntill he had good pledges as formerly, and then he might boldly come, but otherwise not to trust them, though the Governour should sweare vpon his *Alcoran*: for they were fouldiers, and did not much respect cates: and as he heard, the newes that was come from the Balha did not tend to our Benefit: for that the Copy of the *Grand Signiors* passe was not as then come to the Balhaes hands: But then should be fully iene what would be done, which would be within fixe dayes.

Note of Moha Road.

Extrmitie of heate, pineth in the fine of May.

The second of April, 1612. the Carauan from *Grand Cayro* in *Egypt*, arrived here in *Moha*. The third, came into the Road two *Indian* shippes, one of *Chani*, the other of *Cananory*, their lading Indicos, and Callicoes, Pintados, Amber-greece, and Cotton-yearne, with at least foure hundred passengers, who carried much wealth about them. We saluted them with nine Peeces of Ordnance out of our Fleet. They answered with three Chambers a Pece being all they had. The Generall sent the Skiffe, to enquire what newes vpon the Coast of *Surrat*. The Captaine sent word that there were three *English* shippes trading there, but further could not tell. The Captaine of the Towne with fise chiefe *tasfarier* came aboard, being sent by the Governour, to let our Generall vnderstand, that the Balha had written vnto him to intreate and vie vs kindly, and to permit vs peaceable Trade, desiring the Generall that hee would in person come a shoure the next morning, and he should further vnderstand. He craued pardon, not forgetting *Hosrooff* admonition. But Captaine *Townson* being desirous to goe a shoure, the Captaine was requested to tell the Governour, that the Generall vpon good pledge would the next morning fend his Brother vnto him, which was well liked of his haueing fasted the Captaine and his retinue, and giuen them diuers Presents, they were sent a shoure, with twentie one Peeces of Ordnance at parting, which he sent word that he tooke so well, as that we should not want the best assistance he could doe vs.

The fourth in the morning, though the pledges were not yet come, yet desirous to see what the Balha had ordered, Captaine *Townson* was sent a shoure: for we held the two *Indian* shippes which rid hard by vs, for sufficient pledge, if on shoure any iniury should be offered. The Governour vied him friendly, and vested him to content, but nothing was effected of that hee went about, the *Turkes* not performing their promise. The Governour sent word, that it would be fitting to fend two of our men of good falshion vp to the Balha to *Smarr*, with the Kings Letter and Present, and then speedy dispatch would be hal to our liking. Whereof the General approved, intending the next day to ly out a Present for him.

The fifth, the Captaine of the Gallies sent aboard three letters, which the last night came to the Governours hands, from S. Henry Middleton, and Captaine *Sharpeigh*, who rid then at an anchor at *Bah Mandel*. The effect was, That he was come from *Smarr*, and had little or no Trade there. That Captaine *Hawkins* vpon diffalt was come from *Agra*, and with his wife was aboard his ship. That he had brought all away from thence, except one man of Captaine *Hawkins*, which went our Land for *England*. And that he was come backe to be reuenged of the *Turks*, wishing our Generall to get his goods and people aboard with all speed. Hereupon he altered what yesternight was agreed vpon, and forthwith sent one of the Marchants away to Sir Henry with a letter of the proceedings of his Voyage, and of the manner of our entertainment here hitherto: that if he had not thus come in, he had on Monday sent two men of falshion vp to *Smarr*.

Note, the two *Indian* shippes aforesaid, did discharge here these goods following: Lignum Aloes sixtie Kintals, Indico fixe hundred Churles out of both shippes; Shalshs of all sorts great flore, Cinnamon of *Celso* one hundred and fiftie Bahars, each Bahar three Churles and an halfe, Ostar which is a red die, great quantitie, Cloues great flore, Balas or white Callicoes from twentie to fortie Royals the Corge, (a Corge being twentie peeces) a great quantitie. The Price of Indico was from thirty to thirty fise, fortie, and fiftie Rials the Churle.

The seuenth, the Generall writ to the Captaine of the Towne, that he should procure the *Indian* Merchants to barter with him at reasonable rates for such of their commodities as he should desire, and as might serue to lade one of our shippes, which doing would satisfie S. Henry of their now friendly meaning towards vs, and cause him to forbear all hostile attempts.

At this present, there was a great rumour spread in the Towne, of a *letha* or two, which Sir Henry had taken (comming ouer from the *Algho* side with viduall) in respect whereof, we durst scarcely adventure our Skiffe and Ring a shoure.

The Generall receiued another letter from Captaine *Mamee*, That the answer which the Governour had receiued from the Balha, was in these words: Ider *Aga*, you haue writ me that three *English* shippes are come to Moha, to trade in merchandise, with the *Grand Signiors* Tasse: Come them I shall promise from me to come on shoure, to take a house vntill the *Mosley* be past, to buy and sell. You haue likewise writ me, that they will fend vp two men vnto me; giue them all things fit for their journey &c. Captaine *Mamee* did further write, that what our Generall would propound, the *Aga* and hee would vnderwrite. That for bartering, they would doe something for loue, but nothing by force, and were as willing to lade all the three shippes as one.

Note, as we were informed, the weight here is called an Iken, which is two Rottalas, a weight of Rottala is a pound of their weight: tenne Iken is twentie pound of theirs, which makes twentie three pound *English* haberdopoize, sometimes foure and twentie pounds as the Weigher will tell you. A Churle of Indico by their weight is an hundred and fiftie pound, and of ours betwixt an hundred and sixtie fixe, and an hundred and seauente pound. Cotton wooll is sold by the Bahar, which is three hundred Rottalas, making betwixt three hundred thirty two pound, and three hundred forty foure pound *English*, at eighteen Royals the Bahar, very good & cleane. The measure

April, Caravan of Cayro, Indian shippes.

Three letters from Sir Henry Middleton and Capt. Sharpeigh.

Indian Merchandise.

measure of length is called a Peeke, containing seven and twentie inches, or three quarters of our English yard.

The ninth, the Gouverneur sent off a Canoe to intreat me, that the Generall in the morning he would send a Boate, and he should have both the Balthas answere, and a warrant to stay all such Junckes as shall pass Sir Henries, and force them to come in hither, and trade with them for such of their goods as he desired, &c. and that he would suffer his people to come ashore, because the Merchants were now grownne fearefull, by reason of Sir Henries staying some of the ships.

The tenth, Master Coker was sent ashore, had conference with the Gouverneur, and Captain Many: who told him that they were now fully resolved, that what they had formerly promised, they might not performe, the Cause disliking thereof, saying, that they might hazard 10 their own lives thereby: That neither Merchant nor Broker would come aboard (as our General had requested) the Knight had so discontented them: That they of Grand Casro had their Factors there, which lay purposely to ingroffe Indicoes, and other Indian Commodities, whereof they would not buy untill they should see what quantitie would come: That the Bantians (or Indians) Lingers ashore) which have Indicoes in their hands, would not sell, hoping of a scarcity: he also brought word, that they denie ashore to buy any of our goods, wilst wee will land them first.

Note, the Grand Signiors Custome of this Port Moha, is worth yearly unto him fifteen hundred thousand Chickenes, (which rated at five shillings sterling a peece, is yearlye thirtie seven thousand five hundred pounds sterling) according to the report of the Gouverneur to Master Coker. 20

§. III.

Their Adventures with Sir HENRY MIDDLETON, with other Observations of those parts, and arrival at Bantam.

The eleventh, the Generall called the Merchandizing Councell to meete and confult what was best to be done, seeing that Sir Henrie thus kept the Junckes from coming in hither, and that there was then no further hope of Trade here. It was 30 greed upon, that vntill the Monson would permit vs to proceed further, wee should continue friendship with the Towne, as hitherto we had done, &c.

The twelfth, the Generall being informed of Sir Henries earnest desire to speake with mee, and protestations of great kinde and love, resolved to goe vnto him; and so willed the Master with the first wind to set saile for Balmadell. Whereof hee did let the Gouverneur of the Towne to understand, and rooke a Letter of his to carrie to Sir Henrie, the better to continue friendship still with him.

The fourteenth, in the morning we arrived at the Bah, where wee found the Trades Increase riding, and foure Indian Junckes or ships. The Generall went aboard the Trade, where hee remained vntill night, but nothing could at that time be concluded vpon betwixt the Generals. 40

The fifteenth Sir Henry came aboard the Clowe.

The sixteenth, our General being Sir Henries resolution, called his Councell together, & acquainted them with what hee observed thereupon, and that in regard, that by these troubles and iuries happened betwixt Sir Henrie, the Turkes and the Camboians, our hopes of any Trade to be had at Sumat, was as small, as that which we had already found at Moha: Our best course would be, that the Heltor and Thomas should waigh anchor, & ply betweene Aken and the Bah: The Clowe to keep the Abbe Channel there, that none might passe by in the night, and so to meet with as many of the Indian ships as we could, to whom we might put off our Broad-cloth, Leads, Tinne, Iron, and Elephants Teeth (Commodities which were provided for those parts) in barter for such as 50 he knew would vent well in those Countries, whither wee were afterwards to goe: if wee lighted vpon Indicoes, they would be good for England also. That he had certaine intelligence of two very great ships daily expected, called the Relemi and the Hafani the least of them (by report) able to lade the Heltor, with requestable Commodities: Hereunto they generally assented, to be put in practice with the first wind.

The Generall went aboard the Trade, where at length this agreement was made: that both Fleets should voyge to trade with as many of the Indian ships as they could meet with, and to exchange our English Commodities with them for theirs: Sir Henrie to dispose of two third parts of all the goods which should be bartered for from this day forwards, and Generall Savie the other third. The Grand Signior to have his Custome paid. Hereof Writings were made, being sealed and deliuered betwixt them. The Heltor and Thomas were appointed to ply betweene the North end of Balmadell and the Abbe thore, to meete with all such as should come that way: with charge that no man should take the value of a penie out of them, or offer the least violence to any of their persons, &c.

The

The eighteenth, in the evening, a ship of Cananor arrived laden with Spice, Drugs and other Commodities.

The Generall se. sayls for Moha, the wind at South and South by East a stiff gale, where we arrived within five houres after. The Gouverneur presently lent off to vs intreating to know how all things passed at the Bah, requesting that our Linguist might bee lent ashore to acquaint him therewith, which was accordingly done.

The twentieth, the Skiffe was sent ashore to fetch our Linguist, who returned and brought a present of fresh victuals from the Gouverneur to our General. The Gouverneur intreated to have a muster of our Commodities, which Master Coker carryed presently to him: hee liked of 10 divers colours of our Broad-cloth, promising to take for a thousand Rials besides some quantitie of Tinne and Lead. Many others desired to have Lead and Iron, wherefore hee intreated that in the morning some quantitie thereof might bee brought ashore, for hee having once begun, the Merchants would certainly follow and trade with vs.

He lent three samples of Indico, but none of Labor, which is round and the best. The price a hundred Rials the Churle, which is an hundred seven and twentie pound or Rottals of Moha, and about a hundred and fittie pound English. But they would not sell by any other weight, then that they bought by, which they might very well doe, the price to unreasonable: for wee esteemed the three sorts to bee worth but thirtie, fortie and five and fortie the best the Churle.

Our General wrote to Sir Henry and Captain Townson, and sent his Letters our land by 20 Mahomed, Secretarie to the Gallies.

The one and twentieth we sent ashore eight Clothes, one Tunne of Iron, one Tunne of Lead, two Chests of Tinne of six hundred weight. They offered for foure of the best clothes three halfe Rials the Peeke, which should be seven and twentie inches, but measured by another Peeke, proved to be one and thirtie inches. The Bahar of Tinne, an hundred and twentie Rials. The Bahar of Iron, twelue Rials. Lead fifteen Rials, which were no prices to our liking. At night the Merchants returned with their Commodities aboard againe.

The five and twentieth, the Generall (vpon conference with Master Coker) refused to set saile and goe to Assab, where we came to an anchor.

The seven and twentieth, about eight at night hee found the Trade and Heltor riding there, 30 with eleven saile of Junckes or Indian shippes of severall places. Note, that coming into this Road or Harbor, keepe the Northerne side aboard, leaving a little Rocks or Hammocke on your star-board side, then we had twelue, eleven, ten, nine, eight and seven fathome sandie ground, and in seven fathome wee let fall our anchor about halfe a mile off the shoare.

The thirtieth, the Generall sent his Skiffe to the Junckes, to give warning to the Nohedies, and Merchants, that they should not offer to set saile without his leave. The Nohedies and principal of them requested, that such of their goods as wee desired might bee sorted out of hand, that they might not loose their Monson of going to Jadda, offering to bring aboard our shippes what packes wee would to be opened there, and to carrie backe what wee refused.

The ninth of May, 1612. I cauled the Indian ships to be measured, which were found to bee 40 of the scantlings following, viz. The Rehema, was long from sterne to sterne-post, an hundred three and fittie foot. For rake from the Port side, twentieone foot. From the top of her sides in breadth, two and fortie. Her depth, one and thirtie.

The Mahomedee in length, an hundred fixe and thirtie foot. Her rake after, twentie. In breadth, one and fortie. In depth, nine and twentie and an halfe. Her maine Mast in length, was fixe and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight. Her maine yard, foure and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie.

The other were not much less.

The tenth, Captaine Many came from Moha to treat with Sir Henry concerning his demand. But first he came aboard the Clowe, where hee was friendly entertained, and after the 50 Generall went with him aboard the Trade, where hee deliuered to Sir Henrie two Letters, viz. one from the Balha of Siam, and the other from the Aga of Moha: the effect, to know what he demanded of them, for they were ignorant of any former iniurie offered to him, & for the former they said that they had given him satisfaction before his departure. Wherefore they intreated the Lankes might bee discharged and sent for Moha. His answere was, that hee demanded satisfaction for the losse of his mens lues, & for the making of him lose his Monson, to the overthrow of his Voyages. Many said, if he would write his minde, he should have answere from the Balha in foureteen dayes.

The twelfth, Captaine Many returned with Letters from Sir Henrie.

The fifteenth, the King of Rehita being a pettie Prince vpon the African or Abbe side, came 60 riding downe vpon a Cow to visit Sir Henrie and our General: hee had a Turbant on his head, a piece of a Periwinkle shell hanging on his fore-head, in stead of a Jewell, apparelled like a Moore, all naked (saue a Pintao about his loines) attended with an hundred and fittie men in battale after their manner, weaponed with Dares, Bowes and Arrowes, and Sword and Targets: both the Generals went ashore with an hundred shot and Pike to prevent all Treacheries, that

The King of Rehita riding vpon a Cow, with both the Generals.

In Moha Road in the Red-sea, the twelfth day of August 1612.

Memorandum, That I *Nobada Hallan*, Captaine of the good ship, called the *Cambria* of *Dien*, have bartered and sold unto Capitaine *Isho Saris*, Generall of the eight Voyage into the *East-Indies*, for the summe of two thousand nine hundred fortie and fixe Rialls of eight, and $\frac{1}{2}$ parts of a Riall, in these goods following, viz.

Indicoes of both forts, one and thirtie Bales, with profit, amounts to in Rialls—1694 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Spicknard one Bale, Turbith one Bale, Cinamom five Bales, with profit amounts to Rialls—0054 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1947 $\frac{1}{2}$ 10
 Cloath of *Cambaya* an hundred thirtie seven Corges, and three pieces with profit, amounts to Rialls—1188 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Summe to all—1947 $\frac{1}{2}$

And I have received in payment, these goods following, viz.

Broad-cloathes, fixe pieces, for the summe of Rialls—0890 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Keries, ten pieces, amounts to Rialls—0477 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Lead one and thirtie Bahars and three quarters, amounts to Rialls—0762 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Iron ten Bahars, amounts to Rialls—0140 $\frac{1}{2}$ 1947 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Tinne one Bahar and an halfe, amounts to Rialls—0126 $\frac{1}{2}$
 For a long-peecees fourteene, amounts to Rialls—0150 $\frac{1}{2}$
 More Receipts in money to balance, Rialls—0000 $\frac{1}{2}$
 Summe totall amounts to Rialls—1947 $\frac{1}{2}$

And in witness of the truth, I have herunto set my hand and Seale the day and year above writtten.

नाइडमानस

English commodities not valuable in any quantity at *Moha*. We departed for *Bantam* in *late*.

September 3, 1612.

At the Port of *Moha* we found not our English commodities vendible for any quantitie: the Naturalls poore, and the *Turkes* unwilling to deale with vs.

The thirteenth, we set sail from *Moha* for *Bantam*, our Company twenty five men all in perfect health.

The fourteenth in the morning, in sight of *Babo*, but the wind large at North-west, we fled East by South through the great Channell on the *Abesse* side, hauing eighteen fathom, about one league of the Island *Babo*, where is very good and safe harbour for shipping, and of good receipt, but the place is barren.

The third of September, we arrived at *Seacora* in the Road of *Delifha*, hauing been much hindered in our passage hither, by a West and North-west Current. We vnderstood that the *Thomas* had been here three months past, but stayed not, for that they could not agree vpon the price of *Aloes*.

The fourth, the Merchant and Linguist were sent ashore, friendly entertained and furnished with horses to returne to the Skiffe, but could not agree vpon the price, hee holding it at fortie Rialls of eight, the intall of one hundred and foure pounds: saying, hee had only five and twentieth hundred weight, for which he was carnally solicited by the *Portugals*.

Being loath to lose time here, it was concluded that hee should haue thirtie Rialls for one parcel, and thirtie eight for another; so hee deliuered foure thousand fixtie seven pound, which cost one thousand foure hundred eightie and an halfe of Rialls of eight: we found the King very false both in his weight and word, but we used him kindly for the good of future Voyage. The eight, we set sail for *Bantam*.

The two and twentieth, latitude by the Starre eight degrees, twelue minutes, the wind at West South-west, we tacked East by South. About midnight we fell into the strangest and fearfulllest thing water that euer any of vs had seene: the water giuing such a glare about our ship, as that we could discern a letter in the book thereby, it being not halfe an houre before so darke, as that it was not possible to see halfe our shippes length any way. We doubted it had bene the breach of sunken ground, and thought to haue cast about: but finding that wee had sailed in it for halfe an houre, and saw no alteration, we held on our course, quartering very much wind, but at length it proved to be *Catle-fish*, which made this fearefull show.

The ten and twentieth, in the morning we had sight of the Island *Selon*, bearing Northeast by East, about seven leagues off, being very high land vp into the cuntry, but low to Sea-ward.

Catlefish yielding a wonderfull glare in the Sea. *Selon* or *Zeilan*.

The nine and twentieth about noone, we fell with Cape *Comorin*, bearing East by South about fourteen leagues off, being high land, and towards the North, shewing double land neare the water-side, we founde and had no ground at an hundred fathom. Note, that this land liyes in the latitude of seven degrees, two and fortie minutes to the Northward of the Line: but in our Plots it is made to stand in fixe degrees, and ten minutes, which differs one degree, two and thirtie minutes, stretching South South-east. By experience we find that it lieth more Northerly, and in our course we had no sight of any of the Islands described in our Plots, neither did we discover any of the *Maldiva* Islands, whereof the number is said to bee too great; making our account to haue past betweene the Maine and the Northern Coast of the *Maldivas*, in eight degrees no minutes, discriing no land, untill we saw this Maine.

The fifteenth of October, latitude four degrees, nine and fortie minutes to the Southward of the Line: This day we had sight of *Sumatra*, whereof the Eastmost part did beare East North-east fourteen leagues off, high land: here we found a very strong Current setting to the Southward, which put vs off from the land. Note, that those bound for the Straights of *Sunda*, must keepe *Sumatra* aboard, after they are come into one degree, thirtie minutes to the Southward of the Line, for there begins the current: keepe thirtie leagues off, with good looking out, for there are many *Cayes* fiftene or twenty leagues off, which, by reason of the current, we did not see.

The eighteenth, latitude five degrees and twentie minutes, way East, Northerly, very tempestuous, with thunder and lightning very fearefull, with much raine, so that we could not see the land: But, praised be God, notwithstanding the euill weather, our people were all then in as good health (if not better) as when we parted out of *England*.

The fourteenth and twentieth, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Bantam*, where (though contrary to expectation) we found the *Heitor*, which arrived there the day before, with the *James* in her company, and certaine *Flemmings*. The arrivall of all these shippes, and expectation daily of the *Trades-Increase*, the *Pepper-Corrie*, *Darling* and *Thomas* to follow, occasioned a great (though sudden) alteration in the prices of commodities. Those of any request being raised very nare to twice the value of what they were bought for, the day before the *Heitor* arrivall. Clauses which the *Marriners* of the *Heitor* and *James* had bought the day before for sixteen Rialls of eight the *Pecull* were now risen to fortie Rialls and vpwards: *Pepper* the day before was at ten Rialls of eight the ten facks, but vpon our comming, were raised to twelue Rialls and an halfe, &c.

The fixe and twentieth, we went ashore, and so to the Court, accompanied with the Merchants, and gave diuers presents to the Gouverneur *Pangras Chamarra*, (who is as Protector to the King, ruling all, the King being as no body, though of years sufficient) which Presents hee well accepted: we desired his Order for speedie landing of our goods, which he granted; provided, that the Kings officers might be acquainted with what wee landed, that the King might not be wronged in his Custome.

The eight and twentieth, a Letter from Master *William Adams* out of *Japan*, was read to all the Merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes of that Countrey. It was now concluded vpon, that in regard the *Flemmings* were so strong, and almost Countie Commanders of the *Maldivas* and *Sunda*, and that the place here is so vniuersally rich, besides our people dangerously disordering themselves with drinke and Whores ashore: The *Heitor* should with all speed be dispatched for *England*, and that foure or five thousand fackes of *Pepper* should be procured for the lading of her, and the *Thomas*: doubting that if once there should come newes of the other ships expected, *Pepper* would be much raised out that it now was.

We bargained with *Lackmoy* for a thousand fackes of *Pepper*, at an hundred twentie seven Rialls of eight and an halfe the hundred fackes: and with *Kernee*, for a thousand fackes, at an hundred twentie five Rialls the hundred fackes: and for three thousand fackes more, at an hundred and fiftie Rialls the hundred. We made triall on *Seacora*, what a *Pecull* of Cloues might weigh by our English weights, and found it to be an hundred and thirtie two pound tenn, good weight.

The ninth of November, Sir *Henry Middleton* arrived at *Bantam* in the *Pepper-Corrie*. The fifteenth, (the Gouverneur hauing himselfe requested it) there muliered before the Court: foure men out of the *Claue* and *Heitor*, thirtie out of the *Pepper-corrie*, and ten out of the *Salomon*, in all eightie men, which gaue him good content. The *Flemmings* censured him: it was for the breaking vp of the *Mahomedians* Lent.

The seventeenth, agreed with *Kernee* for foure thousand fackes of *Pepper*, at sixteen Rialls the fackes, with allowance of three in the hundred balfe.

The eighteenth, here arrived eleven fackes of *Flemmings*, great ships, and the *Thomas* in the company: shee had gotten at *Priaman* only three hundred and twelue Bahars of *Pepper*, and twentie Talle of Gold.

The two and twentieth, an hundred *Flemmings*, with their furniture and their pike-men in bright armour marched to the Court, where they brought themselves into a ring, and gaue three volleys of shot: The Gouverneur lent word to them, that the King thanked them, that they

Cape *Comorin* in fixe degrees, two and fortie minutes, false place.

October 15, South latitude four degrees, nine and fortie minutes, *Sumatra*.

We arrived in the Road of *Bantam*. The *James*.

A letter of Master *William Adams* from *Japan*.

November 9.

Twentie Talle of Gold.

December 4.
The Globe in
Potage, bound
for Siam.

Keene a chief
China Mer-
chants curie-
fic.
January 14.

had done enough, and might depart with their iron hats; for so the *Lauans* call head-peeces.
The eight and twentieth, three *Holland* ships, laden for the most with Pepper and Mace, set
sail, homeward bound: five more of their ships set sail for *Banda*, and the *Moluccas*.

The fourth of December, a *Dutch* ship arrived here from *Cheermandell*: by whom wee vn-
derstood that they left the *Globe in Potage*, bound for *Siam*.

The eleventh, the *Heitor* set sail from *Bantam* for *Moroway* the watering place, where there
is a sweet ayre, and where good refreshing of Orrenge, and other wholosome fruits are to be
had: there to attend till the *Thomas* were full laden.

The two and twentieth, the *Trader-Increase* and the *Darling* arrived here from *Priaman*.

The five and twentieth, in honor of the Birth-day of our Saviour Christ, certaine Chambers
were discharged at the *English* house in *Bantam*, and were answered with Ordnance out of the
ships.

The eight and twentieth, *Keene*, the chief *China* Merchant, invited Sir *Henrie* and my life,
with all the Merchants, to dinner, and caused a Play to be acted before vs by *Sernicks* of *Bee*,
which was performed on a Stage with good pronunciation and gesture.

The twelfth of January, the *Thomas* set sail for *England*, hauing in her sixe and thirtie *Eng-
lish*, and three *Indians*.

ð. IIII.

The Voyage of Captaine S A R I S in the Cloauie, to the Isle of Iapan, what befell
in the way: Observations of the Dutch and Spaniards
in the Molucca's.

Pulo Lack.

We came on
ground.

Tingo Iana.

Two Islands.

A Current.

The fourteenth of January 1612. in the morning, wee weighed out of the Road of *Ban-
tam*, for *Iapan*, hauing taken in here: for that place seven hundred fackes of Pepper
for a triall there. Shee had in her teutene foure *English*, one *Spaniard*, one *I. pou*, and
five *Swarts* or *Indians*.

The fifteenth in the Morning, little wind at West, and haling into fourteen fathom, wee steered
East by South, and East South-east, leaving *Pulo Lack* on our Starboard, and eluen or twelue
on our Larboard side, our depth from foureene to ten fathoms, going within two Islands, which
lye to the Eastwards of *Pulo Lack*. And in the faire way there lyeth a shoald, which hath not
about fixe foot on the toppe of it, and is not about halfe a Cables length euery way, and hard a-
boord it there is ten fathomes, and the next cast on ground, as by experience: for here we lay
three houres beting, with a reasonable stiffle gale; but through Gods mercy, and the extraordi-
nary labour and endeaourof the Company, got her off; but sprang a leake, that for all night,
and till ten the next day we continued pump ping euery man (my selfe only excepted) taking his
turne, and all little enoug to keepe it from increasing, which made vs all to doubt that wee
should be enforced to put backe againe to *Bantam*, to the querulous of all our men and Voyages
for *Iapan*. The Carpenter by his diligence hauing found out the leake, made it Thite, thanks
bee to God. To goe cleare off this shoald, keepe close to the Islands, for the Maine is
shoal.

The sixteenth, we anchored at the watering place called *Tingo Iana*, beinge fourteen leagues
from *Bantam*, and some three leagues and an halfe to the West-wards of *Laccara*, riding between
two Islands which lie off the point, distant fife miles. Depth ten and nine fathomes close to the
Island, but the maine is shoale. I sent Presents to the King, to his *Sabander*, and Admirall reque-
ring leave to buy such necessities as we wanted.

The eighteenth, the King of *Laccara* lent his chiefe man vnto me, with thanks for the Pre-
sents, and proffer of what his Country afforded. The twenty one, we set sail, steered neere
vnto the East-most land of the two, that are against the watering place: depth ten and nine fa-
thome, and so to Sea-board of all the Islands East North-east from the watering place. For the
outward-most of them beareth East by North Northerly, and off the Norther point of the said
Island lieth a shoald, which yee shall fee break, distant from the Island halfe a league, and hauing
that South of you, the East yee of *Iana* will beare East Southerly, depth fouenteene and eigh-
teene fathome, and all the way out from twentie to fouerteene fathome, but here you shall find
a Current setting East South-east, which you must allow for, as you haue the wind. In the eue-
ning we anchored, little wind at North by West, the Current setting vs to the South-east
from the shoare: depth thirtene and thirtie fathomes and an halfe, beinge thot three leagues to the
East-wards of the East point of *Laccara*, wind at North-west.

The twenty two, the wind at South-west, we weighed and steered East North-east to get
deepe water, and finding fouerteene fathome, the high hill ouer *Bantam* did beare West South-
west, halfe a point Westerly. The three and twentieth in the morning, we deckt vp our sails,

the wind at South-east, and had fight of an Island which lieth off *Cheeribon*, with three of thofe
high piked hills of *Iana*, the Easternmost bearing South-east, and *Cheeribon* South by East. Lat-
itude at noone fixe degrees tenne minutes, the wind at North North-west, the land bearing East
by North three leagues and an halfe off.

Note, that yee may bol-ly keepe betweene twentie three and twenty foure fathome water in
the Ofing, and in twentie fathome vpon *Iana*, the darkeft night that is, and in the day vpon *Ia-
na* in what depth yee please.

The twentie fourth in the morning, we had fight of thre eke piked hills, and three ether to
to the East-ward, like Islands: depth twentie fathome, the point of *Iana* bearing South-east by East
by South, and the land lying off it South-east and North-west about nine leagues off. We steered
East by South, and East South-east. Latitude fixe degrees tenne minutes, way East twenty
eight leagues.

The twentie sixth, at break of day we had fight of the Island called *Pulo Labuck*, bearing
North-east by East eight leagues off, wind West by North. We steered East by South, depth
thirtie foure and thirtie fife fathomes, and about nine of the clocke halfe fight of land, bearing
South-east and South-east by South, the land afore said bearing now North-east by North little
wind, latitude fixe degrees twelue minutes, way East and East. y North twentie two leagues,
wind at West, the land at foure in the after-noon, bearing West by North nine leagues off, depth
thirtie foure fathomes. The twentie seuenth, latitude fixe degrees foure minutes, way East
Northly twenty eight leagues, depth thirtie eight fathome, and at three in the afternoone had
fight of an Island bearing North North-east seven leagues off, and at five of the clocke founded, and
had thirtie foure fathomes.

The twenty eighth, at foure in the morning, we had twentie fife fathomes, steering East till
noone, latitude fixe degrees fiftie fife minutes, way East Northly twenty leagues, depth thirtie
fathome. From noone we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke had thirtie fife fathome.
The twenty ninth, in the morning about foure, wind at West by North, we steered East by South,
but had no ground at foure fathome, but at noone fiftie two fathomes, with many ouercalls. La-
titude fixe degrees nine minutes, way East by South twentie eight leagues, wind at West and
West by North, with a Current setting to the West-ward, afternoone we founded, but had no
ground at an hundred fathome, and steered East.

The thirtieth in the morning, latitude fixe degrees fiftie fouen minutes, way East Northly
twenty eight leagues, and in longitude from *Bantam*, two hundred twenty foure leagues, the ouer-
falls continuing, but founding had no ground at an hundred fathome. At three in the after-
noone, we had fight of a low flat land at top-mast head, bearing North-east by North five or fix
leagues off, full of trees, and had eightene fathome, and at next cast eightie fife fathome: then
we steered East by South, and at foure a clocke it did beare North by East halfe a point North-
ly, three or foure leagues off. Then we had fight of two other low flat Islands, the one opening to
the East-ward, the other to the West-ward, so that this was the middle-most. At fixe at night,
bearing North halfe a point Easterly, we founded againe, but had no ground at eightie fathom,
we steered East by South, keeping our lead in respect of the ouer-falls or Rippings, which were
fearefull, yet had no ground at fixtie fathome.

The one and thirtieth, at break of day we had fight of the *Celebes*, the Wester end rising like
an Island, and the outward-most high land bearing East by North: Latitude fixe degrees fiftie two
minutes, the East part bearing East by North fixe leagues off, way East Northly sixteen
leagues and a Current setting to the North-west ward. At Sunne-setting we took in our sails
to keepe the shore of the Straights of *Defalon*, by the Maxuile called *Solea*, and keeping our Lead all
night, we found thirtie twenty fathome, the high land North-east, and so foure into thirtie three,
and foure fathome, fearing a shoald which lyeth two thirds of a league from the *Celebes*,
and at low water the beach vpon it may be seene. On the *Celebes* side it is very dangerous, and
full of unken ground. Wherefore we halde out for *Defalon* side, keeping a good birth of it, ha-
uing a piked hill, which is next to the Sea side rising like an Island, being to the West-ward is, then
is North North-east, and when it is North, then yee are thwart of the West end of the shoald,
and then will the land which yee leane on your Star-board side, beare East North-east, so that
yee may be hold to steere out in the middelt betweene the two Islands. And when the Pike hill
beares North by West, then are you thwart of the East end. Note that the East end of *Defalon*
showeth like an Island, and will deceiue you till you come to it, but hauing brought the North
end of the point East North-east, halfe a point Easterly, then bee bold; for you are cleare of the
shoald afore said. It is about foure leagues betweene them: we came within halfe a mile of the
Island of our Star-board side, going through, and the wind taking vs suddenly short, we founded,
but had no ground at fiftie fife fathome, right vp and downe.

The first of February afternoone, we were thwart of the point of the Island bearing South off February.
vs, and the two Islands which make the Straights, lying one from the other North and South, di-
stant fix small leagues.

The second in the morning, we had fight of the South part of *Defalon*, South-west by South,
and

Pulo Labuck.

A Current.

Celebes.

The Straights
of Defalon
Solea.

and the North part West by North eight leagues off. We steered East by North, the wind at North by East, latitude five degrees five minutes, distant from *Desalen* ten leagues. The third in the morning, the Southern end of *Cambina* did bear North-east by East, and the land or Hammock North-east eight or nine leagues, latitude five degrees five minutes: the Land North-east had a point Northernly eight leagues, way East Southernly five or six leagues, and towards night the wind at South, and south South-east, we steered all night East by North. The fourth in the morning, the wind at North-east, latitude five degrees no minutes. At three we saw land East by North, making it to be *Botum*.

The fifth, three or four leagues off *Cambina*, we found the Current to carry vs to the Northward, the wind at East by North; and the land of the East end of *Cambina*, North-east half a point Easterly four leagues off. The sixth at break of day, the land North-east by North Northernly four leagues off, the wind at North; so that these twenty four hours we have gotten to the East-wards one point.

The seventh at break of day, the Northern point was North by East, & a small high land, that lieth to the South-ward five or seven leagues off *Botum*, South-east, and the Easter land of *Botum* East North-east: we steered East by North, and East, but left the high land to the South-wards on our Star-board side, and it did bear South-east half a point Easterly, then was the point of *Botum* shut in, in a long great land. The Northern end will be North North-west.

The eighth in the morning, we saw another island, called *Tingabass*, rising round and flat. Here we had a Current setting North-east, the wind at North-east by North and North North-east. The ninth, wind at North West by North, the point of *Botum* North-west, half a point Northernly, we had light of two *Cura Cura* between vs and *Botum*: The Skiff went off to them, and brought one *M. Welden*, one of the *Expeditio* Company, and a *Fleming* bound for *Banda*. The said *Welden* is now employed in the King of *Botum* affairs for *Banda*, and had now the command of these *Cura Cura*. Latitude five degrees twenty minutes, wind at East North-east, we steered North, and at night the wind Southernly, we steered North North-east: land from the East point of *Botum*, the land falls away suddenly, with two or three great Bays to the North-westwards; and three great islands which lie to the Northward of *Botum*, which make the Straits.

Note, to go through the Straits of *Botum*, it is not above a league broad, and the entrance is on the North-side of the Islands; and if you come from the Westward, being thwart of the North-west point, your course is East North-east, and East by North, vpon to the Reade, and no danger but what you shall fee; but you must leave the three great Islands to the North-wards of you, yet go not betweene any of them, and falling with the West end of *Botum*, goe not betweene the land that lieth off it. There are two long Islands, but leave them on your Star-board side, for tis full of broken ground betweene them and *Botum*. But if the wind serve you, then hale to the North-ward of all the Islands either between *Botum* and *Cambina*, or else to the North-ward of that too, and so you may keepe the Coast of *Celebes*, for it is bold: we steered with little wind all night, North North-east.

The tenth in the morning, the Straits of *Botum* did bear North-west by West, and the maine land of *Tingabass* South South-east half a point Southerly.

The eleventh, three in the morning, the wind at North-west, the Island West ten leagues off, we steered North North-east, latitude at noone four degrees eight minutes; way North North-east East, half a point, the four and twenty leagues, and off the East point of *Botum*, five and thirty leagues, the wind all night between North and North by West.

The twelfth, little wind at North by West, latitude four degrees six minutes, way East by North, twelve leagues.

The thirteenth in the morning, we had sight of the Island *Buro*, being high land, the one point bearing North-east by North, and the other North-east ten leagues off, the wind at North by West, lairing made to noone sun leagues of latitude, three degrees one and forty minutes.

The fourteenth in the morning, we bore vpon with the East part of the Island to seeke for some place to ride in.

The fifteenth and sixteenth of latitude, three degrees, forty minutes, broke off day the Northernmost part of *Buro*, East by North nine leagues off, little wind at East North-east, and North by East.

The seventeenth, little wind, the East-part of *Buro*, bearing East Northernly, wind at North, at noone North-west by North, the North part of *Botum* East by South, and three Islands, which we then had in sight at Top-mast head, North-east by North.

The eighteenth, in the morning we were by the Easternmost Island three leagues off, wind at North North-west, it bearing North North-east. At noone we were within a mile off the shore. The Skiff was sent to speak with the Country people. This Island is called *Sulda*: we had fifteen fathomes, the ships length off the shoare, and a mile off no ground at a hundred fathomes: the West part of *Buro* lying South half a point Westerly, and North half a point Easterly fourteen leagues the one from the other, wind at West, the Land stretching North North-east.

The twentieth, wind at East by North, steered North by East, of latitude one degree thirty minutes, way North-east seven leagues.

The *U-Tingabass*.

M. Welden an Englishman employed in the King of *Botum* affairs.

Adventurers concerning the Straits of *Botum*.

The *U-Tingabass*.

The *U-Tingabass*.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we were four or five leagues off an Island, called *Halobing* by our Saylers, being a high copped round Island, different in shape from all the rest of the Islands in sight. The wind at North-east, and at East having made to this noone a North-east way fourteen leagues of latitude one degree, sixteen minutes the point of *Halobing*, or *Bachian*, North-east by North four leagues off: and the outwardmost land, North a quarter West, finding a current setting North-east, wind all night at North North-east and North.

The two and twentieth in the morning, we had sight of land North by East, it being the Island *Macbian* very high land: here we had a current setting North North-east of latitude at noone no degrees, one and fifty minutes, way North seven leagues, variation at Sun-setting, four degrees twelve minutes, wind at North by East, and North North-east.

The three and twentieth in the morning we were three leagues off the Land, wind at North North-east seeking a place to anchor in: and within a quarter of a mile of the shoare had fortie fathomes, wherefore we bore vpon to the South part of the land, where we had twenty and nine fathomes for a caft or two, but then no ground. We steered from this South point East South-east, for so the Land lieth open off the point of the high round land, being four leagues betweene the two points, but the Wester point is an Island with a curre or four: other to the East-wards, which you cannot perceive till you be vnder neere them. Then the Land lieth away North-east, and sheweth a large and round land or Bay with Land of both sides very deepe. This round Hill is *Bachian*, and yeldeth great store of *Corn*; but by reason of the Wares they are wasted. The people not suffered to make their benefit thereof, for care to gather them, and let them fall and rot vpon the ground. Being by the *Flemmings* and *Spaniards* oppressed, and wrought to spoyle one another in Ciuill Warre, whilst they both secure in strong Forts, sit and looke on, prepare to take the bene from him that can wrest it from his fellow. Haung no ground to anchor in, and not able to get to the Northward, we refused to stand off all night, hoping to have a shift of wind to carrie vs to the land *Macbian*, whether we intended.

The four and twentieth, in the morning the high land South by East ten or twelve leagues off the land seemed ragged, we stood in, and a league off the point, sent off the Skiff to sound and to looke for water, but returned aboard finding no water nor place to anchor in, wherefore we stood into the Bay, and presently had light of a Fort and Towne called *Bachian*. The *Flemmings* sent a head finding fresh water in driers places, but stepe too into the cod of the Bay, where the *Flemmings* have a Fort artificially and warlike built; the Towne hard by it. Heere we came to an anchor (looke thou off the Fort) having had very vncertaine shoaling, as founteine, sixtie, eight and ten fathomes; but *Orie*.

The Dutch saluted vs with five Peeces; whom I requited with the like number, but the Kings man being then a board our ship, we told him, it was done to the honour of his King, who sent mee word that hee would haue come to visit mee, but that the Dutch intreated him to forbear. In this Fort are thirtee Peeces: viz. one Demy-culvering of Traile, the rest Saker and Minion. The *Flemmings* here resident are more feared of the *Naturals* then I was, which notwithstanding is cause of their better benefit. For the *Naturals*, as soon as we were arrived, told vs that they durst not bring vs a Cattie of Cloues, but vpon their liues. As we nee not here, the outwardmost point was South South-west, and the other South-west, distant from vs four leagues. The King lent his Admirall and diuers of his Nobles aboard to bidme welcome, saying, & that they knew of what Nation we were by our Flagge, vjing much Ceremonious courtesie, wishing that we were seated there in stead of the *Flemmings*, that they might bee clerer of them, their Country now almost ruined by these Warres. I entertained them friendly, and told them that our coming was to procure Trade and to leaue a Factory amongst them, if their King so pleased. They answered that it was a thing by them much desired, but at present not to bee granted, yet they would acquaint their King therewith.

The Captaine of the Dutch Fort came aboard to visit mee, by whom I vnderstood their force to be of thirtee Peeces and thirtee Soldiers. The most of them married, some to the Country-women, and some to Dutch women, whereof the Fort was fitted with eleven able to withstand the force of the *Spaniard* or other Nation whatsoever, being of a very luffie large breed, and furnished with few good qualities. But it seemed they followed their Leader: for no sooner was the Captaine aboard, but the *Amas* on-board followed, complaining of great miserie, sitting downe with our Saylers to visitals at their first coming, with small inuicte. They had what the ship afforded, and they returned a shore with their Captaine.

The third of March, we founded with the Skiff along the East-side of this Bay, and at the opening or going out neere to a little land, we found a place to anchor, in twelve, fifteen, twenty fathomes, Corall ground, without command of the Fort. Note, there is shoal to the South-wards the length of three Cables, latitude no degrees, fifty minutes.

The fourth, the King of *Ternata* sent me a present by his Priest. The fifth, variation at Sun-setting, four degrees forty eight minutes Easterly, *A Moore* came aboard with a multer of Cloues, offering to sell some quantitie, if wee would goe to *Macbian*. This *Moore* was sent by a man of great account of that place, who at the present was heere.

The sixth, variation at Sun-setting, four degrees forty eight minutes Easterly, *A Moore* came aboard with a multer of Cloues, offering to sell some quantitie, if wee would goe to *Macbian*. This *Moore* was sent by a man of great account of that place, who at the present was heere.

The seventh, variation at Sun-setting, four degrees forty eight minutes Easterly, *A Moore* came aboard with a multer of Cloues, offering to sell some quantitie, if wee would goe to *Macbian*. This *Moore* was sent by a man of great account of that place, who at the present was heere.

The Ile of *Halobing*, so called by the English Saylers, of which *Bachian* is the chief.

Macbian.

Mystery of wars in the Molucces.

A small Fort of the Hollanders. *Bachian*, being the Northern end of the Islands, in our place called *Halobing*.

The small Forts of the Hollanders.

Variation 4 degrees, 48 minutes East.

Tahannee, is a Towne upon *Machian*, where the Portugals heretofore have had a Fort, but now there is none, neither for them nor the *Flemings*, there is the best riding of the whole land, but very scarce the shore, yet free of all danger.

The Roade of *Amafane* where the Hollanders Fort stand, is *Geila*.

Tasally Bachan.

A *Chale*.

Grechy a great land.

Machian five leagues from the Line. *Casa* land.

Wherefore it was thought good to stay a day longer to have some conference with him, his name was *Key Malladaia*; and was Brother to the old King of *Ternata*.

The sixth, we stayed to speake with this Cavalier, who came and promised to goe with vs to *Machian*, and to bring vs to a place there called *Tahannee*, and did put aboard vs two of his chiefest men to be our Pilots thither, appointing vs to goe before and stay for him at an Island by the way, and within two dayes he would be with vs, giving vs great encouragement of good store of Cloves. He told me that the *Dutch* gave fiftie Rials of eight the Bahar, but they would cost vs fiftie Rials, which I willingly promised to give him.

The seventh in the morning, we weighed anchor and parted out of this Road called *Amafane*, & by direction of our new Pilots, steered in West by North for the Island *Machian*, leaving two Islands (which lyke tour or five miles from the place where we left anchored) on our land-board side, depth two and twentie, thirtie and fortie fathomes, two Cables length off the land.

The tenth, we had sight of *Machian* being a high and copped land bearing North-easterly, and the Island *Tidore* opening like a Sugar-loafe on the West side, but not so high Land as *Machian*: it is shut into the point of the West side of the outwardmost Islands, of the three that lye in the going out, two of them being without the narrow or fraight, and the third maketh the fraights it selfe, yet there are more Islands on the Easter side. But the current setting in the South-wards, we anchored in three and twentie fathomes, a mile off the little Island in the fraights mouth: so that the distance from the fraights of *Namorat*, to this passage, is five leagues, and from the Roade of *Amafane*, where the *Flemings* Fortified standeth, fourteen leagues.

The eleventh in the morning, we weighed the wind at South South-east, and current setting to the North-ward, we passing the fraights. The wind vered to the North-west by North, we stood to the East-ward till noone, then we tackt to West-ward the wind at North North-west, and had sight of *Geila*, being a long Land, depth going out nine and twentie, and four and thirtie fathome, and many Islands to the East-ward, and East South-east. The point of *Geila* lying to the North-ward of the fraights some three or four leagues, leaving four Islands on the star-board side. Three which maketh the fraights on that side is called *Tasally Bachan*, and when you are a little without the small Island which lyeth in the fraights, you shall have eighteen fathome, a cable or two, and then it will deepen and standing to the North-wards you shall open another Island to the West-ward called *Ternata*, with a Rock like a Sayle a good distance of the point of it. And anchored at an Island bearing North Westly, three leagues from the fraights in three and fortie fathomes, where on the Southerne point is a shoale having three fathome on the skirts, and is dry at low water, which shoale reacheth over to the South part of *Bachian*, we riding halfe a mile off the shoale. This Island is called *Tasally*, the wind at North North-west.

Here we stayed all the twelfth day for *Key Malladaia*, being the place where hee appointed to come vnder vs. This Island is distant from *Machian* ten leagues: there we had good store of wood, but no water.

The thirteenth, our Cowpers prouided themselves of *Rottan* for Water caskes, which make excellent hopes, and are here of all uses in great abundance. The shoale afore-said now dry, beareth West by South, halfe a mile off vs, and another point a mile off, North North-east. The wind at North.

The fourteenth, for that *Key Malladaia* came not, his servant doubted that the *Flemings* seeing vs to adventure through this passage amongst the Islands did suspect him and therefore kept him. Wherefore we did set layle, the wind at North by West, and played vp for *Machian*. The Northern point of *Tasally*, and the Northern point of *Lattacate* (from whence we set layle) bearing one to the other West by North, and East by South, distant five leagues, and the Northern end of *Tasally*, and the southe of *Grechy*, the great Island, lyeth the one from the other North-west four leagues, and North North-west from *Grechy*, are four or five small Islands which cover the Mayne of the great land, and are distant from it five leagues North-wards, and there are many Islands North-east by North, called *Mote*. The Island lyeth cleere of all the Islands between *Bachian* and *Geila*, (alias *Batta China*) South-east and North-west, and is very broad, but hath an isle on the star-board side as you goe to the North-wards. The Channell betwene *Bachian*, *Machian*, *Tidore*, and *Ternata* lyeth North by West, and South by East, and is five leagues ouer in the narrowest part.

The fifteenth in the morning, we passed between *Battachina* and *Casa*. Latitude at noone no degrees fourteen minutes to the North-ward: So that *Machian* is not truly placed in the Plates: for that there the Equinoctiall cuts it in the middle, and wee find it to stand five leagues more Northerly, wind at North by East, and North by West, with a Current setting to the South-wards, variation four degrees fiftie eight minutes Easterly. The sixteenth in the morning, we were fair by the Island of *Casa*, the wind at North by East. Here we had sight of a little to the North-wards, which by a Fisherman we vnderstood to be a *Fleming* bound from *Machian* to

Tidore with Suge, which is a *Roote* whereof the *Naturalls* make their bread.

The seventeenth in the morning, we were nere a Fort of the *Flemings* called *Tabulola*, wind at North-east, we stood to the South-wards, the Current setting vs to the North-wards. Then the wind at Easterly North, we steered with the East-most point, and came to an anchor at foure in the afternoon in the Road of *Pelabere*, but by *Tahannee* in fiftie fathome, within call of the shoale, having one point of the land South South-west two miles off, and another North-east by North one mile and an halfe off, an the Island *Casa* five leagues off. This night (some small quantity of Cloves were brought aboard, the price for a fiftie Rials of eight the Bahar, of two hundred Carters, each Carter three pound five shillings English. I received a letter from *Key Malladaia* from *Bachian*, examing his stay, with promise that he shortly would be with me, in the mean time that he had written to the people to helpe me with all the Cloves they could.

The eighteenth, a *Spanish* came aboard and proffered much untrefte two *Hollanders* came with him, being very inquisitive to know who directed vs to this road, saying that it must needs be one of the *Naturalls*, and if they knew him they would cut him in peeces before our faces; that we did wrong them in coming hither, this being their Countrey, as haue conquered it by the sword. They were appointed to returne to their Forts, and tell their Capitaines that if they needed ought that we might spare, they should haue it for reasonable content before all others, because we acknowledge them our neighbours and brethren in Christ: but for any propriety of this Countrey to be more in them then vs, we tookeno notice, and therefore would ride there, as in trade with whomever it pleased to come aboard. So they parted, threatening the *Naturalls* which were then aboard, that if any did bring Cloves aboard vs, they would put them to death. The countrey people made light of their threats, and said they held vs their friends, and would come aboard to vs. Bought this day three hundred Castles Cloves for *Cambaya* cloth, and some sold for ready money.

The nineteenth, the two *Flemings* came aboard againe, and beganne to note downe in their Table-booke the names of the Countrey people which came aboard. Whereupon I caused the Boat-swaine to turne them out of the ship, and command them to come no more aboard. Diuers of our Companie were sent to walke aloare, to see what intertainment the Countrey people would giue them. They went vp to the Townes of *Tahannee* and *Pelabere*, and I very friendlyly told our men, that the *Flemings* had wrought lo with *Key Chiffadane*, the King of *Ternata*: some, who was newly come, that he had forbidden them to sell vs any Cloves vnder paine of death, otherwise we should haue had them from the *Flemings*, whom they find great oppressors of them. Towards night, the Prince passing by our ship in his *Curracurra*, I sent my Pinnacle well fitted with a faire *Turkey* Carpet, and Crimson Silke and Gold Curaines, interesting him to come aboard; which he tooke kindly, but excused it, saying that in the morning he would visit me.

The one and twentieth, an *Oran Casa* came aboard, and told me, that a *Curra* (Curra of the *Flemings*) had leached three or foure Prawes or Canoas coming aboard vs with Cloves, and had taken ite from them, threatening death to them for the next offence. And that since our coming hither, they dishonoured their Forts, and placed their people round about the land, that the *Naturalls* should not be able to bring vs any more Spice, and that they had sent one *Curra* *Curra* to *Tidore*, to caule two great ships of theirs to come hither and ribly vs, the one a head, the other a stern, to beate vs out of the Road, without trade or reliefe.

The twentie two, we had sight of one of the *Flemings* ships coming about the point, by reason whereof we had little trade now, the people being afraid, I received a Present from *Key Malladaia*, who as yet was not come. The *Naturalls* expected what would now become of vs, the *Flemings* having reported aloare, that they should fee vs runne out of the Road at sight of one of their ships. It was the *Redde Lion*, had thirtie Peeces of Ordnance, anchored a fiftie of vs.

The twentie fourth, the Prince of *Ternata*, *Key Chiffadane* sent to tell me, that hee would come and visit me. So all things were fitted in the best manner for his entertainment. Hee came attended with diuers great *Curracurras*, and rowed thre round about the ship before hee entered. At his boarding of vs, our ship discharged fife Peeces of Ordnance: I brought him to my Cabin, where I had prepared a Banquet, meet enough to haue been set before the King of *Ternata* himselfe (had he been there) with a very good comfort of Musique, which much delighted him. He promised me to giue the people license to bring Cloves aboard vs, and requested that I would haue patience for a day or two, that he might haue aduise from his brother then being at *Tidore*. I bestowed on him diuers Presents, and at parting offered fife Peeces for his farewell.

The twenty fifth in the morning, a *Curra* (Curra of the *Flemings*) came rowing by our shippe, scoffing at our people, and singing a song which they had made in derision of vs: they then giving thereto caused our men lustily to hind themselves therewith agreed, as also for their rowing over our Can-bodies diuers times, endeavouring to sinke the *W*. Wherefore I caused the Pinnacle to be well fitted, and gaue order, that if at their returne they continued their mocking of vs, to run aboard and sinke them. They came singing and scoffing according to their custom, the Pinnacle ranne aboard them with such a furge, as that the water came through her files; there being in her two of

* Some say hee tops o' trees: A Fort of the Hollanders called *Tabulola*.

The Hollanders are remainment of vs.

Tahannee, *Pelabere*.

The sight of the *Hollanders* to vs.

A *Curra* (Curra of the *Hollanders*) of the *Hollanders* derision of vs.

of the Captaines of their Forts, well fitted with shot and darts : our men were well provided, and had two good Fowlers in the Skiffes hea^d. They lay a good while aboard her, and whilst they took this for a warning, and leave off their scoffing and mocking of vs, for else they would teach them better manners the next time, and so they returned aboard with their promise that it should be no more so.

A writing sent from the Hollanders.

Towards evening they sent one of their Merchants unto me, with a writing from their Doctor in *Drois*, who as we were informed, was chiefe amongst them in absence of *Buc* or *Blocke*, who had come out of *Holland*, General of eleven Saile. The effect whereof was to let me know, That all the people of the *Moluccas* had made a perpetual contract with them for all their Cloues, at five Royals of eight the Balar, of two hundred Cartees, in respect that they had deli-¹⁰vered them out of the strait of the *Spaniards*, not without losse of much blood, and expence of great wealth, willing me that I should not moue the people from their obedience, which might rebound to their greater damage, they holding the Countrey to be their owne, as conquered by the Sword. Also that the Naturals ought them much money, which was advanced to be paid in Cloues. Answer was returned that we would not meddle with their business, our coming being only to trade with such as desired to trade with vs, and so dismissed him.

The twentieth seventh, the *Flemmings* enforced the Prince to lie with his *Cartacurra* a sterne, to keepe watch that none bring any thing aboard vs: for in our fight he commanded a Canoe aboard him, which was coming to vs (as we thought with Spice) making him returne. To-²⁰wards night, two of the Naturals brought vs some refreshing.

The twentieth eighth, the Prince understanding that we took it not well, that hee did so neere vs to the fearing of the Naturals, remoued and went about a point further off, which much discontented the *Flemmings*. After noone, with the Skiffe well manned, I went to see if I could deal with the Prince for a parcel of Cloues, but found him gone to the Westward side. Captain *Blocke* seeing my Skiff gone into the Bay, followed vs with his *Cartacurra*, and would have landed where I was, but that I would not suffer him, which the Naturals seeing, and that Captain *Blocke* returned aboard againe without landing, diuers of the better fort came downe to vs, pro-³⁰testing great loue towards vs, and sent for Cocos and other fruites, and bestowed them vpon the King. The Master of the Cloue being Captain *Blocke* to make such speed after vs, manned the long Boat for aide, but vpon a signe given returned aboard.

The thirtieth, the *Flemmings* brought the Prince to ride by vs in his old place. Towards evening another *Flemmish* ship came in, call'd the *Moone*, a proper ship of thirtie two Peeces of good Ordnance, but not above fiftie men: he came to an anchor lo neere a head vs, as that we could scarcely wind cleare one of the other. The Prince sent vnto me to excuse his coming backe, but now we saw that he durst not displease the *Flemmings*. The thirtieth one, diuers harsh dealings and discourtesies passed betwixt the *Flemmings* and vs.

April the first 1613.

The first of April, the *Flemmings* brought an hundred and twentie of their men ashore, which morning and evening did set and discharge the watch with Drum, Fife and Ensigne. This force they had gathered together out of their Forts and ships.

Road of Pile.

The second, I seeing no more hope of landing, and that Key *Malladaie* came not according to promise, gave order to the Master, to cause water to be filled, and to make ready to set sail with the first fair wind. At noone, observing we found this Road of *Pelabry* to stand in no degree, twentie fixe minutes to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, Variation three degrees, eight and twentie minutes, the highest land in the Island, *Machian* bearing West North-west halfe a point Westwardly.

The fift, we weighed anchor, little wind, the Current setting to the Southward, we drove to sea, being under our fore-saile, and ahead the *Moone* the greater ship of the *Flemmish*, which made a faire shot vnder our sterne, which we presently answered, close a head his Admirall, expect-⁴⁰ing further, but heard no more of them. At noone they both weighed and followed vs, but the wind at South-west had put vs so farre to the windward, as that the Naturals came aboard vs with Cloues for a time, as fast as we could weigh and pay for them, the *Flemmings* not able to hinder them. Also there came an *Oran Cay* aboard, who promised vs a good parcel of Cloues, if we would but come nearer the shoare in the morning.

The sixth, about fiftie Cartees of Cloues were brought aboard in diuers Canoes, but no newes of the *Gallies*. Towards evening I standing neerer the shoare then we were willing, but for this occasion, we had light of a west shoare: the Skiffe was sent and spake with the *Oran Cay*, who said the Cloues were ready, and in the darke should be brought aboard; but presently a *Curra Curra*, of the *Flemmings* plying by, put him into such a feare, as albeit our people would have⁵⁰ waited him, yet durst he not adventure: so they returned.

Mosiere.

The seventh in the morning, we were thwart of *Mosiere*, being distant from the Westward point of *Machian* foure leagues North by East, halfe a point Easterly; and from it North three leagues, is the Island *Marro*, and from that two leagues *Tidore*. There is passage betwene these Islands, or on any side of them, without danger. Wee had sight of the two *Flemmings* to the Southwards of vs, plying after vs: Latitude at noone no degrees, five and thirtie minutes, wind Westwardly.

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The eight, *Marro*, North by West, some two miles off the body of it and one point North by East; halfe a point Easterly, and the other North-west by North, halfe a point Westwardly, and the pike of *Tidore* North by West, and opening the East point of *Tidore*, and the Westward point of *Bachian*, they will beare the one from the other North and South, and the body of *Marro* West South-west halfe a point Southwardly, and the Westward part of *Tidore*, that you shall see West by North. Looke well out, for in the false way is a long shoale, which lyeth even with the water at high water, the water flowing whitish, and stretcheth North-east and South-west, betwene *Marro* and *Tidore*: and hauing brought the points of the Islands, as above-said, then it will be East of you, at low water you shall see it, for it ebbs six fathoms, the tide setting six hours to the Northward, and fixe to the Southward: but keepe close to the Islands for there is no feare. The *Spaniards* Fort is on the East-side of *Tidore*, where a deepe water shoale too. It fell suddenly, calme, so that a great sta did set vs into the shoale. The Fort made a shot at vs, but willingly short: we answered with one to Sea aboard: then the Fort made two more, intending to strike vs, one betwene our millen mast and ancient mast, the other betwixt maine-mast and fore-mast. Then they shot a Peece from the Top of the Fort without sharpe: we answered that without, and presently they sent off a Boat with a flage of truce, the Sea did setting vs vpon the shoale, no wind, nor ground at an hundred fathom, so that we could lay vs off no way, two Gallies riding vnder the Fort: when their Boat was put from the shoare, they shot their two wheate peeces, but without sharpe. They came and took a fast a flame our shippe: there were two *Spaniards*⁶⁰ soldiers of good ranke, (knowne to *Hernando* the *Spaniard*, whom wee took with vs from *Batavia*) sent from the Captaine Generall of the shoare, *Don Fernando Beyer*, to know of what Nation we were, what we came for, and wherefore we came not to an anchor vnder the Kings Fort. We requested them to come aboard: they said they were commanded to the contrary: I therefore I willed to let downe wine and bread vnto them in a firing, from the pinnace, which they fell too lustily, in so great a shower of rain, as we had scene, yet would I not returne the shippe I repined answer, that I was the subject of the Kings Maestie of *Great Brittain*; as by my Colours they might well discern. They said the *Flemmings* had many times past by Scotland, by flowing the like, which made them shoote the second shot with sharpe at vs, thinking vs to be *Flemmings*. I sent them word that my coming was, to doe the best good I could to the friends of the Kings Maestie of *Spain*; but was not minded to anchor here, but further a head; where, if it pleased *Don Fernando* to come aboard, he should be welcome: with which answer, they returned ashore contented. Suddenly it pleased God to grant vs a gale, so that we stood a longt the shoare. The Captaine Generall sent off the Pilot Maier of the Gallies, *Francisco Gomez*, a man of good preference, to bid mee welcome, offering his assistance to bring vs into the best anchoring place vnder the Fort, or elsewhere about the Island. Being darke, he brought vs to a place about one league and an halfe off the Fort, whereas he said no force was, and so intreated after supper to be set ashore, for that the Captaine Generall would dispatch away letters to *Ternate*, to the Master *Del Campo*, *Don Ieronimo de Sylva*, for resolution in all points, and so departed.

Marro.
A dangerous shoale.

The *Spaniards* Fort on the East side of *Tidore*.

The ninth in the morning before day, finding that we were within command of eight peeces of Ordnance, we got vnto anchor and remoued a league further to the Southward, where we rid in five and thirtie fathome: *Gomez* the Pilot came aboard with two *Spaniards* more of good fashion, whom I bid kindly welcome, so that they took their lodging aboard. They brought with them a Prefere of estate commodities from their Generall. I returned the like to theirs, with preffer of all friendship and assistance, that in mee lay, to supply his wants, and to accept of Cloues for payment, desiring speedie answer, for that I would not stay long there. The two *Flemmish* shippes plying, as if they would have come to an anchor by vs; but afterwards went and rid at their new Fort *Maracca*.
The tenth, the Captaine Generall sent to request me to stay, and the next morning hee would visit me, with the Sergeant Maier of *Ternate*, who was arrived with a letter from the Master *Del Campo*, giving them leave thereby to trade with me for diuers matters, and to content mee in what I requested; wherefore I resolved a while longer, to see what good might be done.

Maracca, new Fort of the Hollanders.

§. V.

Further observations touching the Molucca Islands, and their proceeding on their Voyage to Japan.

The eleventh, we expected the Captaine Generall according to promise, and hearing nine peeces of Ordnance to be shot out of the Fort, provided for them, thinking verily that they were coming: But it proved to be for the arrival of the Prince of *Tidore*, who had bin abroad in war, and was now returned with the heads of an hundred

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three *Ternates*, his force being only fixtie small shot, two brass Bases, and three or foure *Pow-
lers*: having ouerthrowne *Key Chilly Salang*, the King of *Ternate* his sonne, whom the *Flem-
mings* had enforced ouer from *Ternate* to *Adagian*, to keepe the country people from selling of
Clothes to vs. For whom returning back towards *Ternate*, (after our departure) the King of *Ty-
dore* foure, lying purposely in waite vpon sight of them, the *Tydorians* keeping themselves be-
hind a point of land, sent out two small Prows to fish in their way, whom the *Ternates* eue-
ning, did presently giue chase vnto. The Fishermen easily retire, the other earnestly pursue, vntill
before they once thought thereof, they fell into their enemies hands, who spared not one man
of an hundred and fixtie, the Prince of *Ternate* himselfe being one of the number, whose hand
the Conquerour brought to his wife, who was sister to the Prince of *Ternate*, so laine. At their
first encounter, a barrel of powder, which the Prince had bought of vs at *Macbian*, took fire,
which was the confusion and losse of them all. With the Prince was laine one of his yonger
brethren, and the King of *Gelela*. Towards evening came aboard vs the Sergeant Maior of *Ternate*,
and Secretary of State; with the like complements to those of the *Tydorian* Officers, re-
questing me to come thither, and they would doe what in them lay for me: whereto I consented,
the rather because it was in my way.

The twelfth, the Prince of *Tidore* lent vnto mee, to excuse his hitherto not visiting of mee,
and to acquaint me that he had some store of Clothes, which I should haue. I thanked him, and
requested speedy dispatch. They promised mee to be aboard againe before day. Wherefore to
prevent all treachery, we kept double watch, match in cocke, and all things in readinesse. The
Tydorian Prince being a very resolute and valiant souldier, haue performed many dangerous ex-
ploits vpon the *Flemmings*, and not long since surprized one of their ships (being a Man of War)
plotts vpon the *Flemmings*, and not long since surprized one of their ships (being a Man of War)
hauled her, they answered, *Spaniards*, and your friends, and so made to the shoare with all speed,
three was but small, of fourteen oares on a side. At noone latitude no degrees, fiftie minutes to
the Northward of the Equinoctiall.

The thirteenth, we weighed, the wind Northerly, and a Current setting out of the South-
ward: passing by the Fort, we gave them five peeces, which they required. Diuers *Spaniards*
boarded vs with complements, and the Princes man, saying, that if we had stayed but foure and
twentie houres longer, we should haue had good store of Clothes, but we weathered throughly: they
intended some treachery against vs with their Gallies, Frigates, and Curra. Curra's, which by
sudden departure we thus prevented. Comming about the Wester point of *Tidore*, we had fight
of the foure *Flemmish* ships, riding before their Fort of *Maricao*: one of them in sight of vs,
shot off a peece of Ordnance, as we supposed, to call their people aboard to follow vs. We fired
directly with the Fort of *Ternate* comming neare, shortened our sailes, and lay by the
Lee, and shot off a peece towards the Towne, without sharpe; which they readily answered,
and sent off a Souldier of good fashion, but to as little purpose as those of *Tidore* had done.

But little wind our ships hegged in, and no anchoring, but at night a gale at South, we stood
into the Sea, hauing lost much by the Current of that wee had gotten, finding it to set to the
Southward.

The fourteenth, the wind at South South-west, we steered North North-west, and at noone
had latitude one degree no minutes: we had sight of a Gallie, wherefore we cast about, but find-
ing her to stand away, went our course for *Lapan*.

But before we part further from this Moluccan Coast, I thinke it not amiss, to acquaint the
Reader with a few Notes that I hold worthy obseruance, touching the Trade and state of those
Ilands.

Throughout all the Molucca Ilands, a Bahar of Cloues doth weigh two hundred Catties of
that Country, every Cattie three pound five ounces haberdopoiz, which maketh the Bahar to
be fix hundred fixtie two pound eight ounces haberdopoiz lubrill. For which Bahar of Cloues,
the *Flemmings* by their perpetuall contract (as they terme it) give fiftie Rials of eight. My
selfe for more speedie obtaining of lading, yielded to pay them fixtie Rials of eight the Bahar.
Which increase of price made me so forward to furnish them with death and keeping watch
force ouer-awed the nationals, imprisoning and threatening them with full lading. The most
and good guards along the Sea-Coast, I had in one month procured our full lading. The most
of these Ilands beare store of Cloues. Those of note inhabited, yield one yeare with another as
followeth, that is to say, *Ternate*, one thousand Bahars. *Macbian*, one thousand and fiftie.
Bachian, three hundred. *Moteer*, five hundred, *Meau*, fiftie. *Batia* (*Chi-
na*), five and a thirtieth. The total is three thousand nine hundred and fiftie fues.

Every third yeare is faire more fruitful then either of the former two, and is called the great
Monion. It is lamentable to see the ruines that Cuill Warre hath bred in those Ilands, which as
I vnderstand at my being there, beganne and continued in manner following. The *Portugall* at
his first discouerie of them, found fierce warres betwixt the King of *Ternate*, and the King of *Ty-
dore*, vnder which two Kings all the other Ilands are either subiect or contederated with one of them.

them. The *Portugall* for the better setting of himselfe, tooke part with neither of them, but
politically carrying himselfe kept both to bee his friends, & so fortified vpon the Ilands of
Ternate and *Tidore*, where, to the *Portugalls* great advantage, hauing the whole Trade of Cloues
in their owne hands, they domineered and bore chieftie sway vntill the yeare 1605. wherein the
Flemmings by force displaced them, and planted himselfe: but so weakly and vnprovided for fu-
ture danger, that the next yeare the *Spaniards*, (who whilst the *Portugall* remayned there, was
ordered both by the Pope and King of *Spain* not to meddle with them) came from the *Philip-
pines*, beat the *Flemmings* out of both the Ilands, & took the King of *Ternate* Prisoner, sent him
to the *Philippinas*, and kept *Ternate* and *Tidore* vnder their command. The *Flemming* since
that time hath gotten footing there againe, and at my being there had built him these
Forts, viz.

Vpon the Iland *Ternate*, They haue a Fort called *Malayon*, which hath three Bulwarkes,
and is walled round about. Secondly *Tolouca*, which hath two Bulwarkes, and a round Towre
walled about. Thirdly, *Tacome*, which hath foure Bulwarkes, and is walled about.

Vpon the Iland *Tidore*, *Maricao*, which hath foure Bulwarkes.
Vpon the Iland *Macbian*, First, *Tafafsa*, (the chiefe Towne of this Iland) where they haue
four great Bulwarkes walled about, sixteene Peeces of Ordnance, and about one thousand in-
habitants of the *Naturals*.

Secondly, *Nofakia*, another Towne, where they haue two Forts walled about, and another
Fort vpon the top of a high hill there, which freeth the Roade on the other side, and hath five or
six Peeces of Ordnance.

Thirdly, *Tababela*, a Towne where they haue two Forts walled, eight Peeces of Ordnance,
and the Inhabitants hereof, (as of the former) vnder their command. This place is very strongly
fortified by nature.

Those of *Nofakia* are esteemed no good Souldiers, but are reported to take part alwayes, as
need as they can shew it, with the strongest. But the *Naturals* of *Tababela*, which formerly
dwelt at *Copoa*, are accounted the best Souldiers of the Molucca Ilands, and are deadly Enemies to
the *Spaniards* and *Portugalls*, and as weary now of the *Flemmings*.

In these three Forts vpon *Macbian*, there were at my being here an hundred and twentie
Holland Souldiers, viz. eightie, at *Tafafsa*; thirtie, at *Nofakia*; and ten, at *Tababela*: which Gar-
rison is with the least.

This Iland *Macbian* is the richest of Cloues of all the Molucca Ilands, and according to the
generall report of the Inhabitants, yeeldeth in the yeare of the great Monion about eighteen
hundred Bahars of Cloues.

Vpon the Iland *Bachian*, The *Flemmings* haue one great Fort.

Vpon the Iland *Moteer*, They haue foure Bulwarkes.

These Cuill Warres haue so wasted the *Naturals*, that a great quantitie of Cloues perish, and
not vpon the ground for want of gathering. Neither is there any likelihood of peace to bee
made betwixt them, vntill the one part be utterly rooted out.

Thus leauing them to their warres I will returne to our Traffike, and shew in what manner
we traded with the *Naturals* for Cloues, which for the most part was by bartering and exchang-
ing Cotton cloth of *Cambaya*, and *Coromandel* for Cloues. The sorts requested, and prices that
they yielded.

Candakens of *Barechie*, six Catties of Cloues. *Candakens* *Papang*, or flat, three Catties. *Selas*, or
small *Ballas*, seven & eight *Patra chere* *Malayo*, sixteen. *Dragam chere* *Malayo*, sixteen. *Eue* *Cassas*
twelve. Course of that kind eight. *Betulus*, or *Tancoelos* red, fortie foure and fortie eight. *Saraffas*
chere *Malayo*, fortie eight and fiftie. *Sarampouri*, thirtie. *Chelles*, *Tapiels*, & *Matsafors*, twentie, &
four and twentie. *White Cassas*, or *Tancoelos*, fortie, and foure and fortie. *Dongerius*, the finest,
twelve. Course of that kind, eight and ten. *Ponts* *Cassella*, ten. *Ballachos* the finest, thirtie. *Pa-
ra chere* *Malayo*, of two fathomes eight and ten. Great *Potas*, or long foure fathomes, sixteen
Catties of Cloues. *Pascalas* white, twelve. *Salades* *Tiam*, twelve and fourteen. *Turins* and
Taps *Turins*, one and two. *Pateles*, of two Fathomes, fiftie and sixtie. Those of foure and one
fathome accordingly. Rice eight and twentie pound, a Riall of eight. *Saga*, which is a roote
whereof the *Naturals* make their Bread, and is their chieftest food through the whole Country,
it is sold in bunches, and was worth there one quarter of a Riall of eight a bunch. *Veluets*, *Sa-
tins*, *Taffates*, and other stufles of Silke of *China*, are very well requested here. And this shall
serue for aduice concerning the Molucca Ilands.

The sixteenth, calme till night, then a gale at West: we steered North North-west.

The seventeenth in the morning, wind at East by South, we steered North but after variable,
shifting to all the points of the Compass: towards night we had sight of land to the Northward.
The eighteenth, calme, much raine and contrarie windes, I therefore refused to goe for the
Iland *Saem* which was to the Westward, and there to stay and refresh till the Monion would
permit me to proceed. But instantly the wind came to the West, so that wee stood North and

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North.

The Holland re-
placed in the
Moluccas, 1605.

Four ships of
Holland.

A Current to the Eastward.

North by East. The nineteenth, little wind at West, we continued our course North by East, very much raine and extreme hot.

Doy a great land.

The twentieth, in the morning calme, and a continuall current setting to the East-ward, which we have felt ever since our departure from Ternate. In the after-noon the wind North a gale we stood to the West-ward to stemme the current, in regard of the Northerly winds subject to calmes and the Easterly current, we stood in with a great land called Doy, to rest and refresh our felues.

A great shoale.

The one and twentieth, in the morning we were faire before the said land, neere the North-therne point, being a low point stretching to the Southwards, we stood in East by South wind at North by East: at noone the Skiffe was sent to search out a convenient place to ride in, but the current did set so strong to the East-ward, as that we could not get a head, only discovered a Bay very large, but it had a great shoale lying off the North-therne point half a league into the Sea, and had fixtie fathome two mile off the shoale land, but night approaching we stood off till morning.

The two and twentieth, after Sun-set we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, in the Bay having had (standing in) fittie fixe, thirtie fise, twentie fixe, and twentie foure fathomes.

The three and twentieth, I sent the Skiffe ashore to seeke a convenient place to water in, and to pitch a Tent for the company to defend them from the raine. They found such a place right over against the ship, together with a great tracke of Deare and Swine, but no signe of people: the Countrey full of Trees and abundance of Cokers, Penang, Serie, Palmitas, and Fowle, Phelant and Wood-cocks. I went ashore, the Merchants with mee, a Tent was set vp, our Carpenter made Fal-pits very artificially to take Swine, some fish we tooke amongst the rocks, but cost much labour, one Phelant, and two Wood-pigeons very large bodied like Hens, some of the Companie stayed all night on shore, to looke for the coming of the Swine to the Trap.

A strange Eclipse of the Moone.

The foure and twentieth, we saw very large Swine, but got none. This day about halfe an houre after sun in the morning, the Moone in the full was eclipsed in the strangest manner that ever any of vs had seene, being obscured three houres and an halfe before she recovered her perfect light, which vnto vs was very fearefull.

The five and twentieth, our people searched abroad, brought to the ship great store of Cokers, some Fowles, and heads of Palmita Trees, which boyled with Beefe are as good as Cabbage.

The eight and twentieth, the Companie laboured to get in wood and water. The Skiffe founded about the shoale, and found ten and twelue fathome, at the Norther point neere to it, night and day very much raine.

May 1. 1613.

The nine and twentieth and thirtieth were spent in getting aboard our wood, whereof wee had great store, and as good as our Billets in England.

The first of May, the Skiffe was sent to found to the Wester point into the Bay, and found very deepe water. Landing, they found the ruines of houses, and certaine braffe pannes, so that we were of opinion that the place had lately beene inhabited, but the Inhabitants by the Warres hunted from their home.

Doy at the North-east end of Guallo.

The twelfth, we set saile from this land Doy, being the North-east most land of *Batta Chir* or *Guallo* in the *Malacca*, latitude two degrees, thirtie fise minutes, variation fise degrees, twentie minutes Easterly, having remayned here twentie dayes, being fiseentie one person bound for *Japan*, and at noone foureteen leagues North by East, off the place where wee anchored.

The thirteenth, the shippes way to noone North by East, twentie two leagues. We steered North the wind West, variation fise degrees thirtie minutes Easterly, with a strong current setting to the East-ward, then the wind shifted to the West by South, West North-west, East, then a gale at West by South, and West South-west. The fourteenth, latitude fise degrees twentie fise minutes, way North by East twentie fise leagues, wind West, and Current as afore-said: cleere weather. The fifteenth, latitude fise degrees fise minutes, way North North-east, fourteen leagues current as formerly. The sixteenth, latitude fise degrees ten minutes way North Easterly, twentie fise leagues, wind at South-west, and West raine. The seventeenth, latitude eight degrees twentie two minutes, way North twentie foure leagues wind South-west, but in the morning at East with raine. The eighteenth, latitude nine degrees fise minutes, way North-easterly fiseeen leagues, wind at East and East North-east very cleere weather. The nineteenth, latitude nine degrees fortie one minutes, way North eleuen leagues one third part, wind East and East North-east. The twentieth, latitude ten degrees fortie minutes, way North halfe a point Westerly, twentie leagues wind, East and North-east, with helpe of a current Northerly. The one and twentieth, latitude eleuen degrees thirtie fise minutes, way North North-west twentie leagues, wind North-east East, North North-east, and North-east by East star-board tacke aboard. The two and twentieth, latitude twelue degrees thirtie nine minutes, way North North-west, twentie three leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by East, and North-East.

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The three and twentieth, latitude twelue degrees fise fise minutes, way North by West, fise and two third parts of a league wind, South-east calme. The foure and twentieth, latitude thirteene degrees fortie two minutes, way North North-east eleuen leagues, wind South by East, very smooth water. The five and twentieth, latitude fiteene degrees, twelue minutes, way North thirteene leagues, wind South, we steered North Westerly. Note, that we had those favourable winds in the full of the Moone. The fixe and twentieth, latitude fiteene degrees, fise minutes, way North thirteene leagues, wind South by West South and South South-west a continuall fise gale and smooth water. The seuen and twentieth, way North-east twentie foure leagues, wind at West North-west and West, with Raine, Thunder and Lightning. The eight and twentieth, way North, nine leagues wind West and West North-west. The nine and twentieth, latitude nineteene degrees fiteene minutes, way North, nine leagues wind North-east East, West, West North-west and South, calmes and gulls. The thirteenth, latitude twentie degrees twelue minutes, way North twentie leagues, wind at South-east and East South-east. The one and thirtieth, latitude twentie one degrees, thirtie fise minutes, way North by West, thirtie leagues, wind East, and East by North. Variation fise degrees no minutes Easterly.

The first of June, we passed the Tropick of Cancer, the Sunne in our Zenith we could not observe, way North fortie leagues, wind at South-east, and South-east by East, variation fise degrees twentie fise minutes Easterly.

The second, latitude twentie fise degrees fortie four minutes, way North fortie two leagues, way North-east and South-east by South, making account we should have seene the Islands, *Doy Key* *Angas* about eight of the clocke in the morning, but as yet I see none. About foure a clocke in the after-noon we made land being a very low land bearing North-west about three leagues off, way North-east by East, and having it North North-east, we had fight of the high-land over the low land, there being many little lands to the number of ten or eleuen, with broken ground and treaches reaching our togereth land, so that we could discern no passage to the West-ward. At night we tackt off, tooke in our Top-sayles, and lay close by an our courses all night, wind very much at South South-east, we steered East. The Islands lay along North-east and South-west.

The third, we stood in for the land, being a high land bearing North-west, seeming to vs a most pleasant and fruitful boyle, as any we had seene since our coming out of England, well peopled and great store of Cattle. We purposed to haue come to an anchor about the North-east point, and founding had fixty fathome, had fight of two Boates coming off vnto vs, wee vied all the meanes we could to speake with them, being delirious of a Pilot, and to know the name of the Island, the better to be assured where we were. But the wind was so forcible, as that we could not get in, wherefore we stood away North-west, and had fight of another land bearing West North-west, we steered with it, and from thence had fight of another land, bearing North-east halfe a point Easterly, some fiseen or eight leagues off, and coming under the Wester-most land, we discerned certaine Rockes that lay off the shore about two miles, the one was water, and the Northernmost under-water, and is a great way without the other, the

Sea breaking vpon it. Then the land falleth away to the South-wards round, and neere to the point you shall open a steepe Rocke, that is vpon the West-side of the land, resembling Churing-Croffe. Then we steered North-west with an extreme gale at South by West, and South South-west. When we had opened the Island, and a current setting to the South-ward, at foure of the clocke we tooke in our Top-sayles and haled close vpon a tacke, the land being about fiseen leagues North-west off vs. Way to noone North halfe a point Easterly, fiseeen leagues, way North North-west three quarters Westerly, twentie leagues. At three a clocke in the after-noon we set our courses, the wind at North-west, and North-west by North, we steered North-east some two houres, then calme and raine, variation at Sunne-setting foure degrees fortie minutes Easterly.

The fifth, way West by North foure leagues and an halfe, wind North North-east, wee steered North-west star-board tacke, variation foure degrees fortie two minutes.

The sixth, way North North-west nine leagues, wind East North-east, North-east by North and North-east by East, little wind, much raine, variation foure degrees nineteene minutes Easterly. At night the wind at East and East South-east.

The seuenth, way North-east by North fiseeen leagues, wind at South-east and South South-west, then we steered away North-east by North, supposing to bee off Ternate twentie eight or thirte leagues.

The eight, in the morning we had fight of a high round land bearing East fise leagues off with duce other lands rising in fise or fiseen parts bearing West fise or fise leagues off: having made to this noone twentie two leagues North-east by North, wind at South South-west a tritle gale. Then we haled ouer North-west with another land, which we found to be four in number, being barren and many picket Rockes. Then we steered North by East, the wind at South by West, about three of the clocke we had fight of an Island, with three Hills like three round Sugar-loaves, bearing East by S, fise leagues off. At fise of the clocke we had fight of an Island ri-

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Note.

Variation fise degrees Easterly.
June 1. 1613.

The Isles Des Reys Magas.

Variation foure degrees fortie minutes Easterly.

sing in two parts, bearing North North-east, the Northern end being an high steep vpright point, the land falling away to the Eastward North-east and at face of the clock the body of it did bare East one league and an halfe off. The wind West, we stood off vpon a tacke North North-west.

The ninth, in the morning we departed yesternight North-east and South-west, and at the North-west end of them all, many small rockes and hummockes, and in the Bay to the Eastward of the hummockes we saw an high land bearing East, East by South, and East South-east, which is the Island called *Xima* in the Plats, but called by the Naturals *Majima*, and the Island aforesaid. North North-east, is called *Segue* or *Amasay*: it lyeth East by North, and West by South, with many small Islands and rockes on the Southerne side of them, and is distant from the Island with the steepe point, (which we did see the eight day) South South-west twelve leagues, the wind calmed all night, yet we got to the Northward, as we supposed, by the helpe of a current or tide.

The tenth, by breake of day the outward-most land to the Westward did beare North by East ten leagues off, the wind at North-east by North: at nine, a gale at South, we steered North by West, and had sight of two hummockes without the point. Then we steered North North-west, and looke after tame foure great Fisher-boats aboard, about foure tunnes spece in burthen, they sailed with one saile, which stood like a Skiffe saile, an skuld with foure oars on a side, their oares resting vpon a pinne fastned on the toppe of the Boats side, the head of which pinne was so let into the middle part of the oare, that the oare did hang in his iust poise, so that the labour of the Rower is much lesse, then otherwise it must be, yet doe they make farr greater speed then our people with rowing, and performe their worke standing, as ours doe sitting.

so They told vs that we were before the entrance of *Nangasacke*, that they take the lesse room, and the straightes of *Arima*, North-east by North, and the high hill, bearing North North-east, is vpon the Island called *Vijadeke*, which maketh the straightes of *Arima*, where as the Northern-most end is good riding, and at the South end is the going into *Cochinch*. To this noone we made a North-way fixe leagues. We agreed with two of the Masters of the Fisher-boats (for thirtie Rials of eight a piece in money, and Rice for their food) to Pilot vs into *Firando*; which agreement made, their people entered our shippe, and performed voluntarily their labour, as readily as any of our Mariners. We steered North by West, the Pilots making account to be thirtie leagues off *Firando*. One of the foure Boats which came aboard vs, did belong to the *Portugals* living at *Lingasque*, and were new *Christians*, and thought that our ship had been the *Macau* ship; but finding the contrary, would vpon no intreatie stay, but made hasty tracke againe to aduise them.

p. VI.

Their arrivall at Firando: the Habite, Rites, and Customes of the Iaponians.

June 11. 1619.
The King of
Firando and his
Nephew.

Japans habite.

Japonian manner
of saluta-
tion.

He cleuenth, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to an anchor halfe a league short of *Firando*, the tide to spent that we could not get further in: soone after I was visited by the old King *Feyne Sama*, and his Nephew *Tone Sama*, Governour then of the Island vnder the old King. They were attended with foure Boats or Gallies, rowed some with ten, some with fiftene oars on a side: when they drew neare to the ship, the King commanded all, but the two wherein himselfe and his Nephew were, to fall a sterne, and they only entered the ship, both of them in silke gownes, girt to them with a shirt, and a paire of breeches of flaxen cloth next their bodies; either of them had two Catrins of swords of that Countrey by his side, the one of halfe a yard long, the other about a quarter. They wore no bands, the fore-parts of their heads were shaven to the crowne, and the rest of their haire, which was very long, was gathered together and bound vpon a knob behind, wearing neither Hat nor Turban, but bare-headed. The King was aged about fiftentie two yeeres, his Nephew or Grand-child, that gouerned vnder him, was about two and twentie yeeres old, and either of them had his Gouernour with him, who had command over their flaves, as they appointed him. Their manner and custome in saluting was after their manner, which is this. First, in presence of him whom they are to salute, they put off their shoes (stockings they wear none) and then clapping their right hand within their left, they put them downe towards their knees, and so wagging or mouing of their hands a little to and fro, they stooping, steepe with small Reassembling from the parte saluted, and crye *Angb, Angb*. I led them into my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet for them, and a good consort of Musicks, which much delighted them. They bade me welcome, and promised me kind entertainment. I deliuered our Kings Letters to the King of *Firando*, which he received with great ioy, saying hee would not open it till

till *Angb* came, who could interpret the same vnto him; this *Angb* is in their language a Pilot, being one *William Adams* an English man, who passing with a *Flamingo* through the South-sea, by mutiny and disorder of the Mariners (hee remained in that Countrey, and was seized vpon by the Emperour about twelue yeeres before. The King hauing stayed aboard about an houre and a halfe,ooke his leave: he was no sooner aloofe, but all his nobilitie, attended with a multitude of soldiers, entered the ship, every man of worth brought his present with him, some Venison, some Wilde-fowle, some wilde Boare the largest and fattest that euer any of vs had seene, some Fruits, Fish, &c. They did much admire our shippe, and made as if they had neuer seene it sufficiently. We being pestered with the number of these visitors, I sent to the King, requesting him that order might bee taken to remove them, and to present all inconueniences that might happen. Whereupon hee sent a Guardian, (being a principall man of his owne Guard) with charge to remaine and lye aboard, that no iniury might be offered vnto vs; and caused a proclamation to be made in the Towne to the same effect. The same night, *Henrick Brower*, Captaine of the *Dutch* Factory there, came aboard to visite me, or rather to see what passed betwixt the King and vs. I did write the same day to *Master Adams* (being then at *Edo*, which is very neare three hundred leagues from *Firando*) to let him vnderstand of our arrivall. King *Feyn* sent it away the next day by his Admirall to *Ojacke*, the first Port of note vpon the chiefe Island, and thence by post vnto the Land to *Edo*: guing the Emperour likewise to vnderstand of our being there, and cause thereof.

so The twelfth in the morning, there was brought aboard such abundance of fish, and so cheape as we could desire. We weighed and set sail for the Road. The King sent at the least three foure great Boats or Gallies very well maned, to bring vs into the harbor. I doubted w hat the cause of their coming might be, & was finding off the Skiffe to command them not to come neare the ship but the King being the head-most, weaved with his handkercher, and willed the rest to attend, and him selfe comming aboard, told me that he had commanded them to come to tow our ship in about a point, somewhat dangerous, by reason of the force of the tide, which was such, that hauing a swift gale of wind, yet we could not stemme it, and comming into the eddie, we should haue been set vpon the Rockes. So we sent *Hawfers* aboard them, and they fell to worke. In the meane while the King did breake his sail with me. Being at an anchor, I would haue requited the people for their paines, but the King would not suffer them to take any thing. We anchored before the Towne in five fathome, to neare the shore, that we might talke to the people in their houles. We saluted the Towne with nine peeces of Ordnance, but were not answered, for they haue no Ordnance here, nor any Fort, but Barricados only for small shot. Our ground here was *Ozie*. Diners Noblemen came to bid me welcome, whereof two were of extraordinary account, called *Nobusane* and *Simmadone*, who were very well entertained, and at parting held very great state, one staying aboard whilest the other were landed, together children and chiefe followers in the like manner. There came continually such a world of people aboard, both men and women, as that we were not able to go vpon the decks: round about the ship was furnished with Boats full of people, admiring much the head and sterne of the ship. I gaue leave to diuers

40 women of the better sort to come into my Cabbin, where the Picture of *Venus*, with her sonne *Cupid*, did hang somewhat wantonly set out in a large frame, they thinking it to be our *Ladie* and her Sonne, fell downe and worshipped it, with shewes of great deuotion, telling me in a whispering manner (that some of their owne companions which were not lo, might not heare) that they were *Christians*: whereby we perceived them to be *Christians*, conuenced by the *Portugals* Iulians.

The King came aboard againe, and brought foure chiefe women with him. They were attired in gownes of silke, clapt the one skirt ouer the other, and so girt to them, bare-legged, only a paire of halfe buskins bound with silke riband about their instep: their haire very blacke, and very long, tyed vp in a knot vpon the crowne in a comely manner: their heads no where shauen as the mens were. They were well faced, hunched, and footed; cleare skin and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by art. Of stature low, but very fat: very courteous in behaviour, not ignorant of the respect to be giuen vnto persons according to their fashion. The King requested that none might stay in the Cabbin, saue my selfe and my Linguist, who was borne in *Iapan*, and was brought from *Bartam* in our ship thither, being well skild in the *Malleyan* tongue, wherein he deliuered to mee what the King spake vnto him in the *Iapan* language. The Kings women seemed to be somewhat bashfull, but he willed them to be free. They king diuers songs, and played vpon certain Instruments (whereof one did much resemble our *Lute*, being but lyke it, but longer in the necke, and fretted like ours, but had only foue gut-strings. Their singing with the left hand like ours, very nimbly: but the right hand stneth with an Ivory bone, as we like to play vpon a Citterne with a quill. They delighted themselves much with their musick, keeping time with their hands, and playing and singing by book, prick on line and space, resembling much ours heere. I treated them, and presented them with diuers English commodities: and after some two houres stay they returned. I moued the King for a house, which he readily granted, and took two of the Merchants along with him, and shewed them three or foure

William Adams. His first written by himselfe you haue before.

Ojacke.

A strong tide.

We anchored before the Towne.

Note the dangerous of salutation, even in Popish state, by veneration of Images.

The Kings women, their bashfulness.

Their musick instrumentall and vocall.

Prick-song.

houses, willing them to take their choice, paying the owners as they could agree. The thirteenth, I went ashore, attended upon by the Merchants and Principal Officers, and delivered the Presents to the King, amounting to the value of one hundred and forty pounds, or thereabouts, which he received with very great kindness, seating me and my whole company with hisners sorts of powdered white fowles and fruits: and calling for a standing Cup (which was one of the Presents then delivered him) he caused it to be filled with his Country wine, which is distilled out of Rice, and is as strong as our *Aquavitae*: and albeit the Cuppe held upward of a pint and an halfe, notwithstanding taking the Cup in his hand, he told me he would drinke it all off, for a health to the King of *England*, and so did, my selfe and all his Nobles doing the like. And whereas in the roome where the King was, there was only my kile and the Cape Merchant, (the rest of our Company being in another room) the King commanded his Secretary to goe out unto them, and for that euerie one of them did pledge the health. The King and his Nobles did sit at meat or ffe-legged vpon Mats, after the *Turke* fashion, the Mats richly edged, some with cloath of Gold, some with Veluett, Satten, and Damaske.

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The fourteenth and fifteenth, we spent with giuing of Presents. The sixteenth, I concluded with Capitaine *Andalsee*, Capitaine of the *China* quarter here, for his house, to pay ninetie five Ryals of eight for the Monlon of fixe Months, he to repaire it at present, and we to repaire it hereafter, and alter what we pleased: he to furnishall convenient roomes with Mats according to the fashion of the Country.

This day our ship was so pelted with people, as that I was enforced to fend to the King for a Guardjan to cleare them out, many things being stolne, but I more doubted our owne people, then the Naturals. There came in a *Fleming* in one of the Country boates, which had been at the *land Malma*, where he had sold good store of Pepper, broad Cloth, and Elephants teeth, but would not beacknowen unto vs to haue sold any thing, yet brought nothing backe in the boat with him. But the *Iapones* his watermen told vs the truth, viz. That he had sold good quantitie of goods at a *Mar*: there, and returned barres of siluer, which they kept very trece.

The one and twentieth, the old King came aboard againe, and brought with him diuers women to be frolicke. These women were Actors of Comedies, which passe there from land to land to play, as our Players doe here from Towne to Towne, hauing ffeurall shifts of apparell for the better grace of the matter acted, which for the most part are of Warre, Loue, and such like. These Women are as the slaves of one man, who putteth a price what euerie man shall pay that hath to doe with any of them; more then which he is not to take vpon paine of death, in case the partie injured shall complaine. It is left to his owne discretion to prize her at the first, but rule he cannot after wards, fill he may. Neither doth the price bargain with the *Wench*, but with her Master, whose command he is to obey. The great exort of their Nobilitie trasailing hold it no disgrace to fend for these Panders to their Inn, & do compound with them for the *Wench*, either to fill their drinke at Table (for all men of any ranke here drinke filled to the by Women) or otherwise to haue the vlie of them. When any of these Panders die (though in their life time they were receiued into Company of the best, yet now as vnworthy to rest amongst the worst) they are buried with a bridle made of straw, as you would bridle an Horse, and in the cloathes they died in, are dragged through the streets into the fields, and there cast vpon a dunghill, for dogges and fowles to deuoure.

The twentieth three, we had newes of two *China* Iunkes arrived at *Langasque*, laden with Sugar. By him we vnderstood, that the Emperour of *China* had then lately put to death about three thousand persons, for trading out of the Country, contrary to his Edict: confiscating all their goods: notwithstanding hope of profit enticed these men to put it in hazard, hauing bribed the new *Pungana* and Officers vpon the Sea-coast, which vpon the execution of the former, were placed in their steads.

The twentieth ninth, a Soma or Iunke of the *Flemings* arrived at *Langasque* from *Siam*, laden with Brail wood and Sains of all sorts, wherein it was said that there were *Englishmen*, but proud to be *Flemings*. For that before our coming, they passed generally by the name of *Englishmen*: for our *English* Nation hath been long known by report among them, but much scandalized for the *Portugall* Iesuites, as Pyrites and R. goes vpon the Seas: so that the Naturals have a song which they call the *English Crosonia*, shewing how the *English* doe take the *Spanish* ships, which they (singing) doe as likewise in gesture with their *Cattans* by their faces, with which song and acting, they terrifie and scare their children, as the *French* sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord *Talbot*.

The first of Iuly, two of our Company happened to quarrell the one with the other, and were very likely to haue gone into the field, to the ending of vs all. For it is a custome here, that whoeuer drawes a weapon in anger, altho he doe no harme therewith, hee is presently cut in peeces: and doing but small hurt, not only themselves are to be executed, but their whole generation.

The second day, I went ashore to keep house in *Firado*, the house hold consisting of twenty fix persons. Note, that at our coming we found Broad-shoes of fifteen or sixteen pound a cloth

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to be sold by the *Dutch* in *Firado*, for fortie Ryals of eight, which is eight pound sterling the Mat, which Mat is two yards and a quarter: but delious to keep vp the price of our cloath, and hearing that the *Dutch* had great store there, I had conference with *Bromer*, Capitaine of their Factorie to this effect: That betwixt vs we should set rates vpon such clothes as both of vs had, and neither of vs in any wise to sell vnder the price agreed vpon: for performance whereof, I proffered to enter into bond to him. In the morning he seemed to approue hereof, but ere night sent word that he disliked it, excusing himselfe that he had no warrant from his Masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of Cloath to diuers Ilands, rating them at base prizes, viz. at twentie, eighteen and sixteen Ryals the Mat, that he might procure the more speedie dispatch of his owne, and glt the place before the coming of ours.

Bentam Pepper vngarbled, which cost at *Bentam* one Riall three quarters of eight the sacke, was worth here at our coming tenne Tayes the Peccull, which is one hundred Cattees, making one hundred thirtie pound *English* subtrill. A Taye is five shillings sterling with them. A Riall of eight is worth there in ordinary payment but seven Malle, which is three shillings fixe pence sterling. For a Malle is a Riall of Plate.

Tinne the Peccull, thirtie Tayes: Elephants Teeth the Peccull eighte Tayes: Iron cast Peeces the Peccull fixe Tayes: Powder the Peccull twentie three Tayes. Also *Sacutina* the Cattee fixe Tayes: Fowling Peeces the pece twentie Tayes: Callico and such like Commodities of *Choremandel*, and of the *Guzerater*, as they are in good use.

The twentieth, the King of the Iland *Goto*, now farre from *Firado* came to visit King *Foyne*, saying, that he had heard of an excellent *English* ship arrived in his Dominions, which he greatly desired to see, and goe aboard of. King *Foyne* intreated me that he might be permitted, for that hee was an especial friend of his. So he was well entertained aboard, banqueted, and had diuers Peeces shot off at his departure, which he very kindly accepted, and told me, that hee should bee right glad to lise to see some of our Nation to come to his Iland, whither they should be heartely welcome.

The eighth, three *Iapones* were executed, viz. two men and one woman: the cause this, The woman none of the honestest (her husband being trauelled from home) had appointed these two their severall houres to repaire unto her. The latter man not knowing of the former, and thinking the time too long, coming in before the houre appointed, found the first man with her already, and enraged thereat, he whipt out his Cattan, and wounded both of them very forely, hauing very neere hewne the *Chine* of the mans backe in two. But as well as he might hee cleared himselfe of the woman, and recouering his Cattan, wounded the other. The first taking notice of the fray, forth with seized vpon them, led them aside, and acquainted King *Foyne* therewith, and sent to know his pleasure, (for according to his will, the partie is executed) who presently gaue order that they should cut off their heads: which done, euerie man that lusted (as very many did) came to trie the sharpnesse of their Cattans vpon the Corpses, but before they left off, they had hewne them all three into peeces as small as a mans hand, and yet: notwithstanding did not then goe ouer, but placing the peeces one vpon another, would try how many of them they could strike through at a blow: and the peeces are left to the Fowles to deuoure.

The tenth, three more were executed as the former, for stealing of a woman from *Firado*, and filling her at *Langasque* long since, two of them were brethren, and the other a sharer with them. When any are to be executed, they are led out of the Towne in this manner: There goeth first one with a Pick-axe, next followeth another with a houell for to make his graue (if that bee permitted him) the third man beareth a small Table whereon is written the parties offence, which table is afterwards set vp vpon a Post on the graue where he is buried. The fourth is the partie to be executed, his hands bound behind him with a silken cord, hauing a hide Banner of Paper (much resembling our wind-vanes) whereon is likewise written his offence. The executioner followeth next, with his Cattan by his side, holding in his hand the cord wherewith the offenders is bound. On either side of the executioner goeth a soldier with his Pike, the head thereof resting on the shoulder of the partie appointed to suffer, to scare him from attempting to escape. In this very manner I saw one led to execution, who went so reluctantly and without all appearance of feare of death, that I could not but much admire him, neuer hauing seen the like in *Christendome*. The offence for which he suffered was for stealing of a sacke of Rice (of the value of two shillings fixe pence, from his neighbour, whose house was then on fire).

The eleventh, there arrived at *Langasque* three *China* Iunkes laden with Silkes. The nineteenth, the old King *Foyne*, intreated me for a peeces of *Poldauis*, which I sent him; hee caused it for presently to be made into Coates, which hee (showing) standing that hee was a King, and of that pedigree, and famed to be the worthiest soldier of all *Iapan*, for his valour and keuice in the Co-gate warres) did weare next his skinn, and some part thereof was made into handkerchieues, which hee daily vied.

The twentieth, a Soma or Iunke coming from *Cochinchina* arrived at *Langasque*, laden with Silkes, and Benjamin, excellent deere and rich. The nine and twentieth, *M. Adams* arrived at *Firado*, hauing been seuenteen dayes on the way coming from *Sorango*, we hauing staied

English broad clothes sold by the *Dutch* in *Iapan*.

King of *Goto*.

The King of *Goto* desirous that our men would come into his Kingdom.

Iapones manner of Execution.

To steale an others slave, death. The manner of their going to execution.

Poldauis worn by the King.

William Adams cometh vnto them. The first Carrier for not making bulle with the letters to Adams, was banished by the angry King

An intention of the Spaniards to discover to the Northward of Japan.

August.

ed here for his coming fortie eight dayes. After I had friendly entertained him, I confered with him in the presence of the Merchants, touching the inuengement hee could giue of trade in these parts. He answered, that it was not alwaies alike, but sometimes better, sometimes worse, yet doubted not but we should doe as well as others; giuing admirable commendations of the Country, as much affected thereunto.

The church in the morning, one of the young Kings Gouvernours was by his order cut into pieces in the street, for being (as it was thought) too familiar with his mother. A flue of his died with him, for endeavouring to defend his Master. This day there came to *Firando* certaine Spaniards of *Adams* his acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for *Bantam*. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish Gentleman their General, who about a year past, was 10 come (upon the King of *Spaines* charge) from *Nova Hispania*, to discover to the Northward of Japan, and arriving at *Edo*, attending the Monlon to goe to the Northward, which begineth in the end of May, his Company (whereof there were two) mutinied against him, every man taking his owne way, leaving the ship vtterly unmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keepe them out of my ship.

The third, King *Fome* sent to know of what Bulk our Kings Present to the Emperour was, also what number of people I would take with me, for that he would provide accordingly for my going vp in good fashion both for Barke, Horses, and Pallanchins.

This day, I caused the Presents to be forced that were to be giuen to the Emperour, and to those of office and esteem about him.

To <i>Ogobosama</i> , the Emperour, to the value of	87	7	6
To <i>Shogunama</i> , the Emperours Sonne	43	15	0
To <i>Codabedona</i> , the Emperours Secreterie	15	12	6
To <i>Sadadadona</i> , the Emperours Sonnes Secreterie	14	03	4
To <i>Iaccara Iaga</i> , Iudge of <i>Mexico</i>	04	10	0
To <i>Fuogo dona</i> , Admirall of <i>Orange</i>	03	10	0
To <i>Goto Shocanero</i> , the Mintmaster	11	00	0
Totall	180	03	10

§. VII.

Captaine Saris his Journey to the Court of the Iaponian Emperour, and observations there, and by the way.

The old King sent 100,000 *Tayes* of Japan money to him to spend by the way. A *Tayis* was his half our money. My feeling forward now, did the Emperours Court. *Fuacate* a large and faire Towne.

Women with their household that live in boats vpon the water. Women-diuers

He fuenth of August, King *Fome* furnished me with a proper Galley of his own rowed with twentie five oares on a side, and fixtie men, which I did fit vp in a verie comely manner, with walle clothes, enignes, and all other necessaries, and having taken my leaue of the King, I went and remained aboard the ship, to let all things in order before my departure. Which done, and remembrances left with the Master and Cape Merchant, for the well gouerning of the ship and house alioare during my absence, taking with mee ten *English*, and nine others, besides the former fixtie, which were only to attend the Galley, I departed from *Firando* towards the Emperours Court. Wee were rowed through, and amongst diuers Islands, all which, or the most part of them, were well inhabited, and diuers proper Townes built vpon them; whereof one called *Fuacate*, hath a very strong Cattle, built of free stone, but no Ordnance nor Souldiers therein. It hath a ditch about fise fathome deepe, and twice as broad round about it, with a draw bridge, kept all in very good repair. I did land & dine there in the Towne, the tyde and wind fo strong against vs, that we could not passe. The Towne seemed to be as great as *London* is within the wals, very wel built, and euens as you may see from the one end of the streete to the other. The place exceedingly peopled, very Ciuill and courteous, only that at our landing and being here in *Fuacate*, and so through the whole Country, whither soeuer we came, the boyes, children, and wexler sort of idle people, would gather about and follow along after vs, crying, *Core, Core, Core, Core, Hare*, that is to say, *Ten Coreians with selfe hearts*: wondering, hopping, hollowing, and making such a noise about vs, that we could scarcely heare one another speake, sometimes throwing stones at vs (but that not in many Townes) yet the clamour and crying after vs was euerie where alike, none reproouing them for it. The belief aliance that I can giue those who hereafter shall arrive there, is that they passe on without regarding those idle rablematters, and in so doing, they shall find their eares onely troubled with the noise. All along this Coast, and fo vp to *Ozaca*, we found women diuers, that liued with their household and family in boats vpon the water, as in *Holland* they doe the like. These women would catch fish by diuing, which by nee and lines they miled, and that in eight fathome depth: their eyes by continuall diuing doe grow as red as blood, whereby you may know a diuing woman from all other women.

We were two daies rowing from *Firando* to *Fuacate*: about eight or tenne leagues on this side the

the Straights of *Xemuna-seque*, we found a great Towne, where there lay in a Docke, a lunccke of eight hundred or a thousand Tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keepe her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which decketh *Nobis Arke* vnto vs. The Naturals told vs, that the Ierues to transport Ioulishers into any one of the Islands, if rebellion or warre should happen.

We found nothing extraordinary after we had passed the Straights of *Xemuna-seque*, vntill we came vnto *Ofaca*, where we arrived the twenty fourth day of August: our *Galley* could not come neere the Towne by fixe miles, where another smaller Vessel met vs, wherein came the good man or Host of the house where we lay in *Ofaca*, and brought a banquet widith him of wine and salt fruits to entertaine me. The boat having a faine made to the mast-head, was drawn by men, as our Barkes are from *London* Westward. We found *Ofaca* to be a very great Towne; as great as *London* within the wals, with many faire Timber bridges of a great height, serving to passe over a stuer there as wide as the *Thames* at *London*. Some faire houses we found there, but not many. It is one of the chiefe Sea-ports of all *Iapan*; hauing a Cattle in it, manellous large and strong, with very deepe trenches about it, and many draw bridges, with gates plated with yron. The Cattle is built all of Free-stone, with Bulwarks and Battlements, with loope holes for small shot and arrows, and diuers passages for to cast stones vpon the assailants. The walls are at the least fixe or seuen yardes thicke, all (as I said) of Free-stone, without any filling in the inward part with trumpey, as they reported vnto me. The stones are great, of an excellent quarry, and are so exactly fitted to the place where they are laid, that no mortar is used, but only earth cast betweene to fill vp voyd creusings if any be. In this Cattle did dwell at our being there, the gouernor of *Tuqasamma*, who being an infant at the time of his Fathers decease, was left to the gouernment and education of fourte, whereof *Ogobosama*, the now Emperour was one and chiefe. The other three deitrous of Soueraintie each on his particular, and reuelled by *Ogobosama*, were for their owne safetie forced to take vp Armes, wherein fortune fauouring *Ogobosama* at the mall in field, two of them being slaine, the third was glad to fave himself by flight. He being Conquerour, accounted that which formerly (as it is thought) hee neuer dream'd of, and pronounced himselfe Emperour, and seizing vpon the true heire, married him vnto his daughter, as the onely meanes to wraoke a perfect reconciliation, confining the young married couple to lue within this Cattle of *Ofaca*, attended onely with such as had been brought vp from their cradles by *Ogobosama*, not knowing any other Father (as it were) then him: so that by their intelligence he could at all times vnderstand what passed there, and accordingly rule him.

Right ouer against *Ofaca*, on the other side of the Riuer, lieth another great Towne called *Sacag*, but not so bigge as *Ofaca*, yet is it a Towne of great Trade for all the Islands thereabout. The eight and twentieth day at night, having left musters and prices of our Commodities with our Host, we parted from *Ofaca* by Barke towards *Fubimi*, where we arrived.

The nine and twentieth at night we found here a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers maintained by the Emperour, to keepe *Misao* and *Ofaca* in subiection. The Garrison is shifted euery three years, which change happened to be at our being there, so that we saw the old Bands march away, and the new enter, in most Souldier-like manner, marching five abreast, and to euery ten files an Officer which is called a Captaine of fittie, who kept them continually in verie good order.

First, their throe, *uzi*, Calicures, (for Muskets they haue none, neither will they vie any) then followed Pike, next Swords, or Catans and Targets, then Bowes and Arrows; next shot, weapons resembling a *Wedge*-hook called *Hagga-ho-ho*, then Calicures againe, and so as formerly, without any Enginere Colours: neyther had they any Drummes or other Musick Instruments for Warre. The first file of the Catans and Targets had sluer scarfs of gold. The Companies consisted of diuers numbers, some five hundred, some three hundred, some one hundred and fittie men. In the midst of euery Company were three Horses very richly trapped, and furnished with Sables, well fit out, some couered with costly Furres, some with Velvet, some with Stammer broad-cloth, euery Horse had three flues to attend him, ledde with silken halsters, their eyes couered with lether couers. After euery Troope followed the Captaine on Horse-backe, his bed and other necessaries were laid vpon his owne Horse, equally pealed on either side, ouer the same was spread a couering of redde felt of *Chinia*, whereupon the Captaine did sit crosse-legged, as if hee had fate betwixt a couple of panners: and to those that were ancient or otherwise weake-backe, they had a staffe artificially fixed vnto the Pannell, that the Rider might rest himselfe, and leane backward against it, as if he were sitting in a chaire. The Captaine Generall of this Garrison we met two dayes after we had met his first troop, (hauing still in the meane-time met with some of these Companies as we passed along, sometimes one league, sometimes two leagues distant from one another.) Hee marched in very great state, beyond that the others did, (for the second Troope was more richly fit out in their armes then the first: and the third then the second, and so full euery one better then other, vntill it came vnto this the last and best of all.) He hunted and hawked all the way, and hauing his owne Hounds and Hawkes along with him, the Hawkes being hooded and lured as

Straights of *Xemuna-seque*, a lunccke of eight hundred or a thousand Tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keepe her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which decketh *Nobis Arke* vnto vs. The Naturals told vs, that the Ierues to transport Ioulishers into any one of the Islands, if rebellion or warre should happen.

Ofaca.

Description of *Ofaca*.

A faire and strong Cattle.

The son of *Tuqasamma*, the now Emperour was one and chiefe. The other three deitrous of Soueraintie each on his particular, and reuelled by *Ogobosama*, were for their owne safetie forced to take vp Armes, wherein fortune fauouring *Ogobosama* at the mall in field, two of them being slaine, the third was glad to fave himself by flight.

Fubimi.

Garrisons changed euery three years. Their March and Weapons.

No Enginere nor Drummes or other Musick.

Strange riding.

ours

Their Horses.

Their good order.

The Dyer in Japan.

Store of provision.

No Butter nor Milk eaten.

Water drinke warme.

A Pike, signe of authority.

Surunga.

High-ways.

Fetquis Japon Temples, Priests.

Croffes and crucifying.

Surunga a very great Citie.

ours are. His Horses for his owne Saddle being fixe in number, richly trapped, Their Horses are not tall, but of the size of our milking Nags, short and well trust, small headed and very full of mettle, in my opinion, farre exceeding the *Spanish* Lennet in pride and stomacke. He had his *Pallankin* carried before him, the inside of Crimson Velvet, and fixe men appointed to carrie it, two at a time.

Such good order was taken for the passing and providing for of these three thousand Soldiers, that no man either trauelling or indubbing vpon the way where they lodged, was any way injured by them, but cheerfully entertained them as other their guests, because they paid for what theyooke, as all other men did. Every Towne and Village vpon the way being well fitted with Cookes and Victualling houses, where they might at an instant haue what they need. I did, and dyer themselves from a pennie *Englisch* meale, to two shillings a meale.

The Dyer dyed generally through the Country, is Rice of diuers sorts, one better then other (as of our Wheate and Corne here) the whitest accounted the best, which they vse in bread of Bread, Fish, flesh and salted, some pickled Herbes, Beanes, Raddishes and other Rootes salted and pickled, Wild-fowle, Ducke, Mallard, Teale, Geese, Pheasant, Partridge, Quale, and diuers others, which they doe powder and put vp in pickle, of Hens they haue great store, as likewise of Deere both red and fallow: wild Bores, Hares, Goates, Kine, &c. of Chee they haue plenty, Butter they make none, neither will they cate any Milke, because they hold it to be as bloud, nor tame beasts.

Of tame Swine and Pigs they haue great abundance. Wheate they haue as good as any of ours, being red. They plow both with Oxen and Horses as wee doe here. At our being there, we bought Hens and Pheasants of the best for three pence a piece. Pigs very fat and large twelue pence a piece, a fat Hogge five shillings. A good Beefe, such as our *Welsh* Runts, at sixteen shillings, a Goate three shillings, Rice a halfe-pennie the pound. The ordinarie drinke of the common people is water, which with their meate they drinke warme, holding it to be a soveraigne remedie against Wormes in the maw: other drinckes they haue none, but what is distilled out of Rice, which is almost as strong as our *Aquauiua*, and in colour like to Canarie Wine, and is not deare. Yet when they haue drayne off the best and strongest, they wring out of it a smaller and slighter drinke, serving the power of it to people, which through want cannot reach to the better.

The thirdeth we were furnished with nineteen Horses at the Emperours charge, to carrie vpon our Kings presents, and those that attended me to *Surunga*.

I had a *Pallankin* appointed for me, and a spare Horse led by, to ride when I pleased, very well set out. Sixe men appointed to carrie my *Pallankin* in plaine and euen ground. But where the Country grew hilly, ten men were allowed me thereto. The Guardian whom King *Foya* lent along with vs, did from time to time and place to place by warrant, take vp these men and Horses to serue our turnes, as the Post-masters doe here in *England*: as also lodging at night. According to the custome of the Country, I had a haue appointed to runne with a Pike before me.

Thus we trauelled vntill the sixth of September, before we got to *Surunga*, each day fifteene or sixteen leagues, of three miles to a league as we ghesse it. The way for the most part is wonderfull euen, and where it meeteth with Mountains, passage is cut through. This way is the mayne Roade of all this Country, and is for the most part sandie and grauell: it is diuided into leagues, and at euery league end are two small hills, viz. of either side of the way one, and vpon euery one of them a faire Pine-tree, trimmed round in fashion of an Arber. These markes are placed vpon the way to the end, that the Hacknie men, and those which let out Horses to hire, should not make men pay more then their due, which is about three pence a league. The Roade is exceedingly trauelled, full of people, euer and anon you meet with Farmes and Country houses, with Villages, and often with great Townes, with Fennes our fresh Ruers, and many *Fetquis* or *Fetquis* which are their Temples, situate in Groves and most pleasant places for delight, of the whole Country. The Priests that tend thereupon dwelling about the same, as our Priests in old time planted themselves here in *England*. When we approached any Towne, we saw Croffes with the dead bodies of those who had been crucified thereupon. For crucifying is here an ordinarie punishment for most Malefactors. Comming neere *Surunga*, where the Emperours Court is, we were vpon a Scaffold with the heads of diuers (which had been executed) placed thereupon, and by it were diuers Croffes with the dead Corpses of those which had been executed, remayning fill vpon them, and the pieces of others, which after their Executions had beene hewn againe and againe by the trial of others *Cattans*. All which caused a most vsuourie passage to vs, that to enter into *Surunga*, must needs passe by them. This Citie of *Surunga* is full as bigge as *London*, with all the Suburbs. The Handicrafts men were found dwelling in the outward parts and skirts of the Towne, because those that are of the better sort, dwell in the inward part of the Citie, and will not be annoyed with the rapping, knocking, and other disturbance that Artificers cannot be without.

As soon as we were felde in our lodging in *Surunga*, I sent Master *Adams* to the Court, to let the Secretarie vnderstand of my comming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might be. Word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two I should haue a celloe to the Emperour.

The

The Caffe & Court of the Emperour.

The seventh was spent in fitting vp of the presents, and providing little Tables of slit deale of that Country (which I smelt verie sweet) to carrie them vpon according to the custome.

The eighth, I was carryed in my *Pallankin* to the Caffe of *Surunga* (where the Emperour keeps his Court) and was attended with my Merchants and others carrying the presents before me. Being entered the Caffe, I passed three draw bridges, euery of which had a corps of Guard, and comming vp a paire of faire faire and large stone staires, I was met by two: gawne comely men the one them *Codake dano*, the Emperours Secretarie; and the other *Fuyo dano*, the Admirall, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat downe cross-legged vpon the Mats. Anon after they lead mee betwixt them into the Chamber of Prefence, where was the Emperours Chaire of State, to which they wilhed me to doe reverence. It was of stich of Gold, about six feet high, very richly set forth for backe and sides, but had no Canopie over head. Then they returned backe againe to the place where before they did sit, where hauing stayed about the quarter of an houre, word was brought, that the Emperour was come forth. Then they rose vp and led me betwixt them vnto the doore of the roome where the Emperour was, making signes to me that I should enter in there, but durst not looke in themselves. The presents that from our King to the Emperour, as also those which (according to the custome of the Country) I gaue vnto the Emperour, as from my selfe, were placed in the said roome vpon the Mats very orderly, before the Emperour came into it. Comming to the Emperour, according to our *Englisch* Complement, I deliuered our Kings Letter vnto his Maiesty, who took it in his hand, and put it vp towards his fore-head, and commanded his Interpreter, who face a good distance from him behind, to will Master *Adams* to tell me that I was welcome from a wearisome iourney, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and then his Answer should be ready for our King. Then he asked whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at *Edo*. I answered, I did. The Emperour said that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and Horses for the Iourney and against my returne his Letters should be ready for our King. So taking my leaue of the Emperour, and comming to the doore where I had left the Secretarie and Admirall, I found them there ready to conduct me to the staires head where formerly they had met mee, and there I took my *Pallankin*, and with my Attendants returned to my lodging.

The ninth, I went to deliuer the Secretarie his present, which in no wise hee would receive, but he heartily thanked me, saying, that the Emperour had commanded the contrary, and that it were as much as his life if he should take any gift. But hee tooke five pound of *Alot Secarina* to vse for his health. I deliuered the Articles of priuiledge dischey to *Codake dano* being in number fourteen. He requested to haue them abridged and made as short as might bee, for that the people of *Japon* affect breuitie.

The tenth, the Articles so abridged, were sent by Master *Adams* to the Secretarie, who shewed them to the Emperour, and hee approved thereof, denying one only, which was, That whereas the *Changis* had refused to trade with the *Englisch*, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our Nation might haue leaue and libertie to bring them into *Japon*, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperour answered, that seeing they deuyed vs Trade, we might take them. But vpon conference with the Lieger of *Chono*, the Emperours mind was changed, and would not allow of that Article. The rest were passed vnder his great Seale, which is not of Waxe (as ours) but stamped like a print and coloured red.

The eleventh, the Present appointed for the Mint-master, was deliuered him, which he took thankfully, and returned to me two *Japonian* Gownes of Taffata, quilted with silke Cotton.

The twelfth, Master *Adams* was sent to the Mint-master (being the Emperours Merchant, and hauing charge of his Mint and readie monies, a man of very great esteeme with the Emperour, and one that hath vowed that whensoever the Emperour shall dye, he will cut out his own guts and dye with him.) Master *Adams* carryed vnto him the particular prices of our *Englisch* Commodities (as before is specified.)

About none the same day, wee departed for *Edo*, to the Emperours sonne, being furnished with horse and men by the Emperour, as formerly.

The Country betwixt *Surunga* and *Edo* is well inhabited. We saw many *Fetquis* or Temples as we passed, and amongst others one Image of especiall note, called *Dabui*, made of Copper, being hollow within, but of a very substantiall thickness. It was in height, as wee ghesse, from the ground about one and twenty or two and twenty foot in the likeness of a man kneeling vpon the ground, with his buttocks resting on his heeles, his armes of wonderfull length, and the whole bodie disproportionable, he is fashioned wearing of a Gowne. This Image is much reuerenced by Trauellers as they passe there. Some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hope and hallowed, which made an exceeding great noyse. We found many *Cherchers* and Markes made vpon it by Passengers, whom some of my Followers imitated, and made theirs in like manner. It standeth in the maine Roade of the Pilgrimage to *Tencheday*, which is much frequented for night and day, rich and poore, are coming and going to visit *Tencheday*. Master *Adams* told me that hee had bene at the *Fetquis* or Temple dedicated to this *Tencheday*, to whom they make this deuout pilgrimage; and as he reported, there is monthly one of the fairest Virgins of the

Japonians affect breuitie.

The Copie of which hee brought home and gave mee which after followeth.

The description of one of our Image called *Dabui*.Pilgrimage to *Tencheday*.

Virgins dedi-
cated to an
Idoll.

We arrived at
Edoe.

the whole country brought in so that *Fetogami* and these she fits all alone in a room neatly kept, in a very sober manner; and at certain times, this *Tenabady* (which is thought to be the Dandel) appeareth unto her, and having knowen her carnally, leaveth with her at his departure certain skales, like unto the skales of fishes: what questions here is willed by the *Bonaces*, or Priests of that *Fetogami* to make, *Tenabady* rejoyces; and every moneth a fresh Virgin is taken; but what becomes of the old, *Mates Adami* himselfe did not know.

The fourteenth, we arrived at *Edoe*, a Citie much greater then *Surunga*, farre fairer building, and made a very glorious appearance unto us; the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles richly gilded, the posts of their doores gilded and varnished: Glasse-windowes they have none, but great windowes of board, opening in leakes, well set out with painting, as in *Holland* there is a great window which goeth through the chief street of the Towne; underneath this *City* run- Ca water which goeth through the chief street of the Towne; underneath this *City* run- Ca water; at every fifth pace there is a Well-head, fitted very substantially of free-stone, with buckets for the neighbours to fetch water; and for danger of fire. This street is as broad as any of our streets in *England*.

The fifteenth I gave the Kings Secretary, *Sadda-dona*, to understand of my arrival, requesting him to let the King know thereof.

The sixteenth, I had access to the King, and delivered him the Presents from our King, as also certain from my selfe (according to the custome of the Country.) The King kept his Court in the Citie of *Edoe*, which is much fairer and stronger then that of *Surunga*, hee was better guarded and attended upon, then the Emperour his Father. *Sadda-dona* the Kings Secretary, is father to *Codake-dona* the Emperours Secretary, whose yeeres affording better experience, he is therefore appointed to have the government and direction of the young King, who (at our be- ing there) we esteemed to be aged about two and forty yeeres.

My entertainment and access to the King here, was much like to the former at *Surunga* with the Emperour: he accepted very kindly our Kings Letters and Presents, bidding me welcome, and wishing me to refresh my selfe, and his Letters and Presents to our King should be made ready with all speed.

The nineteenth, I delivered *Sadda-dona* his Presents. This day two and thirtie men being commanded to a certaine house, for no paying their debts, and being in the stocks within the house, the house in the night-time by casualtie asered, and they were all burnt to death.

Towards evening the King sent two varnished Armourers for a Present to our King. Hee sent likewise a Tatch or long sword, which none may weare there but fouldiers of the belt rank) and a Waggon for a present to my selfe. From *Edoe* to the Northernmost part of *Japan*, it is esteemed two and twenty dayes journey by horse, little more or lesse.

The one and twentieth, we parted by Boat from *Edoe* to *Oringawa*, a Towne upon the sea side. From whence we arrived at *Surunga* the nine and twentieth day, and there remained for the Emperours Letters and Presents to our King.

The eight of October, I received the Emperours Letters, directed to our Soueraigne Lord *Jamer*, King of Great Britaine, the true Copie whereof is as followeth.

To the King of Great Britaine.

Y^{our} Maiesties kind Letter sent me by your servant Captaine John Satis, (who is the first that I have knowen to arrive in any part of my Dominions) I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power, as having three plentiful and mighty Kingdomes under your powerful command. I acknowledge your Maiesties great bounty, in sending me so undeserved a Present of many rare things, such as my Land affordeth not, neither have I ever before seen: Which I receive not as from a stranger, but as from your Maiesty, whom I esteeme as my selfe. Desiring the continuance of Friendship with your Highnesse: And that it may stand with your good liking, to send your Subjects to any part or Port of my Dominions, where they shall bee most heartily welcome, applauding much their worknesse in the admirable knowledge of Navigation, having with much facilitie discovered a Country so remote, being so whit amazed with the distance of so mightie a Gulf, nor greatness of such infinite clouds and fumes, from prosecuting honorable enterprises, of Discoveries and Merchandizing: wherein they shall find me to further them, according to their desire. I returne unto your Maiesties (as I have taken of my love (by your said Subject) desiring you to accept thereof, as from him that much rejoiceth in your Friendship. And whereas your Maiesties Subject hath desired certaine privileges for Trade, and setting of a Factory in my Dominions, I have not only granted what they demanded, but have confirmed the same unto them under my Broad-seale, for better establishing thereof. From my Castle in *Surunga*, this fourth day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth yeere of our Day, according to our Com- pation. Resting your Maiesties Friend. The highest Commander in this Kingdome of *Japan*.

Subscribed.

Minna, Moutonno, vel. ye. ye.

I also receive I the said Priviledges for Trade in *Japan*: the Original was left with Master Cocke: the copie thereof with the Seale in clacke here followeth. The translation whereof (as near to the Original as may be) followeth.

pared them with *China* bookes, and they seemed to me quite different, yet not letters to compound words by spelling, as ours; but words expressed in their own characters, as the *Chinese* vie, and the *brutue* manifesteth. I take them characters peculiar to *Japan*. Take them thou Reader, and judge better, if thou canst.

The Iapanian Charter, the lines to be read downwards, beginning at the right hand.

This last is the Seale.

Priviledges granted by OGO SHOSAMA, Emperour of Iapan, unto the Right Worſhipfull Sir THOMAS SMITH, Knight, Governour, and others the Honorable and Worſhipfull Adventurers to the Eaſt-Indies.

- 1 Item, We give free licence to the ſubiects of the King of Great Brittain, viz. Sir THOMAS SMITH, Governour, and Company of the Eaſt-Indian Merchants and Adventurers, for ever ſafely to come into any of our Ports of our Empire of Iapan, with their ſhippes and merchandizes, without any hinderance to them or their goods. And to abide, buy, ſell, and barter according to their own manner, with all Nations: to tarry here as long as they thinke good, and to depart at their pleaſure.
- 2 Item, Wee grant unto them freedom of Cuſtome, for all ſuch merchandizes as either now they have brought, or hereafter ſhall bring into our Kingdomes, or ſhall from hence tranſport to any ſtraine part. And doe authorize thoſe ſhips that hereafter ſhall arrive, and come from England, to proceed to preſent ſale of their commodities, without further coming or ſending up to our Court.
- 3 Item, If any of their ſhippes ſhall happen to be in danger of ſhipwracke, Wee will Our ſubiects: not only to aſſiſt them, but that ſuch part of ſhippe and goods as ſhall be ſaved, be returned to their Captaine, or Cape Merchant, or their aſſignes. And that they ſhall or may build one houſe or more for themſelves in any part of Our Empire, where they ſhall thinke fitteſt. And at their departure to make ſale thereof at their pleaſure.
- 4 Item, If any of the English Merchants or other ſhall depart this life, within our Dominions, the goods of the deſceſſed ſhall remaine at the diſpoſe of the Cape Merchant. And that all offences committed by them, ſhall be puniſhed by the ſaid Cape Merchant, according to his diſcretion: and Our Lawes to be hold of their perſons or goods.
- 5 Item, Wee will that yee Our ſubiects trading with them for any of their commodities, pay them for the ſame, according to agreement, without delay, or returne of their wares againe unto them.
- 6 Item, For ſuch commodities as they have now brought, or ſhall hereafter bring, fitting for Our ſervice and proper uſe: Wee will that no arrears be made thereof, but that the price be made with the Cape Merchant, according as they may ſell to others, and preſent payment upon the delivery of the goods.
- 7 Item, If in diſconformity of other Countries for Trade, and returne of their ſhippes, they ſhall need men or victuals, Wee will that yee Our ſubiects furniſh them for their money, as their need ſhall require.
- 8 And that without other Paſſe-port, they ſhall and may ſet out upon the diſcovery of Yeado, or any other part, in or about our Empire.

The diſcovery of Yeado, to the northward, * Or Raigee.

From our Cattle in *Surunga*, this firſt day of the ninth moneth, and in the eighteenth yeere of Our * Day, according to Our Computacion. Sealed with our Broad-ſeale, &c.

Under-written:

Minna. Mottono.

yei. yei. yei.

Oringew is the beſt haven or road for vs.

- A Spaniſh Embaſſador from the Philipinas.

Note that *Oringew* is a very good harbour for ſhipping, where ſhips may ride as ſafely as in the River of *Thames* before *London*, and the paſſage thereto by Sea very ſafe and good: ſo that it will be much better for our ſhips to ſaile thither, then to *Firando*, in reſpect that *Oringew* is upon the maine Iſland, and is diſtant from *Edo* (the chiefe City) but fourteen or fifteene leagues. The place is not ſo well replenished with victuall and ſheſh-meat, as *Firando* is, which want only excepted, *Oringew* is for all other matters to be preferred before *Firando*.

At my returne to *Surunga*, I found a Spaniſh Embaſſador arrived there from the Philipinas, who only had fight of the Emperour, and delivered him his preſents, which were certaine *China* Damaskes, and ſixe larrs of ſweet wine of *Europe*. After the firſt time, he could not obtaine acceſſe to the Emperour. His Embaſſage was, that ſuch *Portugals* and *Spaniards* as were within his Dominions, not authorized by the King of *Spain*, might be delivered up unto him to carry away to the Philipinas: which the Emperour denied to doe, ſaying, That his Country was a free Country, and none ſhould be forced out of it; but if the Embaſſador could perſwade any to go, they ſhould not be ſaied. This coming of the Spaniſh Embaſſador for men, was caſed by the great want of me they had to defend the *Molucca* Iſlands from the *Dutch*, who then made great preparation for the ſubſtitute conſequent thereof. After that the Embaſſador had attended for the Emperours anſwere, the time limited him by his Commiſſion, ſeing it came not, he departed diſcontented. But being at the Sea ſide, there was an anſwere returned for him to carry, with a ſlander Preſent, viz. ſixe *Japan* Gownes and two Cattans or Sworls.

The ninth wee departed from *Surunga* at *Edo*. About a month before my coming thither, the Emperour

Emperour being diſpleaſed with the *Chriſtians*, made proclamation, that they ſhould forthwith remove and carry away all their Churches to *Langſueque*, a Towne ſituate on the Sea ſide, and diſtant from *Firando* about eight leagues: And that no *Chriſtian* Church ſhould ſtand, nor Maſſe being, within ten leagues of his Court, upon paine of death. A while after, certaine of the *Naturalls*, being ſeven and twentie in number, (men of good faith) were aſſembled together in an Hoſpittall, appointed by the *Chriſtians* i. e. Lepers, and there had a Maſſe: whereof the Emperour being informed, commanded them to be ſhut up in an houſe for one night, and that the next day they ſhould ſuffer death. The ſame evening another man for debt was clapt vp in the ſame houſe, being an *Heathen* at his coming in, and ignorant of Chriſt and his Religion: But (which is wonderful) the next morning, when the Officer called at the doore for thoſe which were *Chriſtians* to come forth, and goe to execution, and thoſe which were not, and did renounce the ſame, to ſtay behind: this man in that night ſpace was ſo inſtructed by the other, that reſolutely he came out with the reſt, and was crucified with them.

In our paſſage towards *Miaco* from *Surunga*, we had for the moſt part much raine, whereby the waters did ſo riſe, that wee were forced to ſtay by the way, ſo that it was the fixteenth of October before we got thither. *Miaco* is the greateſt Citie of *Japan*, conſiſting moſt upon Merchandizing. The chiefe *Fotoqui* or Temple of the whole countrey is there, being built of freeſtone, and is as long as the Weſterne end of *Saint Pauls* in *London*, from the Quier, being as high arched and borne upon pillars as that is: where many *Bonzees* doe attend for their maintenance, as the Priests among *Papists*. There is an Altar whereon they doe offer Rice and ſmall money, called *Cumarij* (whereof twentie make one ſhillling *Engliſh*:) which is employed for the vie of the *Bonzees*. Neare unto this Altar there is an Idoll, by the *Natives* called *Mannada*, made of Copper, much reſembling that of *Dabiz* formerly ſpoken of, but is much higher, for it reacheth up to the very Arch. This *Fotoquia* was begun to be built by *Taiſoſania* in his life-time, and ſince his ſonne hath proceeded to the finiſhing thereof, which was newly made an end of when wee were there. Within the inclosure of the walles of this *Fotoquia* there are buried (by the report of the inhabitants) the Eares and Noſes of three thouſand *Coraues*, which were maſſacred at one time: Upon their graue is a mount raiſed, with a Pyramid on the toppe thereof; which mount is greene, and very neatly kept. The horſe that *Taiſoſania* laſt rode on, is kept neare unto this *Fotoquia*, having never been ridden ſince, his hoofs being extraordinarily growne with his age, and ill ſtanding there.

The *Fotoqui* ſtandeth upon the top of an high hill, and on either ſide, as yee mount up to it, ſixty ſixty pillars of freeſtone, diſtant ten paces one from the other, and on every pillar a Lantorne, wherein every night lights are maintained of Lampe-oyle. In this Citie of *Miaco*, the *Portugall* Jeſuits have a very lately Colledge, wherein likewiſe are diuers Jeſuits, *Naturall Iaponeses*, which preach, and have the new Teſtament printed in the *Japan* language. In this Colledge are many *Japonian* children trained up, and inſtructed in the rudiments of *Chriſtian* Religion, according to the *Romish* Church: There are not leſſe then ſixe or ſixe thouſand *Japonians* in this Citie of *Miaco* profeſſing Chriſt.

Colledge of Jeſuits in *Miaco*. The new Teſtament in the *Japan* language

Beſides the *Fotoqui* before deſcribed, there are many other *Fotoquis* in this Citie. The Tradesmen and Artificers are diſtributed by themſelves, every Occupation and Trade in their ſeverall ſtreets, and not mingled together, as here with vs.

At *Miaco* we ſtayed, expecting the Emperours Preſent, which at length was delivered to me out of the Caſtle, being ten *Beebi*, or large Pictures to hang a chamber with.

The twentieth, wee departed from *Miaco*, and came the ſame night to *Fuſimi*. The one and twentieth, about noone we arrived at *Oſaca*: here we found the people very rude, following vs, crying *Toſon, Toſon*, that is, *Chineſe, Chineſe*: others calling vs *Cori, Cori*, and ſinging ſonges at vs; the greateſt people of the Towne not once reproving them, but rather animating of them, and ſetting them on. Here we found the Gally ready, which had attended for vs ſince our landing, at the charge of the King of *Firando*. The foure and twentieth at night we all embarked for *Firando*.

The fixe of November we arrived at *Firando*, and were kindly bid welcome by King *Foyne*. All this while our people ſold little, the cuſtome of the Countrey being, that without expreſſe permiſſion from the Emperour, no ſtranger may offer goods to ſale. Beſides, our chiefeſt commodity intended for thoſe parts being Broad-cloth, (which, according to former intelligence, had lately been ſold there at fortie Kalls of eight the matre, which is two yards, as aforeſaid) the *Natives* were now more backward to buy: then before, becauſe they ſaw that we our ſelves were no forwarder in wearing the thing which wee recommended unto them. For, ſaid they, you commend your Cloath unto vs, but you your ſelves wear leaſt thereof, the better for of you wearing Silken garments, the meaner *Fuſians*, &c. Wherefore hoping that good counſell may (though late) come to ſome good purpoſe, I wiſh that our Nation would be more forward to vie and ſpend this naturall commodity of our owne Country, ſo ſhall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainment and expence thereof.

We embarked for *Firando*. November 6.

p. VIII.

Accidents after his returne to Firando, the felling of a Factory there, departure for Bantam, and thence for England.

The feuenth of November, I visited the Kings with Presents first, and after with Pleasure, and was kindly entertained. The eighth, *Andrew Palmer*, Steward of the ship, and *William Marrell* Gunners Mate, lay ashore all night, and in a drunken humour, went into the field and fought, and wounded each other so fore, that it was thought *Palmer* would hardly escape with his life, and *Marrell* be lame of his hands for ever.

The ninth, in the morning very early I went aboard the Ship, and carried *M. Cockes* along with me, and called the Master and all the Officers into my Cabbin, making it knowne unto them, that it much grieved me the indirect course some of them tooke, namely, *Palmer* and *Marrell*, who went out of the Ship without licencie, and had wounded one another so fore, that the one was in danger of his life, and the other a lame man for ever; and that which was more, the Surauiver in danger to be hanged if the other died, which could not choise but bee a great heere griefe unto me: as also to vnderstand, that *Francis Williams* and *Simon Colbatch* were in the boat, going ashore to haue fowle, and *John Dench* and *John Winston* appointed to doe the like, and *Dench* contended it was true, and that he saw *Palmer* and *Marrell* fighting, and went and parted them, otherwise both had remained dead in the field: these matters, I told them, were grieuous unto me, and therefore I willed them it might be amended in time, otherwise they would dispeople the Ship, to the vtter ouerthrow of our Voyage, and deceiue the Honourable Companie, that had put their trust in vs.

After much contention, each one departed, with promise to amend what was amisse, and not to offend in any sort hereafter, which God graunt may prooue true. I told them also, that *Foye Same*, the old King, had made complaint vnto me, that if any more came ashore to fight and shed blood in his Countrey (contrary to his Lawes) he would cause them to be cut in peeces, for that he would not suffer strangers to haue more Priuiledge in that matter then his owne Subjects. And at my returne to the *English* house, *Foye Same* the King came to visit me, and told mee the piece of Poldaua and a Shaff I gaue him, were consumed with fire when his house was burned, which was a manner of begging two more, which I promised him, and got him to send of his people aboard, with my *Luribasso* *John Iapan*, to signifie to the Companie, that if any of them came ashore to fight any more, the King had giuen order to cut them in peeces, and not to suffer any one to returne aboard. I did this in hope to restrain them from such drunken Comratts.

Towards night came a Spaniard from *Langajague*, called *John Comas*, and brought two Letters from *Domingo Francisco*, one for me, and the other for *M. Cockes*, and sent me a Present of three baskets of Sugar, and a pot of Conserues, with many no lesse sugred conserued words of complement in his Letters, that he was forie that our seuen men were gone away in his absence, excusing both himselfe, and the Factors or Iesuites, that they had no hand in the matter, neither euer spoke such word, that we were heretikes or theues, yet said our men were gone away from thence, three of them in a *China* or *Iapan Sama* for the *Amuillais*, and the other foure in a *Portugall* Vessell, but I hold these but words to excuse themselves, and put other men in fault: for the Spaniards loue not the Portugalls, neither either of both the *Iapan*, much lesse the *Iapan* them.

The eleuenth, I went and visited *Nobesanes*; he vied me kindly, and would haue had mee come to dinner to morrow, but I excused the matter, in respect of the much businesse I had, and short time of stay. I met the old King *Foye* at his house, who desired to haue two peeces *English* powdered Beefe, and two of Porkes foed with Turnips, Raddish and Onions by our Cooke, and sent vnto him, which I caused to be done. Wind Northerly a fresh gale day and night, faire dry weather, but cold.

The twelfth, the two Kings *Gouernours*, came to visit me at the *English* house; and from thence went aboard the *Clowe* (Master *Cockes* accompanying them) to signifie vnto the Master and the rest of the Companie, that from hence forward, our ships Companie should haue a care how they came a shore to fight and shed blood; for that the Law of the Countrey was, that they which went out to fight, and drew weapon, were to die the death, and all those which did be-hold them, obliged to kill both parties, in paine of ruining all their generation if they did not kill both parties.

The fourteenth, I sent *M. Cockes* and my *Luribasso* to both the Kings, to entreat them to provide mee of a dozen Sea-men, that were able to doe their labour, to goe with me for *England*, and for wages I was willing to giue them what in reason their Highnesse thought fit. The Kings were impeached about other matters; so they spake with their Secretaries, who told them, they need not to speake about that matter to the Kings, for that they would prouide mee a dozen such as should be fit; but that there were diuers vagrant people about Towne, which no doubt would be willing to goe, yet were not fit to be carried to Sea; for that when they came there, they would

would serue for nothing but to spend victuals, and of such the *Flummings* serued their turne without making request vnto them: and what is become of them or the Ship is not knowne to this day. But seeing that now the matter was referred to them, they would looke out for such as were for our purpose.

The eighteenth, *Foye* the old King sent me word he would come and visit me, and bring the dancing Beares or Curteasans of the Countrey, which loone after he did, being three whoores of the Countrey, and two or three other men with them, they all dancing and making musike after the Countrey fashion, although harsh to our hearings.

The nineteenth, the Capitaine *Chinefa* and *George Deyas* the Portugall came vnto me, desiring me to send to *Semidone*, to procure the libertie of two honest poore men, who were like to loose their liues, for bidding a poore Knaue lye, which had stolne a little piece of Lead not worth three halfe pence, and yet the Malefactor was taken and put to death, and these men in danger to haue done the like, had I not sent *M. Cockes* with my Ring to *Semidone*, to desire pardon for them for my sake, which he granted to procure, and did effect it.

The twentieth, *Samedon* the King of *Crats* sent mee word hee would come aboard our Ship: So I met him there, he being accompanied with both the Kings of *Firando*, they had five peeces of Ordnance at their entree aboard, and three with shot or Bullets, were shot at a marke at the request of *Samedon*. He gaue me two Pikes or *Iapan* flaures with Cattans or Sables on the ends, so they departed with seuen peeces of Ordnance for a farewell, one being with shot at the marke aforesaid.

The twentieth two, a Present was laid out, and sent to *Samedon* King of *Crats*: it was delivered vnto him at *Tomesanes* the young Kings house, he being there at Breakfast, and tooke in very kind part, sending me word by *M. Cockes*, that he was doubly obliged vnto me, first in his kind entertainment aboard, and now in sending him such a Present of worth, of such things as his Countrey afforded not the like, and all without any desert of his: only the recompence he could make was, that for his sake, if euer any of the *English* Nation did come within his Dominions, he would bid them kindly welcome, and shew them any fauour he could.

The twentieth fifth in the morning betimes, the Purser and *M. Hamfall* came ashore, and told me *Andrew Palmer* the Steward departed out of this world about tenne of the clocke the night past, and that the Chirurgeon *Thomas Warner* affirmed (as he told me the like many times before) that *Palmer* was the occasion of his owne death, his wound being curable, if he would haue bin ruled. I willed the Purser *M. Melbain* to goe aboard, and that the Master and he should take order to carry him, and bury him on an Iland as secretly as might be, in respect we were about to get some *Iapan* to goe along in our ship, which it might be hearing of the death of any one, would make them the more vniwilling.

The twentieth eighth, a *Iapan* was put to death: some said for theft; others said he was a house-burner: He was lead by the Hangman to execution, one carrying a board before him, wherein was written the fact he had committed, as the like was written in a paper flag ouer his head, and two Pikemen followed him with the points of their Pikes hard to his backe, to haue killed him if he had offered to resist. Diuers of this place complained, that the Ships Company owed them money, and now the Ship was ready to depart, desired payment, which to prevent a greater inconvenience, I hearkened vnto, and wrote to the Master to enquire aboard vnto they were that were indebted, and what the summe was they owed, to the intent to make satisfaction, and so to abate it out of their wages.

Now touching a Factorie to be left there, I had on the twenty sixth, assembled my Merchandizing councill, where vpon these considerations, *viz.* The encouragement wee had receiued in the *Moluccas* by priuate intelligence, the *Dutch* Factorie already planted here in *Firando*: The large Priuiledges now obtained of the Emperour of *Iapan*: The certaine aduise of the *English* Factories settled in *Siam* and *Patane*: The Commodities resting vnto vpon our hands appointed for these parts, and the hoped for profit which further experience may produce: It was resolved, that a Factorie should be left here, *viz.* eight *English*, three *Iapan* *Luribassos* or Interpreters, and two servants, who were appointed against the coming of the next ships, to search and discover the Coast of *Corra*, *Talimay*, and other parts of *Iapan*, and Countreys thereunto adjoining, to see what good might be done in any of them.

The fifth of December, *M. Richard Cockes*, Capitaine and Cape Merchant of the *English* Factorie, settled at *Firando* in *Iapan*, tooke his leaue of me aboard the *Clowe* with his Companie, being eight *English*, and five others. After their departure, our Companie was mustered aboard, finding fortie six *English*, five *Swarts*, fiftene *Iapaners*, three *Pasengers*, in all fixtie nine: hauing lost since our arrivall here three *English*, two by sicknesse, one lame, and four which ranne away to the Portugalls and Spaniards, whilst I was at the Emperours Court. The names of the *English* we left in the Factorie with *M. Cockes*, were *William Adams*, (entertained at an hundred pounds the yeere into the Companies seruice) *Tempest Peacocke*, *Richard Wickham*, *William Eaton*, *Walter Carnarvon*, *Edward Sares*, *William Nelson*.

The wind Northerly a still gale, we set saile, being foure leagues from the place where wee

Seuerie iustice
in *Iapan*.

The felling of
an *English* Fa-
ctorie in *Iapan*.

December.

We retorne
home from *Ia-
pan*.

Variation at
Firando 2 deg.
50. minutes
Easterly.
We sailed al-
long the
Coast of *China*.
A great Cur-
rent brought
us between
Corea and
the maine of
China.
Shumbr.

Three hun-
dred fathoms
of small Fish-
men.
Lands of Fi-
shers.
Latitude 35.
deg. 59. min.

A Rocks.

Variation 1.
degree 30. mi-
nutes Easterly.

Latitude 28. deg.
10. minutes.

Many Fisher-
boats.
Latitude 21.
deg. 40. minutes.

Note.

Latitude 18.
deg. 19. min.
Variation 50.
min. Westerly.

rid: our course South by West, half a point Westerly, Latitude thirtie three degrees fourteene minutes. Note, that by exact observation on the shoare, we found this land of *Firando* to stand in latitude thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, variation two degrees fittie minutes Easterly.

It was refused to keepe alongst the Coast of *China*, directly to *Batiam*, and so we proceeded aboard our far-board tacke, and steered away South-west, edging ouer for *China*, the wind at North North-east, a stiffe gale and faire weather.

The sixth, Latitude thirtie one degrees thirty nine minutes, way South by West forty leagues. The seventh, it blew very much wind, a forme at North-west, we steered South South-west no observation, there we felt the great Current which shoots out betwene the land *Corea* and the maine of *China*, which made a very great Sea, way South South-west half a point Westerly twentie five leagues.

The eight, Latitude twentie nine degrees fortie one minutes, way South-west, twentie five leagues, wind North-west a very stiffe gale, we steered West South-west, to make Cape *Shumbr* upon the Coast of *China*: the Sea very much growne, so much wind, that it blew our maine course out of the bolt ropes.

The ninth, Latitude twentie eight degrees, twentie three minutes, way South-west three quarters Westerly, twentie two leagues and two third parts, we founded and had fortie nine and fortie five fathome Ozie, the weather cleared, and the wind came to the North, but we could see no land.

The eleuenth, no observation: way West South-west thirtie five leagues, verie green water, we kept our Leade, and had fortie nine, fortie three, thirtie five, thirtie feuen, thirtie fathome, no sight of land, yet very cleere, wind North and North-west by North.

The twelfth, before day we founded, and had thirtie five fathome Ozie, wind North and North-west by North a stiffe gale, and in the morning steeming our felues to bee neere the Coast of *China*, we had sight of (at the least) three hundred sailes of Iunkes of twentie, thirtie, and upward runnes apiece, wherof two came to the wind-ward close by vs, but perceiving them to be Fisher-men, we let them passe, vntill all the faire meanes we could get some of them to come aboard, but could not persuade. Wherefore we stood on our course West by South, and presently deforced the land, being two lands called the lands of Fishers, bearing West by North half a point Northerly foure leagues off, Latitude at noone twentie five degrees fittie nine minutes, way South-west by West fittie leagues, Depth twentie, and twentie five fathome. Soone after, the wind came to North-east, we brought our Lar-board tacke aboard, and steered alongst the land South South-east, very much wind. About feuen at night we came faire by a Rocks, which, by Gods merite, we decried by Moone-light, and lay right in our course, supposing to have runne from noone to this time twelue leagues. We were within twice our ships length of the Rocks depth thirtie fathome. Then we haled off South one watch together the land a berth, and after mid-night steered South-west, the wind at North-east very much wind, and continually following vs as the Land trenes.

The thirteenth, Latitude twentie four degrees thirtie five minutes, variation one degree, thirtie minutes Easterly, way South-west fittie four leagues, wind at North-east faire weather, we steered South-west keeping faire by the lands, lying alongst the maine of *China*, some five leagues off, much wind.

The fourteenth in the morning little wind, haying this night past had twelue and fourteene fathome, then stood off into deeper water. Latitude at noone twentie two degrees ten minutes, way South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie two leagues wind at East North-east, and at eight at night we had fiftene, thirtene fathome, at nine a clocke sixteene, twentie feuen, twentie one and twentie five, landie ground.

The fiftenth, in the morning we came amongst many Fisher-boates, but had so much wind as that we could not speake with them. They made signes to vs to keepe vp to the West-ward (as we thought). Our founding the last night to this present was twentie, twentie foure, twentie five, twentie fathomes, three leagues off the land. Latitude at noone twentie one degree, fortie minutes, way West South-west one quarter Southerly fittie two leagues. The wind at North North-east a stiffe gale, we steered in West North-west Northerly to make the land, and about two houres after had sight of it, but by reckoning should not have beene neere it by fittie five leagues, so that the distance from *Firando* hither, is lesse by fittie leagues.

Note, that the lands which lye alongst the Coast of *China*, lye more Southerly then in the plats; about three in the after-noon we were by an land called *Sancha* about two leagues off, we steered South-west alongst the land, esteeming to have runne since noone three leagues West North-west.

The sixteenth, at noone no observation: way fortie leagues, South-west by South one quarter Westerly, wind at East with drifling raine.

The seventeenth, Latitude eighene degrees nineteene minutes, course South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie feuen leagues, wind at East, variation fittie minutes Westerly, we founded, but had no ground.

The

The eighteenth, latitude fiftene degrees fortie three minutes, course South-west by South fittie leagues, wind at East a stiffe gale, and at six at night we had sight of land being an land called *Pulo Cotan*, bearing West South-west, about five leagues off, we steered South-west. This land is high land, and lyeth about twentie leagues (by report) from the shoale called *Plavet*, to the West-ward of it we founded about eight of the clocke, but had no ground.

The nineteenth in the morning, the maine of *Cambodia* was on our far-board-side about two leagues off: we steered alongst South by East Easterly, keeping the maine in sight. Latitude at noone thirtene degrees one and thirtie minutes, way South by West fortie four leagues, we steered alongst South South-west, making account to be there about a *Varella*: keeping about two leagues off the shoare, we founded but had no ground at fittie fathome. Note, that this land of *Cambodia* lyeth more Easterly in our plats, then it should, for we find South South-west to goe alongst the land a faire berth off. So that the land heere lyeth South South-west, and North North-east, haying diuers Rocks like lands, some one league, some league and an halfe off the maine, but otherwise no danger that we could see. Note also, that heere we found the windes trade alongst the shoare, for from *Firando* hither we did goe large, finding the wind to follow vs as the land trenes.

The twentieth, Latitude ten degrees fiftie three minutes, course South by West fittie four leagues wind at North, a stiffe gale alongst the shoare. And three Glafes after we had observed, we had sight of a small land, which we made to be the land at the end of the shoale, called *Pulo Cit*, and at five Glafes running we founded and had eleven fathome, fine land, two leagues off the shoare. We steered alongst South-west to bring the point of the shoale called *Pulo Cit* a flame: then we founded about two Glafes after, and had fiftene fathome. Note, that we found *Ian Higheon* (or *Ian Linchoten*) booke very true, for thereby we directed our felues ouer from our setting forth from *Firando*.

The one and twentieth, Latitude nine degrees fortie three minutes course South-west a quarter Westerly thirtie four leagues, wind at East North-east a continuall stiffe gale till noone, then calme, and found that we were in a tyde girt, our depth all the last night to this noone was ten, sixteene, seuentene, eightene, twentie one, twentie one, twentie one, twentie, twentie, nine, eightene, eightene fathome good ground, but had no sight of land.

The two and twentieth in the morning, we had sight of land being an land called *Pulo Condor*, bearing off vs about five leagues off, we steered South-west, the wind at North-east, latitude at noone eight degrees, twentie minutes, way South-west by West, fortie leagues and two third parts. Depth eightene, nineteen, twentie two, twentie one, twentie one, twentie two and twentie one fathomes, we steered South South-west, for the land called the feuen Points.

The three and twentieth, no observing, way South-west by South one quarter Southerly, fittie one leagues, depth twentie, twentie two, twentie four, and at noone twentie feuen fathomes. The foure and twentieth, way South-west half a point Westerly, thirtie three leagues one third part, wind at North-west by North, depth thirtie feuen, thirtie nine, fortie three, fortie, and at noone thirtie five fathome Ozie ground.

The five and twentieth, latitude two degrees, thirtie eight minutes, course South by East, one quarter of a league Easterly, twentie two leagues one third part, the wind at North-west and East by North. Depth, thirtie four, thirtie two, thirtie, thirtie four, thirtie four, thirtie four, thirtie five, and about foure a clocke in the morning, we made the land, being an land called *Pulo Timon*, distant from vs some five leagues. And at six in the morning, the North-east part bearing South-west Westerly: and the South part South South-west half a point Westerly, we had sight of another land called *Pulo Tinga*, bearing South South-west Westerly, about six leagues off at noone.

The six and twentieth, Latitude one degree eightene minutes, course South-east by South, thirtie two leagues wind at East and East by North, Depth thirtie feuen, thirtie five, thirtie feuen, thirtie five, thirtie, and twentie feuen fathome.

The feuen and twentieth, course South by East fortie leagues, and two third parts, Depth, twentie feuen, thirtie one, twentie eight, twentie nine, twentie eight, twentie fixe, and twentie four fathomes at noone.

The eight and twentieth, way South South-east, fortie leagues and two third parts, Depth eightene, nineteene, sixteene, eightene, nineteene, sixteene, & at noone fiftene fathome landie ground, making account that *China-bata* was about one league and an half of being low land, and at the South-west point full of Trees or Bulhes. At six Glafes after-noon we founded, and had twentie fathomes Ozie ground, steering alongst the Land South South-east, the wind at North North-west. Note, that thofe long lands on our star-board-side heere, and diuers small I. land on our Lar-board-side doe make the Straights of *China-bata*: finding it to be truly laid downe in *Plavet* or Draught made by *Ian Larjon Mole* a Hollander, which he gave to *Mattheu Hippon*, who was to be our companion.

The nine and twentieth, a little before noone, we perceived the water to be much changed a head.

Pulo Cotan.
Plavet.
Cambodia.

A *Varella*.
Cambodia is not
to be Easterly,
but is seen
our Plats.

Pulo Cit, or
Pulo Ceur.
Linchoten Ob-
servations true.

Pulo Condor.
Latitude 8.
deg. 30. min.

Latitude 21.
deg. 40. min.

Pulo Timon.

Pulo Tinga.

China-bata, or
Ian Larjon Mole

The Plat of
Ian Larjon Mole

A dangerous
shoal, not
from the en-
trance of the
Straight
China Sea.
Landed four
degrees min.

The Darling
sailing on Ca-
romandel.
Lie the Sir
H. Middleton,
and late of the
Malabar
coast.
A sunk in
ledge of rocks.

The high land
of Sumatra.

January 1.
The Expedition
bound on
England.
We arrived in
Bantam Roads.

The multipli-
cation of Fa-
ctories: each
Voyage, caus-
ed the prices
to rise, each
one building
on the other.
The multipli-
cation of their
own Voyages,
nor without
harm to the
publick.

head, and therefore doubted it to be a shoale; so narrowly elapsing a very great danger, we fled and had eleven, twelve, fourteen, fifteen fathoms, but within half a Gile had eight & seven fathoms & a half, it seemed three square sharp to the South-westward, & so we altered when we had first light thereof, not farre from the entrance of the Straights of *China Sea*. This shoale lyeth very dangerously, but is truly placed with his depths. Latitude at nourse four degrees six minutes, course South by West thirtie leagues, wind at North-west and North, depth twentie, thirtie, fiftie, sixtie, seuentie fathoms, twentie, thirtie, fiftie, sixtie, seuentie, eightetie, ten, ten, eight and ten fathoms fott sand. And at eight a clocke in the night, we came to an anchor in seven fathoms, the weather likely to bee fowle, and our experience little or nothing, the place full of shoales, and before our anchor was a ground, we were in sixe and a quarter, five and an halfe, sixe, and then in seven fathoms fott sandie ground, then wind at North-west a small gale and raine.

The thirtie day, this morning we had sight of the *Darling*, plying for *Ceramandel*, her Companie one and twentie *Englishe*, and nine *Swarts*. By them we full vnderstood of the death of *Sir Henrie Middleton*, and late of the *Trades Increase*, &c. The weather close, we observed not: way South South-west halfe a point Westertly fiftie leagues, depth, ten, thirtie, fiftie, and eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe and an halfe, ten, ten, sixe and a halfe, seven, sixe, four and an halfe, four and a quarter, five, sixe, and seven fathoms, hard sandie ground, seeming thus the shoale described in *Maler Plat*, and not that which we made it for. This night God mercifully delivered vs out of a great danger. For we passed by a sunken ledge of Rocks, vnder all our 20 foyles, within a fott: a cait of the top thereof, which was only seene aboue water, and had not the noyse of the breach vpon it wakened vs, we could not haue deered our selues. We did not fall our anchor presently, being in a great Tide girt, and had seuenteen, seuenteen fathoms and an halfe Oze ground.

The one and thirtie, in the morning as we rid, the high land of *Sumatra* was about leagues off vs, and one land a starre. The passed shoale or ledge of Rocks on the star-board side, and three small lands on our lar-board bow, lying three square: way South three quarters Eastly, one and twentie leagues wind at North-west. Depth, ten, nine, eight, seven, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, fifteen, twentie two fathome, about eight leagues off the high-land of *Java*. We could not get in, because it fell calme.

The first of January, being calme, was most spent at an anchor. The second hauing a little wind we let saile, and about eight of the clocke met with the *Expedition*, and vnderstanding that there was bound home-wad laden with Pepper, we writely them to our friends in *England*. The third, we came to an anchor in *Bantam Roads*, finding (to our great griefe) no lading in readinesse: For which I iustly blamed those whom I had left there to provide the same, who excused themselves, saying, that they did not as yet expect me.

I questioned with *Kenee*, the chiefe Merchant of the *Cherkes*, (being come aboard to visit me) what price Pepper did beare, and how he would sell. He answered that it was already knowne alhoare, that I was home-wad bound, and must of needes sell late Pepper, whereof my Merchants hauing grounded none afore-land, I might be assured it would sell. He said it was then at twelve Rials of eight, the ten fackes, but he would not undertake to deliuer any quantitie at that price. I offered him twelve Rials and an halfe for ten fackes, but found him so farre off, as that there was no hope of dealing at the present.

Note, that of the ten, left in the Factorie here for the eight Voyage at our departure for *Japan*, we found now but five liuing at our returne. Betwene *Firando* and *Bantam*, wee lost only one.

The fourth in the morning, I went alhoare, visited the Gouverneur of *Bantam*, and presented him with two faire Cattans, and diuers other things of worth.

This day I bargained with *Kenee* and *Luckmoy* for foure thousand fackes of Pepper, at thirtie Rials of eight: the ten fackes: Balle three the hundred, and appointed the Merchants to hasten the milling thereof, all that might be.

The fifth was spent in reducing the severall *Englishe* Factories in *Bantam* to our Government, and selling them in one house: also order was taken that the expence of Dyer should be more frugally managed, and not spent in racke houses abroad, or on *Hang-by Swarts* at home, as of late it had bene: and that the Ware-houses in the Towne should be fewer in number and better locked vnto, as well it might be, the goods being with more discretion orderly stowed.

The sixth, in the weighing of the Pepper received the day before, we found most of the fackes hard weighed, and many to want oil: at the Kings Barre did allow. Whilst I sent for the Weigher, vnto him kindly, interested him to take a little more care, and paines to amend this fault, which he promised to doe: whereto the better to encourage him, I appointed the value of five Rials of eight to be given him.

The sixteenth, being the Sabbath day, I stayed aboard. About two of the clocke in the afternoon the Towne was all on a fire. Wherefore our Skiffe being well manned was presently sent alhoare

alhoare to helpe the Merchants to guard the goods. The wind was so violent, that in a moment of time almost the whole towne was burnt downe, the *Englishe* and *Dutch* houses excepted, which it pleased God of his mercy to prelerue.

The twentieth, being alhoare, I procured *Luckmoy* and *Lanching*, two *Chinese* Merchants, to translate the Letter which the King of *Firando* in *Japan* had deliuered mee to carry to our King *James*: it was written in *China* Character and Language, they translated it into the *Malayan*, which in *Englishe* is as followeth, etc.

To the King of Great Brittain, &c.

Most mighty King, how acceptable your Maiesties loving Letter and bountifull Present of many worthy things, first see by your seruants Captaine John Saris is vnto mee, I cannot sufficiently express: neither the great happiness I receive, my selfe to be in, by enjoying your Highnesse friendship: For which I render you many thanks, desiring the continuance of your Maiesties love and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your subjects safe arrival at my small Island, from so long a journey. My helpe and assistance they shall not want to the utmost, for the effecting of their worthy and laudable enterprises of Discovery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardnes therein: referring their hitherto entertainment to the report of your seruants, by whom I returne unto your Maiesty an unworthy token, wishing your Maiesty long life. From my Place of Firando, the six day of our tenth month.

Your Maiesties loving Friend, Commander of this
Island Firando in Japan,

FOTNE SAM-MASAM.

30 They could not well pronounce his name, for *Lanching* said it was * *Foyne Fojin Sam*: But *Luckmoy* said as is aboue written.

The two and twentieth, such houses as the former fire had spared, were now burnt downe; yet the *Englishe* and *Dutch* houses escaped againe: thanks be to God.

The fixe and twentieth, here arrived a *Flemish* shippe of a thousand tonnes from *Holland*, called the *Fluyting*. At the Island *Japan* the Company had mistreated the Captaine, and had murdered him in his Cabbin, but that it pleased God a *Scotch-man* revealed the matter, even when they were armed to the exploits, so that they were taken betwixt the decks with their weapons about them. In this shippe were diuers *Englishe* and *Scotch* souldiers. Shee stayed not here, but towards evening set saile for *Saccara*.

40 The seuen and twentieth, I went alhoare to hasten the Merchants, diuers of our Company being at this present fallen sicke. Our ship had now her full lading in.

The first of February the *Darling* was enforced to returne hither, and order by common counsell was taken, both for her goods and present: sending to *Socadama*, and after to *Paiane* and *Siam*.

The thirteenth day, we got out of the Straights of *Sunda*. Note that in the Straight of *Sunda*, the Tides last twelve houres to the Eastward, which is flood, and twelve houres to the Westward, which is ebbe.

The sixteenth of May 1614. we came to an anchor in the Bay of *Saladania*, where we found the *Concord* of *London* being the first that was set out for the voynt stocke. We found the Nacuals of this place very treacherous at the present, making signes vnto vs of the forcible carrying away of two of their people. They had wounded one of the *Concords* men very fore; and whilst we were vp in the Land, they did assault those that kept our Skiffe, carried away our Grapnell, and had spoiled those that were left to tend her, but that they took the water.

The nineteenth, here arrived a *Flemish* shippe bound for *Bantam*, the *Mathe*, *Cornelis Van Hout*. We remained here three and twentieth days, and looking well refreshed our selues, took with vs foureteen Oxen and seuentie three aloue, besides good store of Fish and Beefe, which we powdered there, finding it to take salt vnto contrary to former reports. For ten dayes after our departing from *Saladania*, we had the wind at North-west, and West North-west, but then came to South-west, so that we might goe our course North-west.

60 The seuen and thirties of September, we arrived, thanks be to God at *Pilimouth*, where for the space of five or sixe weekes we endured more tempestuous weather, and our lues more endangered, then vpon the whole Voyage besides. Since which, hauing had some spare time, I have collected certaine notes (in the Iournall omitted) and have thought good, to cause them here to attend the former Relation.

The whole
Towne of
Bantam
burnt
downe, leaving
the *Englishe*
and
Hollanders houses
left.

The Beefe of
Saladania taken
fall well.

September 27.
We arrived at
Pilimouth.

§. IX.

Intelligence concerning Yeddo, delivered in the City of Edoo in Japan, by a Japaner, who had been there twice.

Yeddo an Island.
His people.

THE *Yeddo* is an Island, and lyeth on the North-west side of *Japan*, and distant from thence ten leagues: That the people are white, and of good condition, but very hairy and ill-shap'd. Their weapons are bows and arrows poisoned. The people in the Southernmost part thereof do understand weight and measure: whereof within the Land thirtie daies journey they are ignorant. They have much silver and land-gold, wherein they make payment to the *Japaners* for Rice, &c. Rice and Cotton cloth of *Japan*, is here well requested. Iron and Lead is brought to them from *Japan*. Necessaries for the belly and backe are most vendible to them. Rice transported from *Japan* to *Yeddo*, hath yielded four for one.

Match.

The Towne where the *Japaners* have their chiefe residence and Mart, is called *Matchma*, therein are five hundred households of *Japaners*, who likewise have a Fort there, the Governour whereof is called *Matchmadama*. This Towne of *Matchma*, is the principall Mart Towne of all *Yeddo*, whither the N. times most resort to buy and sell, especially in September, for their provision for winter. In March, they bring downe Salmon and dried fish of furbie sorts, and other wares, for which the *Japaners* barter, which the *Japaners* rather desire than silver.

People of low stature farther to the Northward.
A current to the East-North-east.

The *Japaners* have no fetter being for Trade, in any other Towne then *Matchma*. Further to the Northward, upon the same Land, are people of very low stature like Dwarfs, that the *Yeddos* are people of the stature of the *Japaners*: and have no apparell, but what is brought to them from *Japan*. That there fetcheth a very violent current between *Yeddo* and *Japan*, which cometh from *Corea*, and fetcheth to the East North-east, That the winds are for the most part, as usually they are in *Japan*, viz. That the Northerly winds beginne in September, and end in March, and then the Southerly winds begin to blow.

CHAP. II.

Observations of the said Captaine JOHN SAKIS, of occurrences which happened in the East-Indies during his abode at Batavia, from October 1605. till October 1609. As likewise touching the Marts and Merchandizes of those parts; observed by his owne experience, or relation of others, extracted out of his larger Booke, and heere added as an Appendix to his former greater Voyage; and may serve as a continuation of Master SCOTTS premised Relations. To which are added certaine Observations of the said Author, touching the Townes and Merchandize of principall Trade in those parts of the World.

Left eighteen men all, w. g. five Manners, and thirteenth Sales.
A Flemish Juncke from Prinsam was of Sir Edward Michellborne. The danger from our men of warre to our Merchants.

Admirall Per. daga to sail for Holland, Sir Edward Michellborne came into the road.

THE seventh of October 1609, Our Generall *Henry Middleton* and Captain *Christopher Carthurst* departed this Road for England. The eight, we killed one of *Kegues Varones* Shutes, which would have fired our house.
The three and twentieth, here arrived a Juncke of the *Flemmings* from *Prinsam*, by whom we understood of Sir *Edward Michellborne* and Captaine *Davis*, there being upon the coast, and that they had taken a *Guzerate* Juncke in the Straights of *Sunda*, which came from *Bantam*, bound to *Prinsam*.

The five and twentieth, we were commended to the Court, vpon the report the *Flemmings* had made of Sir *Edward*, where it was demanded whether wee knew him, and wherefore hee should offend violence to the Kings friends, which had done him no wrong. It was answered, we knew a Knight so called, but whether he were vpon the Coast or no, we knew not, nor did know the *Guzerate* to be taken, but by the report of the *Flemmings*, which we held fabulous, and that upon their better considerations, it might prove rather to be one of the *Flemmings* ships, which set saile two daies before the departure of the said *Guzerate* from *Bantam*. Whereupon we were willing to depart, till our purpose should be made.

The five and twentieth, Admirall *Panbagen* of *Prick* departed for Holland, with two ships more in company, by whom we aduised the Company of all matters at large.

The nine and twentieth, Sir *Edward Michellborne* came to anchor here, in the Road of *Sunda*.

1609, Master *Toureson* and my selfe went aboard to him, where we had good entertainment: And he did intimate vnto vs the taking of the *Guzerate*: we intreated him that he would not take the *China* Junckes, the which he promised vs, as he was a Gentleman, he would not.
The second of November 1605, Sir *Edward* let saile, directing his courie for the Straights of *Palinghen*.

The thirteenth here arrived a small ship of the *Flemmings* from the *Moluccas*, called the little *Sonne*.

The eighteenth, here departed a small Pinnace of the *Flemmings*, for the discovery of the Island called *Noua gimra*, which, as it is said, affordeth great store of Gold. The foure and twentieth *Noua gimra* let saile for *Chermondell*.

The second of December 1605, here arrived three Junckes from *Pattany*, they brought newes of the great lesse the *Flemmings* had had by fire there.

The fourteenth, General *Warwick* arrived here from *Pattany*, where hee had taken a very rich Carracke, which came from *Maccon*, the greatest part of her lading was raw Silke.

The second of January 1605, here departed a Juncke of this Towne, freighted by *Chineses* for *Temore*: their lading or commodities they carried were Brand peres of silver beaten very thin of an hand-breadth *English*, Iron, corrie Purline, Taffeties, *China* Pins and Billes. The twentieth, arrived a *China* Juncke, which Sir *Edward Michellborne* had taken, and restitution was demanded of vs, the Governour and principall Court is being very much offended, but by the Admirall and *Sabandar* were pacified. The *Nackbeds* of the Juncke alleged many rich parcels taken.

The three and twentieth of May 1606, here arrived a small Frigate of the *Flemmings* from *Ternate*, and brought away their Merchants, which had been left there by *Bastian*. The *Spaniards* had taken away all they had, but gave every man his libertie. They carried the King of *Ternate* for the *Mannelys*, and as it was reported, they purposed to send him for *Spain*. Some ten leagues from *Jackarta*, this *Flemish* Frigate chanced to meete with the King of *Batavia* Fleet, which pillaged them of all which they had fished from the *Spaniards*. The *Flemmings* labored to get restitution, but could get none of the *Spaniards*.

The nine and twentieth, the Kings Fleet returned, having done very little against their enemies the *Palinghenes*.

The fifteenth of June, here arrived *Nackbeds* *Tingall* a *Cling-man* from *Banda*, in a *Sana* Juncke, laden with Mace and Nutmegs, the which he sold here to the *Guzerates* for an hundred and fiftie Rials of eight the *Babar* *Bantam*, which is four hundred, and fiftie Cattes: he told methat the *Flemmings* Pinnace which went vpon discovery for *Noua Gimra*, was returned to *Banda*, having found the Island: but in sending their men on shore to intreat of Trade, there were nine of them killed by the *Heathens*, which are man-eaters; so they were constrained to returne, finding no good to be done there.

The six of August, the Moone was Eclipsed about eight of the clocke in the evening, continuing for the space of two houres, the *Chineses* and *Javanies* beating of Pains and Morters during her obscurie, in such manner, as you would thinke there were no hell but there, and crying out the Moone was dead.

The four of October, 1605, the *China* quarter was all burnt downe, yet it pleased God to preserve Ours. The same night, the Carracke of the *Flemmings* set saile for Holland, her lading was fiftiee thousand sackes of Pepper, fine rawe Silke, and great store of *China* Sugar.

The fifth, the *West Friland* arrived here from *Ternate*, whence she was beaten by the *Spaniards*: she was not above halfe laden with Mace, Cloues, and Cotton-yarne.

The ninth, here arrived a small Frigate from *Socodana*, the Merchant was *Clas Simonson*, his lading was Wax, Caulaca, and great store of Diamonds. The thirteenth, about midnight we had an Earthquake, it continued not long, but for the time it was, very fearefull.

The thirteenth of December, here arrived two Junckes of the *Flemmings* from *For*, by whom we understood, that there was a Fleet of *Flemmings*, being eleven ships before *Mallacca*. The Commander whereof was *Mateuse* the younger. The ships names were as followeth: The *Orangia* Admirall, *Amsterdam* Vice-admirall, *Middelburg*, *Mauritius*, *Erasmus*, Great *Sonne*, Little *Sonne*, *Nijssen*, *Prouincie*, White *Lyon*, Blacke *Lyon*.

The twentie two of May, they came to an anchor before *Mallacca* with nine ships for their Admirall before their coming thither, had sent the *Provincie* and the *Erasmus* for *Atchen*.

The fith of June, they landed their men, but a little before their landing, the *Portugals* let off one Carracke and foure Juncks which were in the Road. In Iuly, the *Prouincie* and *Erasmus* came to the Fleet at *Mallacca*. The twenty fifth of August, the Viceroy with a Fleet of six or seue great ships, were discouered by the Little *Sonne*, which was appointed to keep watch at an Island called *Cape Rachoda*, who immediately came and certified their Admirall, finding him very much vnroutled, his Ordnance and men being alicore. But by the *Portugals* calling of a Council, they gave the *Flemmings* twenty foure hours time, to get his men and furniture aboard, and to fit himselfe before he came to them. Thus being readie, the *Flemmings* weighed, and stood.

K k k

Nou. 1. 1605.
Sir Edward let saile for the Straights of Pallinghen.
A Flemish Pinnace vpon discovery of the Island called Noua gimra.
Paul Pasch let saile.
Decem. 2. 1605
A Flemish Juncke from Pattany.
General Warwick arrived.
Janu. 2. 1605.
A Sana Juncke let saile for Ternate freighted by Chineses.
May 3. 1606.
Newes of the Flemmings lode of Ternate.
The Flemmings Pinnace pillaged by the Kings Fleet of Batavia.
The Kings Fleet returned.
June 15.
Nackbeds Tingall a Cling-man from Banda.
Mace sold for in Bantam an hundred and fiftie Rialls.
The King of Banda four hundred and fiftie Cattes.
The Flemmings returned from Noua gimra.
August 6.
The Moone Eclipsed in Batavia.
October 4.
The China quarter burnt downe.
The West Frig. landed from Ternate.
A Frigate of the Flemmings from Socodana.
An earthquake in Bantam.
December 13.
Intelligence given by the Junckes of the Flemmings late of Batavia.
May 22.
June 5.
The Flemmings discouered the Vice-Roy.
Gsa with a Fleet of sixteen ships of ships.

The Flemmings stand out to the Road, and meet with the Vice-roy where they performe a great fight.

Three Portugall ships burnt by the Flem. and three by the Vice-roy.

The Vice-roy at the Nishari, but they were to strong as they could not deal with them.

Mattelesse departed for the Moluccas, and three Flem. more put to death at Bemermaffen.

A ship called the Great Sonne arrived from Chormandel. The places where the Flemmings had their Factors upon the Coast of Chormandel. The last side of the Country. In the Month of May much wind.

A Flem. from S. Lucia upon the Island of Madagascar. Cape Middleton arrived in the Coast of India.

The ship Gill. driven from Holland.

Admiral Pavle van Carle with 7 ships.

The Flem. at fault the Castle of Molambo.

out of the Harbour to them, where they beganne a good fight, which continued two nights and one day: in which fight was burned the ship *Middleburgh*, the *Nassau*, and three *Portugall* ships. The *Orange* having sprung a great leake, was faine to put into *Ior*, the King being their great friend and assistant; the Fleet following him, where he remained one month, and then let saile for *Mallacca* againe, where he met with sixe ships of the *Portugalls*, of the which the *Flemmings* burnt three, and the *Portugalls* themselves burnt three. From thence they departed for the *Nishari*, where they found the Vice-roy with seven ships, but they were halde so close aloofe, that they durst not deale with them.

The twentieth, he arrived here with sixe ships. The twenty ninth, he departed for the *Ma. Incas*.

The fourteenth of May, 1607. hee arrived a *Malass* Junke from *Grefa*, by whom we understood, that *Julius* a *Flemming*, and five more, which departed this Road the thirtieth of November, 1606. for *Socodama*, was put to death at *Bemermaffen* and all their goods taken by the King of that place, the occasion (as it is reported) proceeded from the *Flemmings*, who had vied certain foule speeches of the King, which he came to the hearing of and thereupon sent for the Merchant and Master, and by the way gaue order to kill them.

The fourteenth of August, hee arrived the *Great Sonne* from *Chormandel*, the Captaine *Peter Isaacson*, by whom we understood, that upon the Island of *Selam*, they tooke a very great ship of the *Portugalls*, out of whom they had eightie Packs full of cloath, eight hundred Bales of Sugar bound for *Malacca*. Item, that in the Road of *Mafalipatan*, where their Factory lieth, they tooke a *Portugall* ship very richly laden with all sorts of Commodities fit for that Coast, which was greatly for their benefit, for that they were ignorant what Commodities were most vendible there: her lading was Cloues, Mace, Nut-megs, *China* Tartaries, *Vluets* and *Danmarks* of the brightest colours, but no white, *China* Porcelaine fine and coure, but your great Basons with brims are the best. Item, the *Flemmings* hath Factories in three feuerall places upon that Coast, but not farre the one from the other, *viz.* At *Mafalipatan*, at *Petropolis*, and *Baligar*. *Mafalipatan* lieth in the latitude of feuentee degrees. It is a place of great plenty of victuals, thirty two Hennes for a Riall, two sheep for a Riall, an Oxe for a Riall. Item, in the month of May, the wind at West, it is so extream by any means sweat till the Sunne be downe, and then you shall sweate very much, wherefore in this Month they goe not abroad in the day time, but in the night, for there have been many smothered.

The feuenth, hee arrived a small Pinnasse from an Island called *S. Lucia*, in the latitude of twentie four degrees and an halfe, about a mile from the Island of *Madagafcar*, where they were forced in by a leake in the Carracke, which departed from hence the fourth of October, 1606. they were forced to throw away three thousand licks of Pepper, besides other Commodities to great value. They reported vnto vs, that it is a very good place to refresh in. The people haue no knowledge of Coyne: they bought a fat Oxe for a Tinne spoon, and a sheep for a smal peece of Brulter: it is hard ground, and very good riding in feuen and eight fathomes. The fourteenth of November, 1607. Captaine *Daniel Middleton* arrived here in the *Consent* of London.

The feuenteenth, the *Flemmings* Admirall *Mattelesse* arrived here from the Coast of *China*, where hee hoped to have gotten Trade, but could not: hee professed them at *Canton* an hundred thousand Rials of eight for a gilt onely, but they would not accept of it: he was there in great danger, being by sixe Carracks which came out of *Macao* of purpose for him: they made him call this Pinnasse, to the which the *Portugalls* tooke. Hee touched at *Cambaya* and *Pahang*, but bought nothing but victuals.

The feuenteenth of December, 1607. hee arrived the *Goldenland* from *Holland*. They came betweene *S. Laurence* and the maine: their first place of refreshment was at *Maya*, one of the Hands of *Gomora*, where they let vp a fine Pinnasse. It is a good harbour, but there is little carrell to be had. From thence they came to *Calicut*, where in their way they tooke a small Boat of *Meca*, laden with Rice and people of diuers Nations. The Towne of *Calicut* lieth by the Sea-side, and is so thought to be the *Ezels* miles long. The *Sambryn* which is their King, came downe vnto them, he was very rich in apparell, hauing a Crowne of Gold ouer his Turbant, a naked sword in his hand, which is the manner there, he gaue the *Flemmings* good words, offering to let them leaue a Factory there: but they durst not trust him, the *Portugall* being so great with him.

The twenty feuenth, hee arrived Admirall *Paulus van Carle*, with feuen very good ships, and one *Portugall* Frigate. They refreshed at Cape de *Lopo Gonfalu*, which lieth upon the Coast of *Gumie*, where they found very good water and fish; they continued here sixe weekes, hauing the wind at South-east by East. From hence to an Island called *Amabon*, vpon the same Coast.

The thirtieth of March, *Stilo novo*, we (say they) came to anchor in the Road of *Mofambique*, letting fall our anchor in eightene fathomes, the Cattle shooting very hotly at vs, but we answered them not againe, but made all the speed we could aboard of two great *Guerriere* busses, and a Frigate which ride hard by vs, laden with Callices, coure blue cloath with white spots, and some with red spots, the which for the most part we tooke out, and let the great ships on fire, but

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the Frigate we kept. The thirtieth day, we made our men, finding nine hundred ninetie five, all well and in perfect health.

The first of April, we landed feuen hundred men, and feuen peeces of Artillerie, *viz.* eight Demy-Cannons of Brasse, two Demy-Culverings of Iron, and battered vpon the Caste, but to little purpose: wherefore we brought our treasuries to neere the enemies, as we could haue stones iost to them. And the same night we began to make our mine, but there fell so much raine, that we were constrained to giue it ouer. Here they heaued fire-pots downe from the walls vpon vs, which killed our men very much, and perceiving thereof, failed out vpon vs, to our great detriment. Thus hauing been here sixe weekes aloofe, our men being hurt and sicke, we brought our Ordnance and men aboard, hauing lost in all fortie men, we let saile out of the Road, the Cattle shooting very hotly at vs, so that they lunked the Horse Mast of our Fleete, which was a very tall ship; and other of our ships had thurtie shot through their sailes and hull. The Gunner was an *Engliffman*.

From hence we went for *Mayotte*, which is one of the Islands of *Gomora*, to refresh our men. Here we bought sixe hundred twenty Oxen, thurtie five Sheepe, and Goates, to the great comfort of vs. These people haue knowledge of Coyne, and would deale with vs for no Commodities but Rialls. The King made a decree, that no man should sell vs any Cattel, vntill the Kings cattell we bought for a Riall of eight the peece, but sheepe and Goates cheaper. Here we suffered our men againe, hauing bin here sixe weekes, and found our selues neare hundred & forty strong: wherefore it was determined to goe againe for *Mofambique*, to assault the Caste once againe. But coming into the Road, we found three Carracks riding there, which were newly come from *Portugall*, whereupon it was hold best, not to goe in againe, but to ply off and on, to see if they would come forth; but they did not, wherefore we stood away along the shore some thurtie leagues off the land for *Goa*: where at a Towne called *Sperdamme*, we landed all the *Guerriers* which we had out of the ships at *Mofambique*. At this place is good refreshing and cheape, twentie hennes for a Riall, one hundred and fiftie Egges for a shilling, and as much fresh fish as would serue all the ships company for a day, for a Riall of eight. It lieth in eightene degrees to the North of the line, and is not far from *Chand*: we rid in feuen fathomes clay ground. The people are *Moore*, and great enemies to the *Portugalls*: it affords no Marchandise but a little Pepper. From hence hard by the Islands of *Commodo* to the North of *Goa* feue leagues, we tooke a Carracke which was come from *Setra* her, her lading was most Rialls of eight, currant *Spanish* com: all which we tooke out, and set her on fire.

The Captaine we tooke with vs, his name was *Ieronimus Teibaldus*. At *Goa* at *Mofambique*, but they came not: wherefore we let saile, and went for *Calicut*, purposing to haue spoken with the *Sambryn*, but by reason of tenne Gallies, which were come from *Goa* and lay there, we went not ashore, fearing some Treason. We sent him a Present, which was two peeces of Iron Ordnance, and one peece of Brasse, we sent our Caste ashore to fill with water, but we could find none that we durst drinke. From hence we shaped our course for the Straights of *Mallacca*, but finding the winds and Current contrary, we came directly for *Banram*, hauing been out of *Holland* twenty one Monthes and an halfe.

The thirtieth of December, he departed this Road with feuen ships, and one Frigate to spend some time in the Straights of *Mallacca*, in hope to haue met with the *Mackaw* shippers, but could not.

The fourth of January, 1607. hee arrived in the Road here, leauing his ships riding at *Poolo Tindos*. The fifth, he departed hence for the *Moluccas*.

The eighteenth, Admirall *Mattelesse* the younger set saile for *Holland*: his lading was twelue thousand licks of Pepper, foure hundred licks of Nutmegs, Sugar, Ebony wood, and some *Siwa* Silke.

This yeare, 1608. arrived here many Lunkes of *China*, and other places, which I forbear to mention.

The nineteententh of August, arrived a *Flemmish* ship called the *Erasmus* from *Amboyna*, hauing in her some feuen hundred Bahars of Cloues, which shee laded at *Hutto*.

The first of September, arrived a small Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* from *Mackian*, by whom we understood of two ships called the *Cloue* and the *Doue* were cast away, riding at anchor afore *Mackian*, with very little wind at West, which makes such a Sea, that it is not possible for ships to ride there, by reason it is foule ground, and very deep: water as leuenty and eighthe fath. *Mis.* Item, that they had taken *Mackian* and *Taffall* in like manner they had strengthened the Caste at *M-Lyo*.

The tenth, departed a Pinnasse of the *Flemmings* for *Socodama*, to fetch away the Merchants whom they heard could get in no part of their debts, left there by *Clauus* *Simson*, and that they were very sicke.

The thirtieth of March, *Stilo novo*, we (say they) came to anchor in the Road of *Mofambique*, letting fall our anchor in eightene fathomes, the Cattle shooting very hotly at vs, but we answered them not againe, but made all the speed we could aboard of two great *Guerriere* busses, and a Frigate which ride hard by vs, laden with Callices, coure blue cloath with white spots, and some with red spots, the which for the most part we tooke out, and let the great ships on fire, but

Fortie Flem. fine.

Maye a good place to refresh.

Sperdamme a good place to refresh.

A Carracke taken hard by the Islands of Commodo.

Ten Gallies in the Road of Calicut of the Portugals.

The Flem. giue the Sambryn of Calicut a Present.

Paulus van Carle is called for the Dutch of Malacca.

Paulus van Carle returned.

Mattelesse set saile for Holland.

A Flem. ship from Amboyna.

A Flem. Pinnasse from Mackian.

Mackian and Taffall taken without loss of one man.

A Flem. Pinnasse for Socodama.

A Flemish
ship from
Holland.
The Hay from
Gronowall.
The Dragon
from Prinsam.
A Present given
to the King
of Siam.
The Gouver-
neur and his
Secretary killed.
A Flem. Pin-
nasse from So-
coddanna.
Five sail of
Flem. bound
for Holland.
A Flem. Pin-
nasse from Ma-
lacca.
A Pinnasse of
the Flemings
for Socodanna.
W. Keeling, ex-
cise for the En-
glish.
He returned
backe.
He departed.
He returned
meane with
the Helior in
the Straights.
A Flem. Pin-
nasse which
had met with
two English
ships in the
North of the
Cape of
Good Hope.
A Flem. Pin-
nasse for Ma-
lacca.
The Dragon for
England.
The Helior for
Banda.
Two ships and
a Pinnasse from
Choromandell.
Three Flem.
ships for Banda.
A Fleet from
Holland, being
welcomed by
Siam.
A meeting at
the Court by
the Flem. pro-
curement.

On House of
captured burning
I was sent for
to the Court.

The three and twentieth, arrived the ship *Zeland* from *Banda*, halfe laden with Mace and Nutmegs, her burthen was an hundred and fiftie last. The five and twentieth, arrived the *Hay* from *Choromandell*, her lading was divers sorts of *Mallayo* cloth, and cloth *Cherra* Java.

The second of October, arrived the *Dragon* from *Triaman*, wherein was General *William Keeling*. The twenty, the General went up to the Court, and delivered the King our Kings Letter, with a Present, which was five Peeces, one *Bafen* and *Ewer*, one *Barrill* of powder.

The thirteenth in the morning very early, the Gouverneur and his Secretary were killed by the *Pungana*, the *Sahandar*, Admiral, *Key deputy* *Deenagarra*, &c. who assailed themselves our night at *Keyma Patters* house, and belet the Court, first laying hold of the King and his Mother, and then they ranne into the Gouverneur Court, thinking to have found him in the bed, but he was upon the backside his bed, where they found him, and wound him on the head, whereupon he fled to the Priest, called *Kepkiky*, who came forth and interceded them for his life, but they would not be perswaded, but perforce ran in, and made an end of him.

The eighteenth, arrived the *Fleming* Pinnasse from *Socodanna*, and brought away their Merchants, leaving the Country much indebted unto them.

The sixth of November, set sail the Vice-Admirall of *Paulus van Carle*, with five sail for *Holland*: their lading was Cloves, Mace, Nutmegs, Pepper and Diamonds. The eighth, arrived a small Pinnasse of the *Flemings* from *Malacca*, by whom we were underfoot of thirteenth sail of ships which rid there, and that in their Voyage they had taken two Carrackes.

The ninth of November, 1608. *Samuel Plummer* departed this Road for *Socodanna*, to re- mayne there.

The fourth of December, being Sunday in the afternoon our General *William Keeling* departed this Road for *England* in the *Dragon*. The sixth, he was sent backe by fowle weather and Well-winds. The tenth, he departed from the West point. The thirteenth, he returned having met with the *Helior* in the Straights of *Sonda*. They were very weak, their men for the most part tock with the Scurvie. The *Portugalls* of *Damas* had betrayed their Boates at *Surat*, taken nineteen of their men, and nine thousand Rials in Cloth as it cost there. Item, as they came for *Bantam*, they took a small Frigate of *Columba*, out of which they tooke eleven packes of Cloth, containing in all eightie three Clothes, thirtee pieces poulings, which were sent for the Islands of *Banda*.

The sixteenth of December, arrived a small ship from *Holland*, by whom we were underfoot of two ships which they met withall to the North of the *Cape Bone* *Spermain* thirte two degrees. They made them to be *English* ships, but whether they were bound they were not certain, but the smaller ship bore the Flage into the maine-top. This shippe had beene on last Voyage eight monthes and ten dayes, they retreft at one of the Islands of *Comora*, called *Pala Lamone*, where they had great store of Bees and G. arts for old Knives and Tinne Spooones.

The two and twentieth, the set sail for *Malacca*, to their fleet which lay there, to will them to come over their flage.

The three and twentieth, departed the *Dragon* for *England*: Captaine, *Gabriell Towerfon*.

The first of January, 1608. our General *William Keeling* set sail for the Helior for the Islands of *Banda*.

The twenth, arrived two ships and a Pinnasse of the *Flemings* from *Choromandell*, laden with Cloth the which some part they had taken, and the rest bought. They had taken five prizes, one a Carriacke at *Macjambene*.

The fifteenth of January, 1608. departed the great *Sonne* and the two ships which came from *Choromandell*.

The third of Februarie, arrived Admiral *William Verhoof* with twelve fytle of good ships from *Malacca*.

The fourteenth, the Admiral with seven ships departed for the *Mollucces*.

The ninth of March, the *Flemings* caused a meeting at the Court of all the *Pungana*; To so tell the King that they had received Letters from their King, which did make mention of peace betweene them and the *Portugalls*. Wherefore they thought good to certifie so much unto them, and to this end that if the *Portugalls* should come thither under colour to trade with them, and to let upon them for their Country, they could not take their parts as sometime they could have done, by reason the King of *Holland* and *Portugall* were friends. Where at the *Jasane* fell into a great laughter, smoking them, that their pretence was to strike feare into them of the *Portugall*, doubting the King would if they came, give them peaceable Trade, which would be the overthrow of the *Flemings*. The Gouverneur gave them no answer, but willed them to take their course.

The twentieth, it pleased God to deliver vs from a great danger, for a *Chinese* house next vnto our Ware-house took fire and was burnt downe, but ours escaped.

The one and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court by *Pengran Aremmalla* the Gouverneur. I went and carryed with me a Present which was one Pece, one *Mallice* Gocher, one piece *Morey*, one piece *Mallayo Pintado*, one *Bandalere*, one roll of *Match*, the which he accepted

cepted very kindly, he told me he had sent for me, hearing that there were two men in chains in our house for debt, as I he would know by whose order I kept them. I told him by the order of the King we had taken them up, and hoped that he would not take them from me before I were satisfied my debt, or some part, and that it was due by them. I showed them Bills: he said, he thought they were indebted, but that the King gave vs leave to chaine them up, he knew to the contrary, wherefore he would have them loosed, but with much intreatie I perswaded that he gave me leave to keep them til *Taryngue*, which ought four hundred twenty Rials & a half; should pay one hundred, and *Bangone* which ought five hundred Rials, & one hundred fiftes of Pepper, should pay twenty bagges of Pepper, and one hundred Rials in money, according as hee had before agreed and given me his Bill. Wherefore he lent one of his slaves home with me to tell the Prisoners thereof, willing them to refuse and pay me.

The four and twentieth, I was sent for to the Court, and the *Flemings*: hee demanded of the *Fleming* whether it was their Country manner to take up a man for debt without telling of the King, the *Fleming* laid no, whereupon he willed me presently to let them out, cleane forgetting his promise three dayes before, the which I charged him with, but all would not prevaile; wherefore he lent one of the Kings slaves and took them out of the house. The which first course I hold to be taken against vs, by the instigation of the *Flemings*, wrought by *Lackmeyer*, to the end we should not trust the *Chinese*: so that by this course they must needs come to him, & he being fitted with all sorts of Commodities from the *Fleming*, will multiply overthrow us our Trade, in respect we cannot trust but at hazard, for there is no luttice to be had.

The three and twentieth of April, 1609. here arrived a small Pinnasse of the *Flemings* from *Socodanna* and *Ternate*: by whom we were underfoot that Admirall *Pauli Vankler* was taken at *Ternate*.

The one and twentieth of May, 1609. a Pinnasse of the *Flemings* set sail for *Bemerjassin*, upon a league made betweene them. And with purpose to search every Creek and corner of the Island. For they have heard there is much Gold there and *Bezars*, the which is to be traded for with *Bezars* and other *Haberdasher* ware.

The six and twentieth of August, 1609. arrived Captaine *William Keeling* from *Banda*, having laden there twelve thousand four hundred eighty foure Cattes one halfe quarter of Mace, five nine thousand, eight hundred fortie six Cattes of Nutmegs, which stood them in nine, ten and eleven Rials the Bahar, the Catter there weighing thirtee and an halfe of our *English* Ounces. The final Bahar Mace is ten Cattes, or one hundred Cattes of Nutmegs: & the great Bahar is one hundred Cattes of Mace, or one thousand Cattes of Nutmegs: so that if a man be indebted unto you ten Cattes of Mace, and will give you one hundred Cattes of Nutmegs you cannot refuse it.

The fourth of October, 1609. Captaine *Keeling* set sail from *Bantam*, having taken in the rest of his lading, which was foure thousand nine hundred bagges, three Cattes of Pepper, in the which ship called the *Helior*, I came for *England* having bene in the Country foure yeares, nine monthes, eleven dayes.

Certaine Rules for the choise of sundry Drugges, as also from whence they may be had, as followeth.

Lignum Aloe, is a wood so called by vs, but of the *Mallayans*, it is called *Garroo*. The best cometh from *Malacca*, *Siam*, and *Cambaya*. The best is that which is in large round sticks and very massive, of blacke colour intermixed with Ashe-coloured veines. In taste some-what bitter and odoriferous, and being burnt, it becometh like unto Pitch in bubbles. If a splinter thereof be laid upon a fire-coale, for if it be good, it will not leave frying till it be quite consumed, casting forth a most delectable O-Jour.

Benniamin, is a Gumme called by the *Mallayans* *Mimian*. The best sort cometh from *Siam*, which is very pure, cleare and white, with little fraikes of Amber colour. The other sort which is not altogether so white, but is also very good, cometh from *Sumatra*. And a third sort which cometh from *Prinsam* and *Barronse*, is very good like *Hortle-bread*, not venible in *England*, but well esteemed in *Bantam*.

Cines, the best is that which is of a deepe yellow colour forme-what inclining to the colour of Gold, not whitish, for that is viciouly sophisticated with *Graffe*; yet if it be newly taken, it is naturally whitish, and will in continuance of time become of a yellowish colour.

Muske, there are three sorts, blacke, browne and yellow, of which the first is naught, the second is good, the last best: which ought to be of colour like the best Spicknard, that is, of a deep Amber colour, inclosed with one onely skine, and not one over another, as it is sometimes to be seene, not over-moist which maketh it weightie, but in a measure, having some haire like bristles, but not over-many, cleere of stones, leade, or other trash intermixed, and of it strong and fragrant a smell, that to many it is offensive, and being tasted in the mouth, it pierceth the very braine with the scent, and ought not over-foone to dissolve in the mouth, nor yet to re- mayne

The Gouver-
neur order.
I was sent for
to the Court,
and willed to
deliver the ob-
servance.

A Pinnasse of
the Flemings
from Socodanna
A Pinnasse of
the Flemings
for Bemerjassin.

The Helior for
Bantam.

Also from
Sumatra, Java,
Siam, Causa-
che.

Burrowe weed
dell Tuzell,
called in En-
glish Buris,
where there a
Riall the Cate-
res, and here
trading
the pound, it is
kept in Greale.

Item, in this year, 1608. Pepper was worth in *China* sixe Tades and an halfe the Peccull, and at the same time in *Bantam* worth two and an halfe Rials the Timbang.

A note of requestable Commodities vendible in Iapan, together with their prices there Current, being Masses, and Canderines, each Canderine containing the $\frac{1}{2}$. of a Masse: viz.

IC

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100

CHAP. 3. §. I.

A Memoriall of such Merchandize as are to be bought in Iapan, and the prices as they are there worth.

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CHAP. III.

3

8. I.

The Kings care, unreadinesse of ours, Iaponian Superstitions, strange tempest.

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The old King
sent 100,000 Tass
in Japan mo-
ney for our
Generall to
spend on the
way, which I
put to account
by our Gene-
ra's order as
money lent.

Pagan Feast at
Finado, being
a kind of Can-
diemas, *Aljowles*.

every house should grauell the street before their doores, and hang out candle-light in the night: in doing whereof I was not slacke; and as I was informed, a poore man was put to death and his house tild vp, for disobeying therein. The *China* Captaine furnished me with a couple of paper Lanternes very decent. And I was informed the Kings would ride about the streets, and come to visite me: so I made ready a banquet, and expected them untill after midnight, but they came not at all.

On the twentieth, one twentieth, and two and twentieth, I sent presents to both the Kings (being informed that it "as the vice of the Countrey) of Wine and banquetting stuffe; as likewise to *Nabefane* the young Kings brother, and to *Semidone*, the old Kings Gouverneur, and *Usagen*, which were well accepted. Some Cautelos came to visite our house, and returned the best entertainment I could give.

On the three and twentieth, we made an end of landing our Gun-powder, being in all ninety nine barrells, of which I aduised the Generall by letter, to reserve conuenient store for our selves, if he sold the Emperours rest. We landed diuers other things, which things the Master thought good to find ashore, because our men begin to filch and steale, to go to Turners and Whore-houses. The Purser, Master *McIlham* and my self, dined at *Semidones* this day: and the Master and Master *Eaton* were likewise invited, but did not go: he vid vs kindly.

Laoffence of
some.

End of the
great Fea.

Masking and
dancing.

This day the great Feast made an end, and three companies of Dancers went vp and downe the Towne with flags or banners, their musike being Drummes and Pans; at the sound whereof they danced at every great mans doore, as also at all their Pagods and Sepulchres.

The foure and twentieth at night, all the streets were hanged with candle-light, for that the young King and his brother, with *Nabefane*, *Semidone*, and many others went with a Maskard, or to dance at the old Kings house: the young King and his brother were mounted on horse-back, and had Canopies carried over them; the rest went on foot, and the musike was Drummes and Kettles, as afore said; and *Nabefane* winded a Phife: I was informed they meant to visite the *English* House at their backe returne: so I fate vp untill after midnight, having a banquet in readiness, and in the end they returned conuently, and out of order; so I thinke there was some discontent, once none of them entered into the *English* house: Captaine *Brower* went along by doore, but would not looke at vs, and we made as little account of him.

The fuen and twentieth, we landed other three peeces of Ordnance, viz. all whole Culuerin, all which six peeces are Iron Ordnance. The old King came downe when they were about it, and seeing but twenty men, offered them fountie or an hundred *Japans* to helpe them; but very quickly, in his fight, our men got them ashore, which he marcelled at, and said an hundred of his men would not haue done it so loone: so he sent for a barrell of wine, and certaine nih, and gaue it to our people for labouring so faithfully.

The eight and twentieth, I received two letters from our Generall, by the Gouverneur of *Shimonofeg*, dated the nineteenth and twentieth of this month, with two ocler from Master *Pacock*, and Master *McIlham*: this Gouverneur came not ashore at *Ferando*, but deliuered the Letters ashore to the Master, and so went directly for *Longague*, and promising to returne hither shortly. A fo I earned a letter to the old King *Fayne*, which the said partie brought: Master *McIlham* and *Harnado* accompanied me: the King gaue a Cattan to Master *McIlham*, and another with a Spanish Dagger to *Harnado*, and gaue both me and them certaine bunches of Garlick, and gaue vs leave to drie our Gun-powder on the toppes of the Fortresse; offering vs of his people to helpe ours, if they thought good. And I received aland into the *English* House two and twentieth barres of Ical, and put into our new lodge and hundred an twentieth hue Culuerin shot, round and langrill. And as we were going to Supper, the old King came and supped with vs, being very merry, and tooke such fare as we had in good part.

September, 1.
A Misk.

The frit of September, the old King, with all the Nobilitie, made a Miskerd; and this night following went to visite the young King his Grand-child, with musike as afore said, all the streets being hanged with Lanternes; and I was informed he meant to visite our *English* House: returne: so I made ready for him, and played his returne till after midnight, but he passed by with the rest of the company, and entered not into the House. I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons in company with him, which I make account was the occasion he went by, because he would not trouble vs.

Taxe for Forts

The second, *Semidone* and others, being appointed by the Kings, measured all the houses in the street; our *English* house being measured amongst the rest: I understood it was for a generall taxe to bee paid for making Fortresses by the Emperours appointment. I entertained them to content.

The fourth, we had newes the *Queene of Spaine* was dead, and the King a Suter to the Princes *Elzabeth* of England.

The fixt, a Cautelo, called *Nombogwa*, came to visite our *English* House, and brought mee a present of two great bottels of wine, and a basket of Peares. I gaue him the best entertainment I could, and he departed content.

The fuen in the morning, much rain, with wind encreasing all day and night variably, from the

the East to the South, and in the night happened such a storme or Tufson, that I neuer saw the like in all my life: neither was the like seen in this Countrey in many memory, for it ouerthrow above an hundred houses in *Firando*, and vncouered many other; namely, the old Kings house, and blew downe a long wall which compassed the young Kings house, and carryed away boughes or branches of trees: & the Sea went so high, that it vndermined great Wharfe or Key at the *Dutch* House, and brake downe the stone-wall, and carryed away their Staires, and sunke and brake them two Barkes, as also fortie or fiftie other Barkes were broken and sunke in the Roads. I brake downe our Kitchen wall at the *English* House, which was newly made, and flowed into our Ouen, and brake it downe, and blew downe the tyles, and vncouered part both of the house and kitchen, and the house did shake, like as if there had beene an Earthquake; I neuer puld night in all my life in such feare, for the barbarous vnrly people did runne vp and downe the streets all night with fire-brands, that the wind carried great coales quite ouer the toppes of houses, and some houses being carryed away, the wind whirled vp the fire which was in them, and carried it into the ayre in great flakes, very fearefull to behold; so that the great teare I had was that all would haue been consumed with fire: and I verily thinke it had, had it not been for the extreme raue which fell (contrary to the true nature of a Tufson) being accompanied with lightning and thunder. Our shippe rode at an anchor with five Cables, and as many Anchors, whereof one old Cable burst, but God be thanked no other hurt done: our long Boat and Skiffe were both driuen from the shippe, yet both recovered againe: And as it said, it did more hurt: so at *Longague* then here, for it brake about twentie *China* lunkes, and the Spanish ship which brought the *Emilia* shoure from the *Mantilles* or *Philippines*.

A mighty Tur-
p. B. with di-
firing ch. ds
thereof.

Footstoper
fissions.

The twelth, two Merchants of *Misco* came to our *English* house, vnto whom I shewed all our Commodities; they laid by two broad-chests, viz. a Stammel and a Blacke, the best they could find, and offered vnto Tais *Japan* money the yard: also they saw our *Prismas* Gold, and offered eleven Tais *Japan* plate, for one Tais Gold: but went away without doing any thing. *Francis Williams* being drunke ashore, did strike one of the old Kings men with a cudgel, which gaue him no occasion at all, nor spake a word to him. The man came to the *English* house, and complained, being very angry (and not without cause) giuing me to vnderstand, that he would in- forme the King his Master, how he was misused by our people. He had three or foure in Compa- ny with him, who did see him abused, and that he which did it, was newly gone aboard the ship. I gaue them faire words, and desired them to go aboard, and find out the partie, and they should see him punished to their contents; and to that effect, sent *Miguel our Lurebello* along with them: so they found out the said *Williams*, who would haue denied it, if the matter had not been too manifest; but he stood stiffly against it with oaths; yet the Master called him to be broughte drunke, but he was so vnrly, that he tooke vp a crow of Iron to haue stricken the fellow in pre- sence of the Master, vntill the Master in verry bad termes.

Merchants of
Misco.

Of many mil-
denarians, I
perme some
palle the Prells
that the cause
of so many
deaths in the
Indies, might
be founde
to be imputed
to their owne
faults: the fol-
lowers a disem-
per, and for a
certaine coo-
the s which
shall end or be
sent into *Libi-
nize* Regions;
yet doe I com-
pale the moist
and worst.

The thirteenth, I vnderstood, that *Fayne* the old King of *Firando* was sicke, whereupon I sent *Miguel our Lurebello* to visit him, and to carry a Present of one great bottle of the Generalls sweet wine, and two boxes of Conserues, Comits, and Sugar-bread, offering him my Service, being very sorry to heare of his sicknesse, and that I would haue come my self, but that I knew compa- ny was not pleasing to sicke men. He tooke my Present in very good part, and returned me many thanks; wishing me not to let to aske for any thing we had need of, either for the ship, or ashore, and he would giue such order, as we should be furnished.

The foureteenth in the morning betimes, the Master came ashore, and told me that most part of the ships company had lien ashore all night without asking him leave, notwithstanding the great wind which had continued all night, and the ship on ground, so he willed me to let *Miguel our Lurebello* goe along with him to seeke them out, which I was content he should do, and would haue accompanied him my self, but he was vnrly, telling me it was needlesse, B it
10 N. *McIlham* the Purser went along with him, and he found diuers drinking and committing the blowes amongst some of them, and notwithstanding the Master had commanded *Lambert* and *Colphax* to retire aboard, yet they staid ashore all day, notwithstanding the great need was aboard about ships businesse, diuers *Japans* being hired to helpe them: and *Lambert* and *Colphax* being drunke, went into the field and fought, *Lambert* being hurt in the arme, and remained drunke ashore all night, as *Relax* did the like, and so had done two or three nights before, and quarrelled with *Christopher Ewart*, about a whore.

Vnrlynesse of
some Mariners

The fuenteenth of September, I was gien to vnderstand the Batian which keepeth the whore-house gaue it out, that if I came any more into his house to seeke for our people, he would kill me, and such as came with me. Whereupon I went and complained to the young King, because the old was sicke: and at my request, the King made Proclamation, that no *Japans* should receive any of our people into their houses after day light was done, vpon great paine; and that it should be lawfull for me, or any other that accompanied me to goe into any *Japan* house to seeke for our men, without any molestation; and that they themselves should aide and assist me, and if the doore were not opened at my coming, I might lawfully brake them downe: and a fo il

September, 12.
1615.
When the
Baudenry
thrice at 75
were d. h. d.
The King was
titte.

The eight, *Semidone* passing by our doore, told mee that *Bon Din* had a Brother in companie, which expected a present, although it was not fitting it should be so much, as his Brothers So upon aduice with others I laid by a present for him, as followeth; & going to deliver it, the *Flemings* were before me with another, *Captaine Brower* himselfe being with it. Hee accepted very kindly of the present, offering his alliance to our Nation, either at Court, or in the Countrey. And soon after he came to the *English* House himselfe, accompanied with many Causeleues, where they looked on all our Commodities, yet hee went away and bought nothing, but gave mee a small Catran, and I gave him two Glasse Bottles, two Gally-pots, and about halfe a Catter of great Cloues, picked out from the rest of purpose, hee being desirous to haue them for Physicall matters, as he told me. I made him and his followers a collation, and so they departed content. And soon after *Bon Din*, & the two Kings sent a Causaleer to me, to haue me to give it in writing vnder my hand, that our Run-aways not receive any punishment for this fact, by consill of others: I consended thereunto, and made a Writing in promise and faith of a Christian, they procure their pardon for this time of the Generall; if I had not done this, out of doubt, we should neuer haue got them againe, but the *Spaniard* would haue conveyed them to the *Mauilles* or *Maluccos*, I not doubting but the Generall will allow of what I haue done. And presently after this man was gone I had word, that the *Bon Din*, and his Brother would go aboard to visit our ship, so I sent some banketting stuffe aboard, and went my selfe and met them, where they were content rayned in the best sort we could, and *Bon Din* gave mee two Catrans for a present, and so they departed with seven Peeces of Ordnance shot off for a farewell. But forth with his Brother returned aboard againe, desiring to haue one of the little Monkeys, which his Brothers children: so I bought one of the Master Gunner, cost me five Riads of eight, and sent him to *Bon Din*, and being ready to go aboard, he was desirous to haue me go along with him in his Boate, which I did, hee having three Peeces of Ordnance for a farewell, which I understood afterwards was much esteemed of by both Brothers, and being aboard he would needs accompany me home to our *English* House, which I was unwilling of, yet he would of force do it. So I made him collation againe in *Captaine Adams* chamber: and so hee and the rest departed well contented, (as it seemed) I offering to haue accompanied him backe to his lodging, but he would not suffer mee. And late at night *Foyne Same* the old King sent a man to me to know the particular of the presents given to both the Brothers, and put it downe in writing, but for what occasion I know not. And I forgot to note downe how *Bon Din* went to the *Dutch* House to wash himselfe in the new Hot-house, and from thence it was that hee came aboard our ship.

The ninth, *Bon Din* sent one of his men to me to give mee thanks for his kind entertainment aboard, and by the same Messenger sent mee two Barrels of *Musco* Wine for a Present. And soon after his Brother sent another man with two Barrels of *Japan* Wine, with the like cerimonie: both of them being very earnest to haue a Prospect of Glasse, and in the end I found an old one of *Master Eaton*, but soon after he returned me the said Glasse with thanks, not desiring at all to haue it.

The tenth, two of the Governours sonnes of *Langasque* (I meane another Governour which dwelt in the Towne) came to see our *English* House, they are Christians. I entertained them in the best sort I could, and shewed them our commodities, and after made them collation and gave them Musicke, *Master Howells* and the Carpenter by chance being here: and as we were at it, old *Foyne* the King came stealing in vpon vs, and did out the rest idly, and seeing the King and the *Langasques* together, I walked out to *our* *Irrebusso*, to put out a word for the speeche sending backe of our Run-aways: which they all promised, provided, that they should be pardoned for this fault, as I had formerly promised, which now againe I acknowledged. The old King desired to haue a piece of *English* Beefe, and another of *Pork*, so I with Onions and Turnips, and sent to him to morrow.

The eleventh, I sent *Migell* our *Irrebusso* to the old King, with the Beefe and *Pork* accommodated as afore-said, with a bottle of wine, and sixe Loaves of white Bread: he accepted of it in very kind part, having in his company at eating thereof, the young King his Grand-child, and *Nabysso* his Brother, with *Semidone* his Kinsman.

The twelfth, I went to visit both the Kings, and found old *Foyne* asleepe, but spake with his Governour, and from thence went to the young King, and spake with him himselfe: they gave me thanks for the kind entertainment: I gave vnto these strangers, which they tooke as done vnto them selves. And towards night the old King sent to visit me, and to tell me he understood these people which are departed, I had taken away certain commodities from me, and paid mee what they themselves thought good, and not that which I required, I returned him aduice, that it was true that they had done so, but I know not whether it were the custome of this Countrey or no; for that I was guesen to understand they stole the like custome both with *Chinese* and *Portugalls* at *Langasque*, and that which they had taken from me, was worth the speaking of. I was answered, that although they did so with the *Chinese* at *Langasque*, which were a people detened not to trade into *Japan*, yet could they not doe so to Strangers

A great Feast among the *Portugalls* began this day, being goldsmith was like Lent, or Palques of the *Portugalls*.

that had free priuiledge to trade, especially here in this place where these fellows had no command nor nothing to doe. I replied, I would come and speake with his Highnesse my selfe, and informe him of the truth: and in the meane time returned humble thanks, for the care hee had to vse Iustice to Strangers as well as home-borne. *Captaine Brower* lent me word that they had taken diuers sorts of commodities from him, and paid him what they list for it: he also lent to the *English* an empty Bottle, desiring to haue it filled with *Spanish* Wine, for that hee had imited certain Strangers, and had none.

The thirteenth, I heard three or foure Gunner, or Chambers go off, which I thought had bin to doe to entertaine the King at the *Dutch* House: but they were shot out of a *China* Iuncke, which passed by this place, and so went for *Langasque*, and presently after the old King sent for me to come to dinner to the *Dutch* House, and *Master Eaton* with mee, and to bring a Bottle of Wine, *Master Eaton* had taken Physicke and could not goe, but I went: wee had a very good Dinner at the *Dutch* House, the meate being well dressed both after the *Japan* and *Dutch* fashion, and served vpon Tables, but no great drinking. The old King fate at one Table, accompanied with his eldest Sonne, and both the young Kings Brothers (for the young King himselfe was not there, sending word he was not well) at the other Table. First, the *Nabysso* the old Kings Brother, and then my selfe, and next me *Semidone*, and then the old King's Governour, and next him *Zanzabars* Father-in-law, and diuers other Causeleues on the other side. *Captaine Brower* did not sit at all, but carued at Table, all his owne people attending and serving on their knees, and in the end, hee gaue drinke to every one of his gheits, with his owne hand, and vpon his knees, which seemed strange to me, and when they had dined, all the Nobles went away, and *Captaine Brower* would needs accompany me to the *English* House. I asked him why hee serued these people vpon his knees, they sitting at Table: he answered me it was the fashion of the Countrey; and if the King himselfe made Feast, hee did the like for the more honour of his gheits. And before night the old King *Foyne* came to the *English* House, and visited all parts, and made collation, staying an houre talking of one thing and other.

The fourteenth, I was guesen to understand that two Christians were come from *Langasque*, so I went to their lodging to see what they were, as also to understand some newes from our men (or Fugitiues) I found the one of them to be a *Flemming* borne in *Flushing*, (as hee told mee) and the other an *Italian* borne in the Duchie of *Venice*. They told mee that our seuen men (or Runaways) were conueighed away secretly in a small Barke, which is gone for *Macaw*, and that they were runne to get passage in our ship to returne into their Countries, they told me *Master Adams* knew them well. And they were very leirous to haue gone immediately aboard our ship, there to haue remayned, because they were Sea-faring men. The *Flemming* having desired the *Spaniard* three and twentie or foure and twentie yeares, and came a *Malice* Mate from *Agua pulca* for the *Mauilles* or *Philippinas*, they had good store of money, and would haue sent it aboard our ship, or haue brought it to the *English* House: but I told them that in our Generals absence I durst not presume to give them entertainment. Yet notwithstanding, I would doe them any fauour I could at his returne, and so sent *Migell* our *Irrebusso* to the King to let him understand, that two such Strangers were come to Towne to seeke passage in our shippe, they being no *Spaniards*, nor yet Subiects to the King of *Spain*. The King returned mee answere, that if they were such as I said they were, they were welcome: but if they were *Cassilians*, or *Portugalls*, hee would permit none to stay in this place, his reason is, for that the *Spanish* Ambassadors had procured order from the Emperour of *Japan*, that all *Spaniards* which are to be found in his Emprer, shall retire themselves into the *Philippinas*, but these being no *Spaniards*, are out of that number.

The fiftenth times, the two strangers came to mee, desiring me to accompany them to the old King, the better to countenance them; which vpon good consideration I did. They told me in the way, that our Fugitiues had reported at *Langasque* that more would come after them, and not any man of account stay to carry away the ship; the occasion they said was, for that they which had command ouer them, vied them more like dogges then men: adding further, that if twentie resolute *Spaniards* would take the matter in hand, with a small Boat or two they might easily take our shippe. The old King gaue vs all kind entertainment, and asked the strangers many questions about the warres betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Flemmings* in the *Moluccas*: the which they said the *Spaniards* were determined to pursue very hotly, and to that effect had great forces prepared. They also told the King, they thought verily all our Fugitiues were secretly conveyed from *Langasque* (even daies past) in a Soma, that departed from thence for *Macaw*; but the King would not beleue them, saying it was not possible that such a man as *Bon Din*, having placed his word to bring them backe, should be found to be false of his promise. In fine, he was very well contented, that these two strangers should stay here, and goe along in our ship; if they pleased the Generall to carry them. So the poore men returned to their lodgings with much content: and told me in the way, that we might make account we had not lost all our men, but recovered two, that would remaine as faithful to the death, as the others had proved false. Adding further, that we needed not to wish any worse reuenge to our Fugitiues, then the bad entertainment they were sure to haue of the *Spaniards*, coming bare and beggerly as they did, in such bale full.

Bon Din Bro. their iniurious to the *English* and *Dutch*.

A *Chinese* hee took for *Langasque*.

Dinner with the *Dutch*.

* *George Peter* On a *Fish*. Dinner *Malacca* *Venezuela*.

Macaw a Towne of *Portugalls* neere the Government of *China*.

Migell the *Irrebusso*, *Captain Adams* his man was in need of double dealing in this case of the Fugitiues: the circumstances, I omit.

corſ; which goe about it, with the other, which maketh it to ſound great or ſmall as they liſt, according their voices with it; one playing on a Flute or Flute; but all harſhly, and not pleaſant to our hearing. Yet I neuer ſaw Play wherein I noted ſo much, for I ſee their policie is great in doing thereof, and quite contrary to our Comedies in Chriſtendome, ours being but dumbe ſhewes, and this the truth it ſelfe, acted by the Kings themſelves, to keepe in perpetual remembrance their affaires. The King did not lend for the *Flemings*, and therefore I accounted it a greater grace for vs. At our returne to the *Engliſh* houſe, I found three or four *Flemings* there, one of them was in a *Japan* habit, and came from a place called *Cyſima*, within ſight of *Ceres*. I vnderſtand, they ſold Pepper, and other Commodities there, and I thinke haue ſome ſecret trade into *Ceres*, or elſe are very likely to haue it. I hope, if they doe well, we cannot doe amiſſe. *Al. Adams* bore the man that put them forward vnto it, and no doubt will be as forward for the good of his owne Countrey, as for Strangers. *Hernando Ximenes* was with *Captaine Brower*, and ſaw the two men which came from *Cyſima*, and did aſke him from whence they came; whereat *Captaine Brower* was angry, telling him he would giue him no account thereof. And towards night, I vnderſtood that two *Spaniards* were come from *Langaſque*, and lodged at *Zanzibar*; and ſent for the *Jureſſa* to come to them; but I would not let him go ſo ſoon. After, *Zanzibar* and they came to the *Engliſh* houſe, the one of them being *Andres Bulgaryn*, the *Genoues*, which paſſed by this place the other day; and the other is called *Benito de Palas*, and is Pilot Maier of the *Spaniſh* ſhip, which was caſt away on the Coaſt of *Japan*, and is the ſame man which came from *Langaſque*, to viſit *M. Adams* at his being here. They told me they were come of purpoſe to viſit their friends; namely, my ſelfe fiſt of all, with many other words of complement, and then entered into ſpeeches of our Fugitiues; ſaying, it was not the Fathers (as they call them) which kept our people ſecret, or went about to conuay them away; but rather they of *Langaſque* themſelves, who they reported to be very bad people. In fine, I flood in doubt that their fellows are come of purpoſe, to inſiſt more of o^r people to doe as the others haue done, and thereof addreſſed the Maſter, to haue a care both to ſhip and boats, as alſo to take notice of any ſuch as went about to keepe them company: for that is good to doubt the worſt, for the beſt will ſaue it ſelfe.

Cyſima, Ceres.

Dutchiſe ſouleſe

Zanzibar had people

November. 1613.

Forewarned foreſeend

Biſhop in Japan

The Pagod is the ſole or I. did temple, or both.

The fiſt of Nouember at night, two houſes were ſet on fire on the other ſide the water, but fire was ſoone put out, but the villaines that did it could not be found. I ſent *M. Foſſer* the Maſter a letter, aduertiſing him to take care of ſhip and boats, as alſo to looke vnto the behaviour of our people, for that I doubted theſe two *Spaniards* were but come as Spies, to ſee what we did, and to inſiſt ſome other of o^r people to doe as the former did. *Allo*, I aduised him how I vnderſtood the ſaid *Spaniards* did pretend to inſiſt him to dinner this day; but I wiſhed him to take heed they gaue him not a *Hipe*: he returned me anſwer, that he eſteemed them ſuch as I tooke them for, and therefore would haue a care to the maine chance. But ſoone after he came aſhoare, and the *Spaniards* came to the *Engliſh* houſe, and with much intreaty, got *M. Foſſer*, and *M. William Eaton* to goe along to dinner with them to *Zanzibar*; and the other two *Spaniards* and *Hernando* did the like. But theſe two *Spaniards* came vnto me, and bade mee tell the Maſter or any other that went with them, to take heed they did not eate nor drinke any thing, but ſuch as they did ſee the others taſte before them; for that it was no truſting of them, of which I aduised both the Maſter, and *M. Eaton*. *Allo* I ſent *Miguel our Jureſſa*, to both the Kings (and other Nobles) to giue them thanks for our kind entertainment yesterday, *Hernando Ximenes* told me that *M. Adams* had goods in his hands, belonging to this Pilot Maier of the *Spaniard*, and that his chiefe commodity was, thinking to haue met *M. Adams* here, and doth meane to attend his coming to haue an account of thoſe matters. As alſo they brought Letters of recommendation from the Biſhop, and other Fathers to the other two *Spaniards* (or ſtrangers) to perſwade them to retorne backe to *Langaſque*; but I thinke it is not their determination ſo to doe.

The ſecond, ſome villaines ſet an houſe on fire in the Fiſh ſtreete; and it was ſoone put out and the partie eſcaped; and it is generally thought to be ſome baſe people or Renegades, which liſt lyeing vp and downe the Towne, and came from *Miaſo*; and there are much ſuſpected, but no proofe as yet found againſt them. But there is order giuen, to make Gates and Parriſons ouer euerie ſtreete in diuers places, and watch to be kept at each place, and no man be ſuffered to walke in the night, except he be found to haue earneſt buſineſſe. Another villaine got into a poore widdowes houſe, thinking to haue robbed her, but the making an out-cry, hee fled vp into the wood, our againſt the *Engliſh* houſe, where the Pagod is; and ſoone after, the wood was better round about, with aboue haue hundred men, but the theefe could not be found. At night, as we were going to bed, there was an out-cry on a ſudden, that theues were on the top of our houſe, ſetting it on fire; but our ladders being ready reared, both my ſelfe and others were not long a going vp, but found nothing, but that all our neighbours houſes were peopled on the tops on a ſudden, as well as ours. And it is to be thought it was nothing but a ſaile larm, giuen of purpoſe to ſee how euerie one would be found in a readineſſe. Yet at that very inſtant there was a houſe ſet on fire, but ſoone quenched, it being a good way from our *Engliſh* houſe.

The night paſt, three houſes were ſet on fire in diuers parts of the Towne, but all put out at begin-

beginning, ſo that no hurt was done. So now order is giuen, to take notice in euerie houſe what people are in them, whether ſtrangers or others; and ſuch as are found to be ſuſpect, ſet dare to be ſuſpect out of the Countrey; and gates or bars made to ſhut vp the pallices or ends of ſtreets, and watch liſt in diuers places, without crying and making a noyſe vp and downe ſtreets in the night, as hath been for a time heretofore without either forme or ſaſhion: yet none ſuſpecting all this, a villaine about tenne a clocke in the night, ſet a houſe on fire near vnto the Pagod, our againſt our *Engliſh* houſe; but he was eſpied by the watch, who purified him with all ſpeed, but hee got into the wood about the Pagod, which forthwith was better round about, with aboue five hundred armed men, and the old King *Foyne* came in perſon with many other Noble men, 10 aſſiſt in the purſuit. Yet I verily thinke, the villaine did runne vp and downe amongſt the reſt, crying, Keepe theefe, as w. ll as hee ſhould.

The fourth, the night paſt there was fire put in diuers places more, one in the Towne and an other in the Countrey, beſides the Houſe neere ours, as I ſaid before. Order is now giuen, to haue ſecret watch in diuers parts of the Towne euerie night, and no man to goe out in the night except vpon vrgent occaſion, and then to haue a light before them, to the end they may be ſene. If this decorum be duly kept, our Houſe butners will ſay leaſt inſight. I told the Kings, and others hereof aboue a weeke paſt, and now it is put in execution.

The fiſth, this morning I receiued two Letters, the one from *Domingo Francisco* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador dated in *Ximonaſque* five dayes paſt, and the other from *Fernando the Portugall*: the Ambaſſador went ouer Land from thence to *Langaſque*, and ſent his Seruant with the Letters, vnto whom I ſhewed ſuch Commodities as hee enquiret for, and returned him off for our officers; all our Generals retorne writing him a Letter in anſwere of his, the Copie whereof I kept: his officers ſall tooke liking of two pieces of fine *Semian* Chowters, and eight pieces of white Baſas, and paid ſeven Taſ the piece for Chowters, and two Taſ the piece for Baſas. There came a *Spaniſh* Friar or Leuite, in the Boat with the Ambaſſadors man, & deferred to ſee our ſhip, which I willed our Maſter to let him, and to vie him kindly, which hee did. For as the eldeſt ſaying is, It is good ſometimes to hold a Canle to the D. uill, &c. Maſter Eaton, *Hernando* and my ſelfe dined with *Domingo*, and were kindly entertained.

The ſixth, this day about ten a clocke, our General and all his company arrived heere from the *Japan* Court, Maſter *Adams* being in company with him. Anſwerably the General ſent me w. ll *John Adams our Jureſſa*, to viſit both the Kings, and ſha. ke them in their kindeſſe: in ſo w. ll accommodating him with a Baute, as alſo for the care they had of the ſhip, and the reſt in his abſence, and that he would come on the morrow to viſit them, being now weary of his long Voyage. They tooke this viſitation kindly, ſaying, they would be glad to ſee him at their Houſes. Alſo certain Merchants of *Miaſo* which came from *Langaſque*, came to our *Engliſh* Houſe, and had ſight of all our commodities, and amongſt the reſt, took liking of ſeven pieces of Caſſidy mill, and made price for them at three Taſ the piece, which is in all thirtie Taſ; and ſent them to their lodging, as other Merchants before had done the like, and ſo returned mee money to my content, but theſe ſent mee nothing but a Paper, and conſigned mee to receive my money of *Semidone*, who was newly gone out of Towne on a Voyage, our General meſſing him on the way; but I returned the Merchants word, that I would lue my payment of them, or elſe my Merchandize backe againe, but they made anſwere, I ſhould haue neither the one nor the other; neither would the Hoſt of the Houſe where they lodged paſſe his word for payment, ſo I Merchants of *Miaſo* were forced to goe to both the Kings to ſeeke for ſuſtice, but firſt ſent word aboord, that it the Boate of *Miaſo* weighed anchor to goe away, that they ſhould man out the Skiffe, and ſtay ther, which they did, and made her to come to an anchor againe, and in the meane time I ſpake to the Kings, but the younger ſaid that *Semidone* was a man able enough to pay me. And then I answered and asked him, what if *Semidone* did not, whether he would, and he told me no, and woulde we were talking of it, ſaid *Foyne Same* came in and told me he would take order that I ſhould haue content: yet his order had come coole, & it our Pinnales had not ſtayed them. So in the end the Hoſt where they did lodge, paſſed his word for payment.

Captaine *Brower* and all his Merchants came to the *Engliſh* Houſe to viſit our General, and *Nobiana* ſent him a young Porke for a Preſent, ſaying, hee would come himſelfe and viſit him with a day or two.

Here follow certaine Letters, the firſt ſent from the Emperour to the Prince of *Orange*, the reſt from the *Engliſh* in *Japan*, and principally from Maſter Cocks, wherein the *Japoniſe* Affairs, and various Occurrents for diuers yeares are expreſſed.

Order to pre- ſent: Five- knowes, and Night-cryes.

Alſeſſe:

Capt. Sarda his retorne from the Emperours Court.

Merchants of *Miaſo* payed the Merchants.Goyſe the Por- tugal ſent the Generals Pre- ſent of *Japan* Fyſs and Cheſnua.

the

To the Worshipfull THOMAS WILSON Esquire, at his House at the Brittain-Burgh, at the Strand, give these.

Sir, my last unto you was of the first of December 1613. dated in the Isle of Firando in Iapan; and sent by Captaine John Saris, in the ship called the Cloare: wherein I advertised you how unkindly the Hollanders dealt with us in the Maluccas. Since which time there is not any matter of moment to advise you of, more than I have touched in another Letter to my good Lord Treasurer. The Hollanders give us due reverence, that is a very likely our East-India Company of England, and that of Holland shall supply all in one: which if it prove true, it is thought an easie matter to drive both Spaniards and Portugals out of their Eastern parts of the world; or else utterly to cut them off, or debarre them from all Trade. For you will surely believe how the Hollanders already have dominated the Spaniards and Portugals in these parts, especially in the Maluccas, where they daily encroach upon the Spaniards, who are not able to withstand their proceedings: but now stand in much feare, that in short time they will also take the Philippina from them. Also the Portugals, which trade from Ormus to Goa, and so for Malacca and Macao in China, stand daily in feare to be surpris'd by them.

Hollanders are in Maluccas.

Spaniards and Portugals feare.

Hollanders rob the Iunkes of China.

Hollanders sea force.

Islands play the F. Dutch Agents and Beggar's thespies, as by all said relations may appear. Fame of the English in the remote East.

Force of Tempest in Iapan.

All Gallees of some English in Cauchina.

One thing there is, the issue whereof I cannot well conceive: and that is the robbing of the Iunkes of China, daily practis'd by the Hollanders in these parts: the goods whereof cannot come but amount to great matters; and suffice for out and maintain a great Fleet, which is worthy of consideration. And if it should happen, that the King of Iapan should fall out with the Hollanders, and debarre them from Trade into his Dominions, (as it may fall out that he will): then is it likely the Hollanders will make prize as well of Iapans as Chinas. For out of doubt, their Forces at sea in these parts are sufficient to do what they list, if they have but a victualling place to retire unto. And they are of late growne very slow, and mocke at them, which, all the world knoweth, were their masters and teachers. And it is very certain that they have gotten possession of divers Fortresses in the Maluccas, and those parts: yet on my knowledge the people of those parts do rather incline to the Spaniards, then to them: although as the first, they were glad of their arrival, by means of the intolerable pride of the Spaniards. Yet now time telleth them, that the Spaniard brought them store of Rials of plate; and in their proud humours were liberal, which was easie for them to do, in respect they had wherewithall to do it. But the poorer Hollanders, which Trade in these parts for soldiers, both by sea and land, have such bare pay, that it will hardly find them clothing to their backs, and meat for their bellies: Their Commanders alledge, that all the benefit which hapeth, is by her vessels for conquest, as for the States, and Winchebbers, as they call them. So that what will come of this in the end, is hard to judge.

Two letting these matters pass, I am verily of opinion, that, if it be not for the mislike measure of the Hollanders, we shall obtaine a Trade in China: for our demands but for three ships a yeare to come and goe, and only to leave Factories sufficient to doe the business, without bringing in any Indians or Padres, as they tearme them, which the Chineses cannot abide to beare of, because hitherto they came into these parts in such numbers, to inhabit, that now they will not endure it, and were alwayes crying and begging without shame, which is a common saying among the Pagans.

One thing there is, which putteth me in good hope, and that is the good report and fame, which our English Nation hath gotten in these parts, since our arrivall: which, as I am given to understand, it comes to the knowledge of the Emperor of China: and how the chiefe King of Iapan hath received us, and granted unto us very large privileges. At this, how that the English at all times, have held the Catholians, as they call them, to hard meate, both by sea and land. These things the Chineses themselves tell me: and that the Emperor and other great men in China, delight to beare reports of our Nation. But I had almost forgotten to now advise you of some Chinese Merchants put out a question to me, to wisse if we had a trade in China, whether the King of England would debarre the Hollanders from robbing and spoiling of their Iunkes? Which question was answer'd unto me: yet I answered them, that in all cases we would take such order, that the Hollanders should not misuse them.

Of late here is come news from Edoo, a Cite of Iapan as bigge as London, wherein the chiefe of the Nobilitie of Iapan have beautifull houses, that by means of an exceeding Tiffon or tempest, all or the most part of them are destroyed: the whole Cite being overslown with water, and the people forced to flye up into the mountaines, a chiefe never heard of before: and the Kings Palace being flatch builded in a new Fortresse, the tyles being all glided on the out-side, were all carryed away with a whirlwind, so that none of them are to be found. The Pagans attribute it to some Charnes, or by Conjunctions of the Iejus lately banished: but the Papij Iaponians doe rather ascribe it to the punishment of God, for the hanging of such holy men.

Another matter there is, which I thought good to advertise you of, and that is of a disaster lately happened to us in Cauchina: China. To which place we sent a quantitie of goods and money, in the suite of such hundred and thirty pound sterling, as it cost in England. A Master Temytt Peacock, and Master Walter Carwarden, going for Merchants in a Iapan Iuncke, carryed the Kings Majesties Letters of England, with a Present of worth for the King of Cauchina-China, and arrived at that Part of Discharge, called Quinham: delivered his Majesties Letters, and the Present, which were taken in good part; and they entertained with kind speeches, and large promises. The Hollanders seeing we came with so

that place, would needs doe the like, and tooke fraught in other Iunkes, and were likewise well entertained as first. But in the end, Master Peacocke and the chiefe Merchant of the Hollanders, going on shore, both in one boat, to receive certaine summes of money of the King for broad-Cloath, and other Commodities sold him, were treacherously set upon in the water, and their boats overturn'd, they being killed in the water with sharping from the fishes, with their Interpreters and other followers which were Iaponians: Walter Carwarden beinge altho the Iuncke escaped, and came away. But from that day to this, we can heare no news, neither of him, nor of the Iuncke, wherefore we feare hee is cast away.

The common report both of the Chineses, and Iapans, is, that the King of Cauchina-China did this, to revenge it on the Hollanders, for burning a Towne of his, and putting his people to death without mercy. The originall grew from a great quantitie of selfe Dollars or Rials of eight, sent to Quinham by the Hollanders, certaine yeeres past, and thence away for Saker, and other China stufes, with the Merchants of that place. But the fallowd of the money beinge offered, they laid hands on the Holland Factors, and I think some of them put to death, in revenge: whereupon the Holland ships coming on that Coast, landed their men, and burned a Towne, putting Men, Woman, and Child to the sword. This was the chiefe occasion (as report goeth) that this mischance is happened now. Master Peacocke beinge slaine, because he was in company with the Hollanders. Here inclosed, I send you a Iapan Almanacke, whereby you may see their order of Printing, Figures, and Chariollers. And so I leave you to the holy protection of the Almighty. Resting always

Your Worships to command,
RICHARD COCKE.

From Firando in Iapan. December 10. 1614.

December 5. 1615.

Sir, I received a Letter from you by the hands of Captaine Copendall, Captaine of the Hollanders, which arriv'd here in Iapan twentie ninth of August, 1615, wherein I understood of your safe arrivall at the Cape Bona Esperanza somewhat bound: wherein your worship gave mee to understand, of the losse of some of your Company; yet I make no doubt, but by the grace of God, you are safely arriv'd in England long before this time. I sent you a Letter, dated the last of November, 1614, by the Hollanders ship called the old Zealand, wherein I gave you to understand of the death of Mr. Peacocke, and Walter Carwarden betrayed in Cauchina, which was not a little grieve to us all before the losse of the Companies goods. This last yeere past, Mr. Wickham, Mr. Adams, and my Selfe, beinge bound in a Iuncke which we bought for Siam, havinge great stormes and fowle weather, sprung leakes in her, and were faine to beare up for the Ilands Leuckes, where we stayed so long and could not stop our leakes, we lost our Menjoy, and came to Firando againe. This yeere we have trimm'd her againe, and at this present ready to set forth againe for Siam. My greatest hope in these parts is, that we shall have a trade into China; for we have great possibilities, and I make no doubt but are long to see a Factory established there, by means that the Captaine Cheney and his brothers have made. We have had here the last Summer great troubles of Warre, betwixt the Emperor and Fidaa Sama, which we do not know whether hee bee slaine or fled, but the Emperor hath got the victory, with losse of men of both sides the summe of foure hundred thousand. Thus havinge no more news to write, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty. From Firando in Iapan.

Forty thousand Iapans left in Cinnil wires.

Your Servants always to command,
EDMOND SATYR.

Firando in Iapan. December 4. 1616.

Worshipfull Sir, my humble dutie alwayes remembered: havinge so fit an opportunity, I could not choose but to write your worship with these few lines, I beinge but newly arriv'd here in Firando, of a hard and tedious Voyage from Siam, which went in a Iuncke of the Right Honourable Companies, Mr. Adams beinge Master, and my selfe Factor in her, havinge bought more goods than we could lade, we freighted another Iuncke for Iapan: Mr. Benjamin Fary beinge principall of the Factory of Siam, thought it fit for me to goe on this Iuncke for Iapan, for the safety and of the worshipfull Companies goods: wherein I took my Voyage, the yeere beinge first spent, that we were from the first of June, to the seventeenth of September, betwixt Siam and Shachmar, with much torment and fowle weather, havinge lost twenty of our men with a China Pilot, which had no understandinge of Navigation: for when he was out of sight of the Land, hee lay not where he was, nor what course to take: then hee fallinge sick, was not able to creepe out of his Cabin, I beinge forced with the small skill I had, to doe my best, and with the helpe of God brought the Iuncke safe to Shachmar, where we arriv'd the seventeenth of September, havinge but faine men able to stand on their legs, cominge so late to Firando, that I could not goe this yeere to Siam, but the Companies Iuncke is gone with Mr. Wilkinton, and two English Pilots, whose names are Robert Burges, and John Burges.

Your Worships servant till death,
EDMOND SATYR.
Almm

Virando in Japan. February 15. 1617.

Capt. George Barkley.
 Capt. George Barkley.
 Trade in Cutchin was lucky.
 Fight of Hollanders and Spaniards.
 Hollanders wrecking the English name.

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 Trade in Cutchin was lucky.
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 Hollanders wrecking the English name.

sent M. Adams to tell them, they should aside out of his Dominions, he having formerly banished all of their center, and remained still in the same opinion. It is said, that Fidati Same had promised the Jesuits entrance againe, if he had got the victorie, and been settled in the Empire, which if it had taken effect, out of doubt both Hollanders and we had been turned out of Iapax. And therefore better as it is.

At Ilo, the last yeere when we set out our Junke, we entertained a Spaniard, called Damian Mariana, and was the same man which I thought once to have gone along with you, in Company of George Peter. This Damian was a good helme man; and therefore entertained, and an other Spaniard, called Juan de Lieuna went with them as a Passenger, but the Junke loosing her Voyage, they returned to Langaka, where some after arrived the Carriage from Amacau; and understanding that these two men had gone in our shipping, they laid hands of them, and put them in chains, above the great ship, condemning them to death, as Traytors to their Prince and Countrey in serving the English their enemies. Which coming to my knowledge, I took their defence in hand, and by authority from the Emperour got them set at libertie, to the great sight and hearty grieve of both Spaniards and Portugals, these two men going Passengers in the Mohander for Bantam, &c. We have had extreme troubles in Iapax, by means of the Jewarres, in posse or transporting of our goods from place to place, to save it. I long to hear from you of your safe arrival, &c.

M. Adams is gone againe in the Junke for Siam, accompanied only with M. Edmond Syer, and M. Neallon is very sick, but M. Wickham, and M. Eaton well. I pray you deliver the enclosed to my brother.

Yours, most assured at command,

RICHARD COCK.

Naugafaque in Iapan, the tenth of March 1610.

IT is now almost three yeeres last past since I wrote your Worships any Letter, and is by means of the Unlooked for & unwelcome proceedings of the Hollanders against our English Nation in all these parts of the World, not passing out in these Kingdomes of Iapan, contrary to the large Priviledges which the Emperour of Iapan hath given us, that the Iapans should not meddle with us. But these Hollanders their being having since ships great & small in the Harbor or Port of Land, have with sound of Trumpet proclaimed open War against our English Nation, both by Sea and by Land to take our English ships & goods, and kill our persons as their mortal Enemies, which was done by one Alva Wellerwood, their Admirall or Lord Commander (as they terme him) and openly proclaimed a blood all their shipping. Also they came to brase us before our owne doores, and picking quarrels entered into our House, thinking to have cut all our throats, yet wounded but two persons, and had it not been for the assistance of the Iapans, our Englishmen: and was contented with this, they took our Boat going out about our business, where in there was one Englishman which they carried Prisoner into their House, threatening to have killed him, putting him in great danger of his life, by means of a Company of drunken Conforts which were sent to Captaine King of Plimouth. And besides this, they bent a Piece of Ordnance against them, which took fire, but they shot at them with Musket, he missed the Englishmen, and killed a Iapan: Yet for all this there is no justice executed against them by the King of Iapan, although the Emperour hath commanded him to do it.

Also may it please you to understand, that two of these ships which they brought into Iapan this yeere, are English ships which they took from Englishmen in the Indies, as also they took two other this yeere from them, riding at an anchor in the Roade of Patania, where we have a Factorie, and notwithstanding any such matter: in which broyle, they killed Captaine John Jordan, our Chiefest Prisoner for the right Worshipsfull Company in the Indies, with divers others, and carried the ships and goods quite away, but six of the Mariners which were in the English ships which they took, escaped from them and came to the English House, they sending to me to have them sent backe againe: unto whom I answered, I would first see their Commission, how they durst presume to take our shipping and goods, and kill our Kings Majesties faithfull Subjects as they did: so then they went to the Tono or King of Iapan.

66. butions. This Historie haeth related the worth of many Worthy Hollanders, as it yields a Close-dovell for the Emperour rather than true Dutch) or a Graine-Tub or Swill-out for some braue Brewers and Bakers, who themselves are themselves have, prettily their brutish passions to Gods Glorie, Religion, and publick Peace, but hee no inquirers into the Nation (which I have and know) but to such brutish passion (like Scoundrells) humours in their Voyages, and their long-cherish and want of wonted employment, hee employes their time and lives to their own ends. My is to see what others with their Acts, my faith with Prayers that all may be amended. This is the end of the times that have beene treacherously done.

Mmm 2

deying

* And who was the happy with ourself that delucie from that which they accuse their, but the Engiſt deſiring to have their * English ſlaves (as it pleaſed them to call them) delivered unto them, they had a ſwore, they muſt firſt demand them of the Emperour, and ſo they at the order could beſeſſed. Yet in ſome time, they held not the Engliſh: even ſo the ſlaves were ſold. This was the chief occaſion which made them to put quarters againſt us, to have ſlaves ſell, but I ſay in God, by the ſalvation of our right Honourable, and right uſtlyfull Emperour, will not ſuffer the true and loyal Subjects to loſe their ſhipping, limes and goods, in ſuch order as they may ſuch to undertake, and through Rake of them, which are aſſembled together in theſe parts of the World, to make a daily practice to reb and ſettle all both friends and foes, and I wiſh that you your ſelf will be a ſolator in this: ſo wiſt a caſe, as ſeem to common an Exeme.

This Adam Wellerwood their Lord Commander, ſet my life at ſale, offering fifty Riels of ſeſſe, to any one that would kill me, or thirty Riels for each other Engliſhman: that they could ſell him to the Emperour, had preferred me and the reſt in this place, although they intended two or three, yet they are ſeized. And this proceedings of their Lord Commander, was told me ſecretly by ſome of their own people (willing me) and the reſt to take heed of our ſelves. They alſo informed me of the Noble Parentage of their Lord Commander Wellerwood, telling that his Father is a Chief-Stand-maker at Amſterdam, or thereabout, and the beſt of their Captains either Shoemakers, Carpenter, or Bee-keepers: Sonnes, God bleſſe ſuch an Honourable and Worſhipfull Generation, I conceive, God bleſſe me from them. And ſo to make an end of this matter, I was this yeere ſome at the Emperours Court at Miaco, to make complaint of the abuſe offered to us within his Dominions, contrary to the Priviledges his Maſtie had given us, and I had very good words and promiſes that we ſhould have juſtice, and the Tonon King of Firando commanded it ſe it performed, but as yet nothing done, although I have many times earneſtly ſeek for it.

And at my being at Court, and at the Emperours Palace, Portugals and Spaniards being there at the ſame time, to do their duties to the Emperour, as they doe every yeere when ſhipping cometh, there was a Hollander in the Court, (which had lived in Iapan almoſt twenty yeeres, and ſpoke the Iapan Language well) this fellow, in my hearing and others, began to extoll their King of Holland, to be the greateſt King in Chriſten ſome, and one that he held all the other orders, he little thinking that he had ſuffered what he ſaid: but I was not deſirous to know him, but he would not let me go, ſaid, for they had no King at all in Holland, but were governed by a Court, or rather they governed him. But if they had any King at all, in whom they might ſeek it was the Kings Maſtie of England, who ſhould have been their Protector, otherwise they had never bragged of their States, at which ſpeeches, both Spaniards, Portugals, and others did laugh apace, and for the Hollanders mouth was ſtopped, &c.

And now for news in theſe parts, may I pleaſe you to underſtand that this Emperour is a great Enemy to the name of Chriſtians, eſpecially Iapans, ſo that all which are found are put to death, I ſanſhij ſaw martyred at Miaco, at one time when I was there, becauſe they would not forſake their Chriſtian Faith, ſo amongſt them were little Children of five or ſix yeeres old burned in their mothers armes. Crying out, Ieſus receive their ſoules. Alſo in the Towne of Nauſagaku, there was ſixteen more martyred for the ſame matter, whereof five were burned and the reſt beheaded and cut in pieces, and caſt into the Sea in Sackes of ſhirtie fatborne deepe: yet the Priests got them up againe, and kept them ſecretly for Reliques. There is many more in Priſon in divers other places, as alſo here, which looke bowely when they ſhall die, for very few turne Pagans. Alſo this laſt yeere before Chriſtians, as the Emperour hath diſplaced one of the greateſt Princes of Iapan, called Firuhima Tay of ſeven or ſevenie Mangoca, and turned him into a Carver, in the North parts of Iapan, where he built, but he ſhall perſon in reſpect of that was taken from him, and this muſt I ſee die or cut his head. It was thought there would have been much trouble in Iapan about it, for all Firuhima Tayes Subjects were in Armes, and meant to have held it out to the uttermoſt, having fortified the Citie of Firuhima, and gotten prouiſion into it for a long time, but the Tay himſelfe and his Sonne being in the Emperours Court, he commanded them to write to their Vaſſals, to lay downe their Armes, and ſubmit themſelves to the Emperours pleaſure, or elſe forthwith to cut their throats. So ſoſte was ſuccede unto them, and all returned unto the Emperour, and thoſe pardoned, which had taken up Armes in the defence of the Tay. And the Emperour hath given his Donations being two Kyoedomes, to two of the Emperours own Kiſhians, and now this yeere the Emperour hath pulled downe his Caſtle at Firuhima, which I thinke was more bigger then the Citie of Rocheter, a very beautifull and gallant thing, wherein I ſaw ſome this yeere, and all the ſlaves are carried to Otacky, and there old ruined Caſtle which Ticus Samma built, and Ogitha Samma pulled downe, muſt now be built againe, three times bigger then it was before, ſo that all the Tonon or Kings, have each one their ſake for them to doe: at their own proper charge, yet work in much grudging, they having loane after ſo many yeeres, to turne to their own Land, and now out a ſeldome, are all ſet for againe to come to the Court, which annoyeth them not a little, but they muſt, will they nill they, in paine of belly-cutting: Yet at this very miſt, there is a ſecret mutiny, that Eidaia Samma the Sonne of Ticus Samma is alive; and in the Daives Houſe at Miaco: but I ſhould have beene reported divers times heretofore that hee was alive, and in other places that proved untrue, yet hee is ſome rich Merchants at Miaco, heretofore, which are afraid, and are ready to goe up on a ſudden, for ſea the Emperour ſhould burne Miaco: if it be true, hee is alive, and out of doubt if he be alive, it may turne the Emperours Eſtate upside downe, for hee is no Maſtrall man, but a great Politician: once, loſermer I be, it cannot bee worſe for us then it is. &c. And as I admired you in my laſt, of the pulling downe of all the Churches in Iapan, yet there were ſome

remnants ſtanding in Nauſagaku till this yeere, and the Monaſterie of Miſericordia not touched, neither any Church-yard nor Buriall place, but now by order from the Emperour all is pulled downe, and all Graves and Sepulchres opened, and dead mens bones taken out, and carried into the Fields by their Parents and kindred to be buried elſe-where. And ſtreets made in all their places, where both Churches or Church-yards were, except in ſome places, where the Emperour hath commanded Pagods to be erected, and ſent Heabon Priests to live in them, thinking utterly to roote out the memory of Chriſtianitie out of Iapan. For there were certaine places a little without the Citie of Nauſagaku, where divers Fathers and other Chriſtians were martyred, in the time of Ogolia Samma, where their Parents and Friends had planted greene Trees, and ſet up Altars neere each Tree, unto which place many hundreds went every day to pray, but now by command from the Emperour, all the ſaid Trees and Altars are quite cut downe, and the ground made even, ſuch is his deſire to roote out the remembrance of all ſuch matters.

And in Anno 1618. in the monthes of November and December, there were two Comets ſcene over all Iapan, the firſt riſing in the Eaſt, being like a great ſtery beam rent to the South-wards, and there within the ſpace of a month vaniſhed away. The other did alſo riſe in the Eaſt, being a great blaſting Starre, and went North-wards, and within a month vaniſhed quite away about the Conſtellation of Charles-mayne, or Virg. Major. The Wiſſards in theſe parts deepe prognostiſed great matters thereſus, but nothing of moment hath happened, but the depoſing of Firuhima Tay, aforeſaid.

But I am aſhamed to write you the newes the Portugals and Spaniards report, and ſome of them have ſermed me Letters to verifie it, and is of a bloudie Croſſe ſene in the Ayre in England, againſt which I cauſed an English Preacher ſpeaking in the Pulpit was ſtrooke dumb, which Miracle, as they terme it, cauſed our King Maſtie to ſend to the Pope, to have ſome Cardinals and Learned men to come into England, for that he meant all England ſhould turne Roman Catholikes. I pray you pardon me for writing ſuch ſuperſties which I doe, to the intent to have you laugh a little, yet I aſſure you, there are many Portugals and Spaniards, will not be perſwaded to the contrary. I know not what elſe to write, but I hope by the next ſhipping which cometh for this place to come towards England, where God grant I may find you in good health, &c.

Comets which appeared alſo in theſe parts.

Examine Leeson. You may ſeele other Tales of Miracles at home & abroad, by this.

Your Worſhips at command,
RICHARD COCK.

To the Right Worſhipfull Sir Thomas Wilſon, &c.

I have heere added for the Readers profit and delight this Map of Iapan, published by I. HONDIUS.



CHAP. III.

Observations of WILLIAM FINCH, Merchant, taken out
of his large Journal.

§. I.

Remembrances touching Sierra Leona, in August 1607: the Bay, Country, Inhab-
itants, Rites, Fruits and Commodities.

This should
have followed
next after Ma-
ster Hawkins,
with whom he
went into the
Anglo Country,
if it then
had it. But
better a good
idea, than a
noisome
place of re-
sidence, then
not at all in-
convenient
to the
honor out of
dissenting
counties in
dis place
where we
are seen
India) and
in time
India) be-
fore the
affairs re-
ceived any
later ac-
cession or
better
manu-
facture
and in
circum-
stances
filing, though
the
supplied
in
sufficiency
with more
accurate
obser-
vations of
Mist, Beads, Pearls,
Clubs, Drums,
Cakes, Balls,
dances, Religions,
then almost
any of
the, as also
of Waters,
Wares,
Waives.
Chintan
Sierra Leona.
There are
They are
Gallies and
fishermen.
Town and
houses.
The house-
hold stuff
and riches.
Their Arms.
Their feature
and condi-
tions.
Circumstances.



He land which we fell with, lyeth some ten leagues to the South of the Bay, the latitude is eight degrees, it hath no inhabitants, nor did I learn the name. It hath some Plantains, and by report good watering and wooding for ships. Some leagues from the shore is a dangerous breach of a rocke, scarcely at high water to be discerned. The Bay of Sierra Leona is about three leagues in breadth. On the South is high land, full of trees even to the Sea-side, having diuers Coues, in which were caught plenty and variety of fish. On the further side of the fourth Coue is the watering place, of excellent water continually running: at which place, on the rocks, we found the names of diuers English men which had bin there; amongst the rest, of Sir Francis Drake, which had bin there sixteen and twenty years before. Thomas Candish, Captaine Lister, with others. About the middle of the Bay, right from the third Coue lyeth a land, neere about which, is not about two or three fathome; in most places eleight or ten close to the shore. It stretcht East South-east, and higheth six or eight foute, a strong tide of ebbe; the latitude eight degrees and halfe North.

The King keepeth his residence in the bottome of the Bay, and is called by the *Moris, Berra*, or *Cupaine, Caran, caran*. Hee hath other pettie Kings vnder him, wherof one, called Captaine Pita, a wretched old man, dwelleth at a Towne within the second Coue: and on the other side the Bay, Captaine Boleone. *Berra* Dominions stretch forth leagues into the land; he hath tribute of Cotton-cloth, Elephants teeth and gold: he hath power to sell his people for slaves, (which he proffered unto vs) and some of them are by *Portugall* Priests and Iesuits made *Christians*, and haue a Chappell, whereto are written in a table, such dayes as they are to observe holy. The King, with some about him, are decently clothed in Iackets and Breeches, and with hats, but the common sort go naked, save that with a Cotton girdle about their waite, they cover their privities; the women cover theirs with a Cotton-cloth, tacked about their middles and hanging to the knees, wrapped round about them; the children goe stark naked. They are all, both men and women, eared and pinked on all parts of their bodies very curiously, having their teeth also filed in fowr, and made very sharpe. They pull off all the haire growing on their eye-balls. Their beards are short, curly, blacke, and the haire of their heads they cut into allys and crease pates; others wear ragged in tuffs, others in other foolish fashions; but the women haue all close to the skin.

Their Townes consist of thirte or foure houses, all clustered together (yet each hath his own) covered with reed and enclosed with mud-walls, like our houses or hog-rings in England, having at the entrance a matter in stead of a doore, locked and bolted, not fearing robbery, where the hold holds correspondence to the house. In stead of a carved bed-steepe, they haue billets of wood laid ouerthwart, vpon which, in stead of a feather-bed, they spread a matre or two. Some are so proud, that they haue their (Aras) hangings also of mattes about the walls, yet most about their bodies, next them and the wall. Their other furniture, is two or three pots of earth to keepe water in, and to boyle such meate as they can get, a gourd or two to fetch Palme-wine and a halfe gourd for his quaffing cup, earthen dishes for their loblolly, a basker or two by the wall for his *Moris* to gather cockles, with a snup-lake for himselfe made of rindes of trees to carry his prouant, with his Tobacco and Pipe, and thus is their house furnished. When they goe abroad each weareth one of those snup-lakes on his shoulder, with the dole-fowl vnder by his side, made by themselves of such rind as is brought them; having also his bow and quiver full of poyson; arrows pointed with iron vpon the fowle of a Stakes-fing, or else a case of Iaulins or Darts, pointed with iron of a good head and sharpe; and sometime with both. They are bigge and well made men, strong and courageous, of a ciuill-beaten disposition. They keepe themselves from the most part vnto their owne wings, of whom they are not a little zealous. I could not learne the Religion what it is: they haue home Images, yet know there is a God about: for when we asked them of their woodden Puppets, they would lift vp their hands to heauen; more they very much; but howeuer it comes to passe, their children are all circumcised. They are very lusty and there is punished with present death. When any dieth, a little child dead is set out

his funeral hearse, vnder which in earthen pots they continually keepe fresh water, and in earthen platters set diuers meates, sticking about them some three or foure bones. To the South of the Bay, some foure or fiftie leagues distant within the Countrey, inhabiteth a very fierce people which are man-eaters, which sometime infect them. The *Moris* of Sierra Leona feed on Rice, of which they haue no great quantitie, sowing only what is needfull, in places neare to their houses, where they haue burnt vp the wood, not hauing otherwise so much rice ground: they flow also another little feed which they call *Pene*, of which they make bread, not much vnlike to Winter-lasary feed. They haue some few hennes about their houses, but no other fish, except sometime they get a Fawne of the wilde Deere, running in the Mountains (not many) or some fowle. They feed also vpon Herbs, Cockles, Oysters, wherof they haue great store growing on the rocks and trees by the sea-side, but of a halfe taste. They take much good fish with waues and other deuices. They feed also much on rootes, and plant about their houses many Plantain-trees, Gourds, Potatoes, Pumpions and *Gumme*-Pepper. But Tobacco is planted about every mans house, which seemeth halfe their food: the boll of their Tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right upward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and halfe long, thorow which they sucke it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snup-lake a small purse (called *Taffa*) full of Tobacco, and his Pipe. The women doe the like in their wrappers, carrying the Pipe in their hands. Vnto their Tobacco they adde nothing, but after take from it: for I haue seen them straining forth the iuyce of the leaues, being greene and fresh, before they cut and drie it (making figures that otherwise it would make them drunke) then doe they tread it small, and drie it on a sherd vpon the coles. We beheld in a certaine land neare (and no where else) halfe a dozen of Goats, but could not get a taile of one all our time.

They haue innumerable sorts of fruits, growing wilde in their woods; whole woods of Limmon trees, especially a little on this side the watering place neare the Towne, and some few Orange trees. They drinke is for the most part water; yet the men deuour much *Palmo* wine, of which they call *Moy*, giving little or none to the women. It is strange to behold their manner of climbing these trees, which haue neither boughes nor branches, faue only on the top, being all of great height and straight: with a withe he graspeth his body and the tree together, and so bearing backe his body, and lifting vp his wide before him, he foote it vp with such speed and certaintie, coming downe againe also so orderly, bringing his goods full of wine on his arme, that it was admirable. They haue diuers sorts of Plummes, one like a wheaten Plumme, whole, some and sauiour: a blacke one also, as bigge as a Horse-plumme, much esteemed, having an aromaticke sauiour: Manfamlas like to a wheaten Plumme, very dangerous, as are likewise the boughes of the tree, full of lipper, perillous to the fight, it should happily flye in. They haue Beningamons about as bigge as a Limmon, reddish on the rinde, very wholesome: another fruit called Begull, as bigge as an apple, with a rough knotlike skinne, which being pared, it eateth like a Strawberry, being like it also in colour and graine, of which wee did eate many: there is flesh full of wilde grapes in the woods, of a wooddie and bitterish taste. They eat the nuts roasted that in Cookery. They haue certaine fruits growing six or eight together on a bunch, each as within the rinde a certaine pulpe, of a browne yellowish colour, and somewhat downie, containing There grow in the woods trees like Beeches, bearing fruits like Beanes, of which I obserued three kinds: one great and tall, bearing a cool like a Beane-cod, which hath in it foure or fve square Beanes, almost like the seed of a Tamarinde, enclosed with a hard pulle like a shell, within which is a yellow kinell, a dangerous poison vied by the *Negros*, to enueneome their arrows; they call the fruit *Ogem*. The second is lesse, his cod crooked byas-wile, of a thicke rinde, five or six inches in the bending, and halfe so much in breadth, containing fve large beanes of an inch long. The third is large, hath short leaues like the former, the fruit much bigger, on a strong wooddie stalk, thicke and massie, a little indented on the sides, nine inches long, and fve broad: within which are fve long beanes, larger then the other, called by them *Quenda*, which they ascribe also to be dangerous.

I saw Trees like Willowes, bearing fruits like Pearle-cods. They haue a fruit called Gola, which grows vp further in the Countrey, inclosed in a shell; it is hard, reddish, bitter, about the bignesse of a Walnut, with diuers corners and angles: this fruit they much like by chewing it with the rinde of a certain Tree, then giving it to the next, and he hauing chewed it to the next, so keeping it a long while (but swallowing none of the substance) before they cast it away, to which they attribute great vertue for the teeth and gummies, these *Negros* being vially as well to chel as Horles. This fruit passeth also amongst them for monie, the *Negros* being vially as well to chel as Horles. They plant also Potatoes, and higher within Land. *Cotton*, called *Ammon*, was vied with a Spindle they make a good Thread, and wouse it artificially, making cloth there vnto a quarter broad, to make coverings for their members, and being sewed together, Iackets and Breeche. They haue another Wood called *Cambe*, wherewith they dye their Purples and Reds.

Their food.

Oysters on trees.

Tobacco-pipe

Little fish.

Fruits, Woods of Limmones. Palmo wine.

Beane trees of venomous nature, wherewith they poison their arrows.

Cotton trees, Gola, a fruit of much efficacy.

Potatoes, Cotton.

Cotton, a wood to dye.

many woodie branches, as thicke set commonly with fruit as they can stand, one by another (I have seen fortie together clustering on one branch) about the bignesse of a great Katherine pearre, and like it in colour being ripe, at the first greenish, fashioned almost like a sheepsbell, with a rinde bearing forth seere the head, flat at the top, and smooth within which rinde is contained a hard substance, almost like the Coco-nutshell, in which is included a round white kernell, of a hard graily (thick) skin, yet to be eaten: and within this (skin is hollow) is about a spoonfull of a pleasant sweet water and coole, like milke, or that rather of the Coco-nut.

It is groweth also another as big as a Pearre tree, thicke set with boughes and leaves, like those of the Bay-tree, bearing a great foot-ball fruit (such is the round forme) fitting to a strong pipe, divided by certaine lines into four quarters. The rind of it being cut greene, yields a chimmie substance, favouring like Turpentine. The rind is very thicke, with which I found diuers parcels poked together, almost like the substance that groweth on trees, but harder, rather like a piece of rawe wooley Agarie, being thirteene in number, couched neatly together, within each of which is contained another great kernell of a darkish white colour, hard, bitter, and unpleasant of taste.

Secura.

In Secura, the *Securats* and *English* build them houses for the time of their stay, sleight with flatter (the whole land I seemeeth nothing else) and pieces of wood laid ouerthwart, covered with Reed and Date branches to keepe out the Sunne, for raime in that time they feare not. About the head of the River, a mile further into the land, is a pleasant Valley replenished with Dates. On the East side is *Dibree*, a little Towne, little inhabited, except in their harvest of Dates. In this Valley the wind bloweth with such violence in June and July, that it is strange yet within a right short of towards the Town of *Dibree*, our against the road, you shall not have a breath of wind. About an hundred yeeres since, this land was conquered by the King of *Quemur* (or *Calicut*), as the *Arab* pronounce it. A King of no great force, able to make two or three thousand soldiers, he both this, and the two *Armas*, and *Abba del curia* subiect to him. The two *Armas*, or *Ar Breben*, are lions, small, barren, having nothing but Turtles or Tortoises, not inhabited. *Abba del curia* is large, hath fire of Goa cates, and some fresh water, not above three or four inhabitants, as we were certified. The Kings sonne *Amor Benzaid* resideth at Secura, which he ruleth during his fathers pleasure. They haue trade to the Isles of *Comoro*, and to *Melinde*, for which he hath three good Frigates, wherewith they fetch Rice and Melo from the maine, which is their chiefe food.

The drabs there.

Their armes.

Persons.

Apparel.

The *Arabian* huts are in manner flues to the *Sealge* or Prince, are all builded, and attend on him when he commands some of them are flue. Moreover, every of them wears a kind of wood-knife, or crooked dagger on their left side, without which they dare not be taken abroad. They haue also thin broad, painted Targets. Their dagger handles and chaps, the better for to forth with Siluer, the other with Red Latteen. They are tawney, industrious, coull in gesture: the women are some of stature like ours, well proportioned in their limmes, wearing their haire much of the long binding a cloth or Turbant about the same like the Turkes, and a cloth wrapped about their middles, which hangeth downe to their knees; not wearing usually other apparel, except sometimes a pare of sandals on their feet, fastened with thongs; carrying their sword naked on their shoulders, or hanging from the shoulder in the sheath by a strap, or else on their arme; and thus they march vp and downe. They lose Tobacco, but are loath to giue any thing for it.

Their women.

Galantry.

Their children.

Popish arguments of truth.

Daughters of them sling a Pintalo or other cloth in manner of an *Irish* mantle ouer their shoulders, and others make them thins and suppleles of white Calico: some wear a paire of linnen breeches vnder, like the *Genetians*. But their women goe altogether in thide smockes hanging downe to the ground, of red, blew, or for the most part of a light black colour, being diu'd Calico: and ouer their heads they put a cloth, with which (when they lab) they hule their faces, making very daintie to be seene, yet are scarcely honest. And though the men be very poore, and haue but to defend necessity, yet their women (whereof some keepe foire, five, or sixe, as many as they are able) are laden with Siluer, and some also with some Gold, that I haue seene one not of the best, which hath had in each eare at least a dozen of great Siluer rings, almost like Curtaine rings, with as many smaller hanging in them: two Carcanets or chinnes of siluer about her necke, and one of Gold bosses: about her wrists, tenne or twelue Manillias of Siluer, each as big as ones little finger, but hollow, one about another, on one arme almost every finger laden with rings, and the small of her legs with siluer rings like horselockes. And thus adorned, they cannot stirre, but they muste aske like Morris-dancers. They are kept closely by their ialous husbands. They delight in Christall, Amber, or Curall beads, but haue little to buy them, but will cherishe them, or make a swap with young prauers. The young children (except of few of better sort) go naked till they come to some age. They are married at tenne, or twelue yeeres olde. They call themselves *Muslimen* or *Is*, *Catholikes*, or true believers, according to their false faithfull faith of *Idolatrie*: yet they alledge this reason for theirtheism (let false-Catholikes acknowledge their owne) the great multitude of them, and the small number of vs, all the world, say they be-

ing of our Religion, and but a handfull of yours. They eate their meat on a Mat spread on the ground, but neither vfe Spoones nor Knives (hands are the elder) in vnmannerly manner: they drinke vniually water, yet in secret can be content to be drunke with wine. They make in the time of yeare some wine of Dates, pleasant and strong.

Thus much for the Conquerours. They call the conquered *Caffers* (misbelieuers, or if you will hereticks) and subiect them to great drayn, inasmuch that some remaine in the Mountains, living in a wild liberty like beasts, the other not suffered to haue any weapons. They are well thappet, more forward then the *Arabs*, wear nothing on their heads, wear their haire long, I suppose aseretic, flaring as if they were fringed. About their middles they wear a cloth wrapped about them, made of Goats haire, or coars wool, woven by themselves, on their feet they haue sandals.

Their women goe all in smocks of blawred Calico, or coars cloth hanging to the ground; on their heads usually nothing: in imitation of the *Arab*, haue Manillias of eare painted or of yron, about their armes and legs, beads in stead of Karkihets, painting their faces with yellow and blacker spots, loathsome to behold. For Religion; they are mere Heathen all of them, as the *Arabians* certified vs, observing no rites of Marriage, but vfe their women in common. Their natural language is much different from the *Arabique*, which yet the most learne. They lue very miserably, and many of them are famished with hunger. Fleth they are not permitted to kill, so that they are forced to lue of fish which they take at Sea, and by their snare of Dates, not haue wherewith to buy Rice, except with the vfe of their womens bodies to the *Genetians*, while they remaine there. Such as haue the keeping of the Cattell, maintaine themselves with the milke.

I could learne of no Merchandise the land yieldeth, but Aloes, *Sempis*, *Dracoms*, and Dates, and as they lye, on the shoare of *Abba del curia*, blacke Ambergrete. Of Aloes, I suppose they could make yearly more then Christendomes can spend, the herbe growing in great abundance, being no other then *Semper visum*, in all things agreeing to that description of *Discordia*, in seed, stalks, &c. It is yet all of a red prickly sort, and much clummed in the leaves, full of a rosin-ayce, that it is ready to breake with it. The chiefe time to make it, is when the winds blowe Northerly, that is, about September, and that after the fall of some raime, which being then gathered, they cut in small pieces, and cast into a pit made in the ground, well cleaned from filth, and paved: there it lieth to ferment in the heat of the Sunne, wheremy it floweth forth. Thence they take and put it in skinnies, which they hang vpin in the wind to dry, where it becometh hard. They sold vs for twentie Rials a Quintall, which is a considering the abundance and ease making, may be credible. Their Date trees beare fruit twice a yeare: one harvest was in Iuly while we were there. It is a principall part of their sustenance, pleasant in taste: and when they are through-ripe, are laid on a heap vpon a skin lying sloping, whence distilleth a liquor, received in earthen pots placed in the earth, and is their Date-wine, referred for drinke, wherewith they will also be drunke. Those dates being thus drained, they take out their stones, and pack them hard into a skinnie, which will so keepe long. Another meane to preserve them, is by cutting be-

fore they are through ripe, and taking out their stone, to dry them: these are the best of all, and eat as if they were candied: whole they will not keepe. In harvest time in euery Valley where the trees grow, the King hath a Deputy which seeth all gathered, and brought to a certaine place (none daring to touch a Date vpon paine of death without order, or foure punishment) where he diuideth them in three equal parts; one for the King, one for the *Arab*, and the third for the *Caffers*: which are after distributed severally, but not alike to each.

This land hath store of Cuiet cates, which the *Caffers* take in the Mountains with traps, and sell them for twelue pence a piece to such as will buy them. Fleth is deare, tenne Rials of eight a Cow, one Goat, or two sheeps for a Rial of eight; their cattell good and fat fleth, like *English* beefe: their Goats large and good fleth, their sheeps small, like our *English* sheepe, bearing course fleth: of Goats and Sheep they haue great abundance. They make very good butter, but it is alway soft like Creme, at foure pence or sixe pence a pound, Goats milke at three pence a quart, store of Hennes, but few for a Rial of eight, or twelue pence a piece. In the whole land are not above one or two Horses, very small of the *Arabian* breed, and some Camels. At *Dibree* they take much good fish, Lobsters and others. On the Strand groweth cotton Plants, but few: there groweth also amongst the stones a shrubby Plant, with thicke, round, green leaues, as big as a hilling, with a fruit like Capers (of which it is a kind) called *Ebac*, eaten in Sallets. Oranges there are few and deare, exceeding sweet Basil: and on the shoare many faire fish are found, with cuttle bones, and peeble Oyftershells, which the people afforme to drue thither: for there are none found, yet fleth abundant.

They are beggers, by what they can, beg what they may, yet giue faire vfe. Their best entertainment is a Chena dish of *Cato*, a blacke bitterish drinke, made of a berry like a Bay berry, brought from *Meca*, tipped off hot, good for the head and stomacke. And thus much for his discourses of these places, to which I thought good to adde these notes taken out of his founall.

November the twenty ninth, 1607. in thirty foure degrees, we saw a monstrous ouergrown

Their diet.

The Native Secura.

Gallant fashion.

Religion and life, most miserable if the *Arabs* their enemies be to be credited.

Their merchandise.

Aloes or *Sempis*, the time and making thereof.

A hundred & three, or a hundred and two pound, five ounces and a halfe. Dates two hundred. Wine of Dates.

Harvest and diuision.

Cuiet Cates.

Cattell and victuals.

Ebac a kind of Capers.

Cato. Other notes and remembrance.

While

what, how much, and whether they please to give licence, creating a Custome on the sea, with confiscation of shippes and goods not shewing it, in the full quantitie, to the taker and examiner.

§. III.

His Journey to Agra: Observations by the way, and there; and of the Decan warres there.

Commurion,
Chitara,
Garode.

Curia,
Beca,
Nacampore,
Badur, holdis.

Wilde Ele-
phants,
Dagis,
Badur.

Salere and Ma-
lere, Cities of
Bevisis.
Castles im-
pregnable.

Breed of horse
rare,
Nanderbar,
Lingull,
Sindkerry.

Tauineze,
Chupra,

Toukapore,
Rend,

Mugom, stay
for relieving,
Beule,
Rauere,
Brampore,
Salakore.

The Tents and
camp of
both sides.

Defection of
Brampore.

The second of January, I departed from Commurion (a small village three Cole from *Surat*) to *Mutta* a great *Aldes* 75, 21, 8; to *Carode*, a great country Towne, by which on the North runneth *Suar* River. It hath a Castle, with two hundred horse. Parais good fouldiers, twenty two to *Curia* 12 c. it is a great Village with a River on the South side. In the way 75, is *Beca*, a Castle with a great Tanke, and a plain; Gross 23, 10 c. to *Nacampore* a great Towne vnder the *Pettophan*. In this way on the right hand beginneth a great ridge of mountains, which come from *Amanadur* wards, near which *Badur* keepeth, holding diuers strong holds thereon, that the King with all his force cannot hurt him. These Mountains raine to *Brampore*: on them are bred many wilde Elephants, 24, to *Dagis*, 8 c. 20 great Towne. In the mid-way you passe a stony troublesome River. This Towne hath a Castle, and is almost encompassed with a River, seated in a fertile soyle. 35, to *Badur*, 10 c. a rich towne and full of theus: here is much wine of a sweete fruit called *Mena*, but I found it not wholesome, excepte it be burnt. This Towne is the last of note in *Pettophan* Land, who is a small King or *Rajam*, a *Gentile*, keeping on the top of inaccessible Mountains, which beginneat *Curia*, and extend many Counties. He holdeth two faire Cities, *Salere*, and the other *Malere*, where the *Manuders* are cowed, each having two mightie Castles, which lye way to them but for two men afield, or for an Elephant at most to get vpon; having also in the way eight small Fortresses dispersed on the Mountains to guard the way. Vpon the top of these Mountains is good pasture, and abundance of graine, fountains running thence into the Planes. The *Acabar* besieged him seven yeeres, and in the end was forced to compound with him, giving him *Nacampore*, *Dagis*, and *Badur*, with diuers other *Aldes*, for the safe conducting of his Merchants along this Plane; so that he now remaineth this Kings friend, sends Presents yearly, leaves one of his sonnes at *Brampore*, for pledge of his fealtie. He is said to haue alay in readinesse foure thousand Mares of a strange breed and excellent: and one hundred Elephants. 26, 7 c. to *Nanderbar* a Cite, thort of which are many Tombs and houles of pleasure, with a Castle and a faire Tanke, seven and twenty to *Lingull*, 10 c. a beaulty Towne, with theciuin inhabitants, and a dirtie castle; a deepe sandie way neare the Towne. 28, 10 c. to *Sindkerry*, a great dirtie Towne. In the way the Gouverneur of *Lingull* (with others as honest as himselfe) would haue borrowed some money of me, but seeing it pious powder and shor, gave ouer, and wee drew on our Carcs without wouble. On the further side of *Sindkerry* runneth a River of brackish water, with drinke wherof I got the bloody fluxe, which accompanied me to *Brampore*; 30, 10 c. to *Tauineze*, a theciuin way, the Towne faire, with a Castle and a River, in time of raine not payable without Boate. 30, 15 c. to *Chupra*, a great Towne. I rested two dayes of reason of raine, in which time came the Gouverneur of *Nanderbar* with foure hundred horse, without whicle company I could not haue proceeded without danger, *Can-Canna* having been beaten, and retired to *Brampore*, after the losse of the strong and rich Towne of *Toukapore*, whereupon the *Decanis* grew so insolent, that they made roades into this way, and spoiled many pallengers.

The second of February, 66, to *Rend*, a country Village. The vnfelionable thunder, wind and raine, with my difeale, almost made an end of me: I was made vs make *Mugom* the third and fourth, the first to *Beoule* 10 c. a great towne, with a faire castl; 6, stayed by foule weather, 7, 16 c. to *Rauere*, a great Towne, 8, 10 c. to *Brampore*, where I pitched my Tent in the *Armenians* yard, not being able for money to get an house, the Towne was full of fouldiers. Some 2 c. thort of this Cite lyeth *Badupore*, a faire City, and betwixt these two Cities, the Campe of *Can-Canna* vnder Tents, 2 c. in fence, (hauing some fifteene thousand Horse, two hundred faire Elephants, an hundred peeces of Ordnance of all sizes) on the North side. On the other side, within twenty or thirtie course, lay *Amberchopon*, an *Abjhad*, and G. neral of the King of *Decans* Forces, with some ten thousand of his owne coft, altho fouldiers, and ten forty thousand *Decanis*: in so much that the Cite of *Brampore* had certainly been lost, had not the Prince *Salan Peruis*, and *Rajou Manjengo*, come instantly downe with great forces. For at this time he had sent to the *Can-Canna* to yeeld vpon the Cite vpon composition, deeming him not able to hold it against him.

This Cite is very great, but beaulty, situate in a low, vnholome aire, a very sickly place, caused especially by the bad water: On the North-east is the Castle on the Rivers bank (comming from

from *Suar* large and well fortified. By the Castles side in the River lyeth an Elephant of stone, so liuely, that a liuing Elephant comming one day to drinke, ranne against it with all his force, and brake both his teeth. The head is pained red in the fore-head; and many simple *Indians* worship it. Some two Cole forth of the Cite, is *Can-Canna* Garden called *Loll bage*: the whole way thereto being vnder shade trees very pleasant. Within it are diuers faire walks, with a rarely small Tanke standing square betwene foure trees, all shaded and unshaded with a wall, at the entrance without, a faire Banketting house built aloft betwene foure trees, led to the twelfth, for recovery (which God sent) vnder my Tent. Two dayes after my comming came newes of the sacking of *Rauere*, by fittene hundred *Decan* Horle with other places nere thereto, we blessing God for our safe arrival, the way now not passible with this thousand Horle. I was here certified also by an *Armenians* Letters, of a great ouerthrow giuen to the *Portugall* Armada vpon the *Malabar* Coast, consisting of fiftie Frigates, and two Gallies, which being dispersed with foule weather, were sudainly out of diuers creeks assailed by the *Malabars*, which was attended with spoile, fire, taking the rest fleeing. On the twelfth I rode to visit the Prince, and on the thirteenth, gave him a Present, found him courteous, promising what I desired. The Prince had with him twenty thousand Horle, and three hundred faire Elephants, and with him, *Asaph Can* with some three thousand, and *Emersioe Kassei* late King of *Candabar*, with some thousand old Soldiers. And during my abode in the Campe, came also *Raja Manjengo* with ten thousand Horle, all *Rebours*, and nere a thousand Elephants: so that all the Plains for a great distance were covered with Tents very braue to behold: with the Armie came diuers great Boates for the transpota on of forces: in the way. The Prince remouing, I returned to *Brampore*: and on the sixe and twentieth, hee being aduanced 9 c. towards the *Enemie*, I went to him to take my leave, where newes came of the ouerthrow of certaine of *Manjengos* forces.

The first of March, the Gouverneur of *Brampore* departed for *Agra*, and I with him 125, to *Berre* a great Village, some 8 leep way, being the passage ouer the great ridge of Mountains which come from *Amanadur* wards. About some 4 c. of this way lyeth the strong and inuincible Castle of *Hassere*, seated on the top of a high Mountain, large and strong, able to receive (as is reported) fortie or fiftie thousand Horle. And on the top are many faire Tanques and good pasture grounds: It hath had in the dayes of *Badur Shalate* King thereof, some fixe hundred Peeces of Ordnance. The *Acabar* besieged it a long time, circling it on all sides, and at length took it by composition. For it is said, that there beed such an innumerable sort of Emmets or other small Wormes in all the waters, that the people swelled and burst with drinke thereof: which mortalitie caused him to compound and deliuer it, being by meeke humane force inuincible. The third, 11 c. to *Camla*, a small *Aldes*, some, troublesome way. The fourth, to *Maergom* 4 c. a great *Aldes*, bad way. The fifth, 10 c. to *Kergom* a great Village, steepe way. The sixth, 13 c. to *Berkul* a small Village. The seventh, 8 c. to *Taxapore* a small Towne. At 25, on this way, you passe a faire River called *Nerom* which comes from *Baroche*: vpon the Banke is a prettie Towne and faire Castle, and vnder it the Ferrie place. To passe ouer with Camels is a way C. lower on the left hand, where is an ouerfall, and not about three foot in the passage, but nere a mile ouer. The eight, 5 c. to *Man-dur* 13 c. whereof is vpon a steepe fildie Mountain, having way but for a Coach at most. The ridge of Mountains extendeth North-east and South-west. On the top at the edge of the Mountains standeth the gate or entrance of the Cite, ouer which is built a faire Fort and House of pleasure; the walk extending all along the Mountains side for many Coles. On the left hand at the entrance some two or three miles distant, on the toppe of a picket Mountain standeth a strong Fort, and in other places dispersed some ten or twelve more. For 2 c. or better within this gate the City is ruined all (save only Tombs and Meskites, which remaine in great numbers to this day, with some tottered walls of great Houles. The old City is from gate to gate 4 c. long North and South, but East and West ten or twelue Coles; and yet to the Eastward of all lyeth good pasture ground for many courles. Aloft on this Mountain are some fifteene faire Tanques here and there dispersed about the Cite. That which is now standing is very faire, but small in comparison of the former, with diuers goodly buildings all of Time stone, and faire, high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome. At the entrance on the South within the gate of the City now inhabited, as you passe along on the left hand, stands a goodly Meskite, and ouer against it a faire Palace, wherein are interred the bodies of foure Kings, with exceeding rich Tombs. By the side thereof standeth a high Turcet of one hundred an fiftieentie sters high, built round with Galleries and Windows to currey more, all exceeding for goodly Ports, Arches, Pillars, the walls also all interlaved with a greene floue much beautifying. On the North-side where I came forth lyeth a piece of a foot and an half-bore in the mouth, but the breach was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steepe descent and without this fixe other, all very strong, with great walled places for Courts of Guard betwene gate and gate. On this side is also a small Port, but the way thereto is exceeding steepe. All along it on the side also runneth the wall, with flankers ouer here and there among; and yet is the

Artificial Ele-
phant.

Rinde laid.

Portugall Infe.

Barre.
Hassere a strong
and strange
Fort.

Camla,
Maergom,
Kergom,
Berkul.

Man-dur the
Ruins of the
old Towne.

The preface
decided.

The first of
name it took
it was *Casim*
a *Prin* who
built the *Tur-*
ret, and lyeth
buried in the
Police adjoin-
ing, with three
of this Succes-
sors.

This Citie was
built by an *in-*
dian from
years agoe,
Lunebeira.

Dapalwa,
Ougua.

Cosofia,
Ojuma.

Sunamara.

Pimpigom.

Cuckra,
Berraul,
Dilout,
Burrow.

Sukgefara,
Syrange.

Calibere,
Quallere,
City.

Norrea.

Strong Castle.

Antia,
Quilera,
A strong Ca-
stle.

hill so steep of itselfe, that it is not almost possible for a man to climb vp on all ouers to any part of it. So that to mans judgement it is altogether inuincible; and yet was taken partly by force, partly by Treason by *Hamasne*, thus mans Grandfather, for, as *Seia* the *Sela* whose Ancestors had conquered it from the *Indians* some foure hundred yeeres agoe. This *Seia* *Sela* was a very powerful King of *Dely*, and once forced *Hamasne* to flye into *Perfa* by ayde; from whence returning with *Perfa* forces, he put him againe to the worst; who yet held out against him all his life time, as also a long time of *Escabers* Raige, flying from one Mountain to another. Without the wals of the City on this side, the Suburbs extend 4 c. long, but all ruinat, save certaine Tombs, Meskits and goodly Seraiies, no man remaining in them.

The way exceeding stony and bad at 4 c. end lyeth *Lunebeira*, a small Saray where we pitched the ninth. Betweene this and the ruins about 3 c. of the way, is a goodly Tanke inclosed with stone, and a banqueting house in the middelt: On the South whereof are faire houses of pleasure now ruinat, from whence goeth an arched bridge to the banqueting house in the Tanke.

Some halfe a Cole beyond *Lunebeira* on the right hand, are foure or five faire Tankes with a great Pagode, a very pleasant place. The tenth, to *Dapalpora* 14 c. good way, a small Towne. The eleuenth, to *Ougua* a faire City twelue long Coles. This Countrey is called *Adama*, a fertile soile, abounding with Opium. Here the Cole or Counte is two miles *English*. The twelfth, we made *Mukom*. The thirteenth, to *Cosofia*, 11 c. good way, a little Village. I enquired the price of Opium. They giue the head three scratches, from whence issue small teares, at the first white, which with the cold of the night turneth reddish, which they daily scrape, not without infinite trouble, the head being very small and yielding little. The fourteenth, to *Sunamara* 8 c. way much stony and theueth, a people called *Gracia*, inhabiting the hills on the left hand, which often vnglaciously entertaine Carauans. A hundred of them had come the hile to a *Coffin* now, had not our coming prevented. It is a small Towne, thorn of which is a great Tanke full of wilde fowle. The fifteenth, to *Pimpigom* a ragged *Aldes*. At 4 c. end of this way lyeth *Sunamara*, a great Towne with a Castle on the South-west side, with a faire Towne-house. Here are made faire Turbants and good linnen. Short of this Towne we met *Cann Iohn* a great Minion of the Kings with ten thousand horse, many Elephants, and Boats carried on Carts, going for *Brampor*. On the way also we passed diuers *Manifragos* men, hee hauing in all some twenty thousand, so that it was deemed there were one hundred thousand Horse assembled.

The sixteenth, 7 c. to *Cuckra*, a great Countrey Towne abounding with all forts of Grains, Victuall and *Mena* Wine: at 4 c. lyeth *Berraul* a great *Aldes*. The seventeenth, 12 c. to *Dolua*, a great *Aldes*, the way for the fuelst Coles theueth, hilly, stony, the other pleasant Plaines. The eighteenth, 7 c. to *Burrow* a small Towne, but plentiful of Victuall, except flesh which is scarce all this way; the way dangerous. The nineteenth, 7 c. to *Sukgefara* a small ragged Towne. The twentieth, to *Syrange* 9 c., a very great Towne, where are many *Betele* Gardens. The one and twentieth and two and twentieth, we made *Muckom*. The three and twentieth, to *Cuchewary* Saray 8 c. The foure and twentieth, to *Sadara* 5 c. The five and twentieth, to *Collegaba* 7 c. The fixe and twentieth, 12 c. to *Qualeers*, a pretty small Towne encompassed with *Tamarind* and *Muga* Trees. The seuen and twentieth, to *Copry* leuen of *Sarat* Coules a mile and an halfe way theueth, stony, full of Trees, a Defart passage: a walled Towne, faire Houses covered with Slate. Two nights before some fixtie or seuentie Theues (mistaking for a late passed Carauan) layed in a darke night one hundred and fiftie *Patan* Souldiers, and fell into the pit they digged for others, ten being slaine and many taken, the rest fled. The eight and twentieth, to *Norrea* 12 c. a Defart radically way full of Theues. In the Woods face diuers *Chuckes* to prevent robbing, but the Foxe is often made the Goole-heard. One pretty near Meskite and moe place at the foot of the gate, a few poore Inhabitants wee law in this dayes iourny, and nineteene faire Saraiies ruinat.

The Towne at the foot of the hill, hath a Castle on the top of a stony steep mountaine, with a narrow stony cawley leading to the top foure mile or better in ascent. In the way stand three gates very strong, with places for *Corps de guard*. At the top of all is the fourth gate, which leads into the Castle, where stands a guard, not permitting any frang t to enter without order from the King. The Towne within is faire and great, with a delicate thereby being situate in a Valley on the top of a Mountaine very strangely. As it is reported, this cliff is in circle some 600 c. and walled round with Towers and Plankers here and there dispersed, without treason inuincible. This hath been the gate or bord. of the Kingdom of *Mandow* and hath been beautiful, and doled with Ordnance but now is much gone to ruine. The twenty ninth to *Palitwa* 7 c. the thirtieth to *Antia*, a great Towne 12 c. the thirty one to *Qualeers* 6 c. a pleat, at *Catcha* with a Castle. On the East is on the top of a steep peaked hill, a ruinous building where diuers great men haue been interred. On the West side is the Castle, which is a steep craggy cliff of 6 c. complete

at least (diuers say cleuen) all inclosed with a firing wall. At the going vp to the Castle adjoining to the Citie, is a faire Court enloied with high wals, and shut in with strong gates, where keep a strong guard, not permitting any to enter without publicke order. From hence the way leads a stony narrow cawley, walled on both sides in the way are three gates to the pass-dall exceeding strong, with Courts of guard to each. At the top of all at the entrance of the last gate, standeth a mightie El-phant of stone very curiously wrought. This Gate is also exceeding flatly to behold, with a goodly house adjoining, whose wals are all set with greene and blue stone, with diuers gilded Turrets on the top. This is the *Gourmour* lodging: where is place to keepe Nobles that offend hee is said to have three such Noble-Prisons or Castles, this, and *Rantimora* 40 c. to *Rantimori* which are sent such Nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arrival, the *Gourmour* then bringing them to the top of the wall, and giuing them a dish of milke, which hauing drunke, hee is cast downe thence on the Rocks. The third is *Rotas*, a Castle in the Kingdom of *Bengala*, whither are sent those Nobles which are condemned to perpetual imprisonment from whence very few returne againe. On the top of this Mountaine of *Qualeers*, is very good ground, with three or foure faire Tankes, and many other faire buildings. On the Towne side are many houses cut out of the maine Rocks, for habitation and file of goods. On the North-west side, at the foot of the hill is a spacious meadow, inclosed with a stone wall, within which are diuers gardens and places of pleasure, fit also to keepe horses in time of warr: This Castle was the Gate or frontier of the Kingdom of *Dely*, bordering on *Mandow*, and is neere a mile of ascent.

The first of April 1610. to *Mendaker* 9 c. the second 10 c. to *Douipore*. Within 2 c. of the Towne, you passe a faire Riuer called *Cumbers*, as broad as the *Thames*, short of which is a narrow passage, with hills on both sides, very dangerous. The Castle is strong, ditched round, and hath foure wals and gates one within an other, all very strong, with steep ditches to each, paved with stone; the Citie is inhabited most what with Gentiles. The Castle is three quarters of a mile through, and on the further side hath like Gates to be passed againe. The third to *Laino* 9 c. the fourth to *Agra* 9 c. In the afternoon, the Captaine carried me before the King. I here found with my committ, Captaine *Thomas Boy*, with three French Souldiers, a Dutch Inginer, and a *Ven* *Merchant* with his sonne, and a seruant, newly come by land out of Christendome.

In May and part of June, the Towne was much vexed with fires night and day, flaming in one part or other, whereby many thousands of houses were consumed, besides Men, Women, Children, and Cattell, that we feared the iudgement of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* upon the place. I was long dangerously sicke of a Fever, and in June the heat exceeded, that we were halfe roasted alive. In the twenty eighth, arrived *Padre Penara*, an arch-buske (a Iesuite I should say) who brought Letters from the *Viceroy*, with many high Prelates, tending only to thwart our affairs. In this time, *Mo. Bowcan* was complained of by the Captaine to the King, who commanded *Abdel Hassen* the chiefe Vizier to doe iustice; but birds of a feather will fly together, and *Mo. Bowcan* partly mis-reckoned, partly turned vs out to a Bankrupt *Bannian*; so that of thirty two thousand five hundred one M. and an halfe due, he would pay but cleuen thousand: neither would he pay that present.

In Iuly, came newes of the ill successe of the Kings forces in *Decan*, who being within foure dayes Iourny of *Andanagar*, hoping to raise the siege thereof, were forced through famine and drought, to make their retreat for *Brampor*, whereupon the Citie, after much violence indured, was lost. This armie consisted of one hundred thousand horie at the least, with infinite numbers of Cammels and Elephants: so that with the whole baggage, there could not be left then five or sixe hundred thousand persons: in such that the waters were not lustient for them; a Mullocke of water being sold for a *Rupia* and yet not enough to be had, and all victuall at an excessive rate. For the *Decan* army ill supplied the Countrey before them, and cut betwixt them and supplies for victualing them out of *Guacurata* and *Brampor*, daily making light skirmishes vpon them, to their great disadvantage, that without retiring the whole army had been endangered. At their returne to *Brampor*, there were not to be found thirty thousand horie, with infinite number of Elephants, Cammels, and other Cattell dead. This Moneth also came newes of the sacking of *Polana*, a great Citie in *Parrop*, and surprising of the Castle where the Kings Treasury lay, the Citizens flying without making resistance. But vpon this Cawaler, presently came a great *Ombar* adjoining, and tooke him in the Castle. The Citizens returning, hee sent twelue of the chiefe of them to the King, who caused them to be thauen, and in womens attire, to be carried on Ales through all the streets of *Agra*, and on the next day (as it is said) cut off their Heals.

All this Moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his Nobles, that it was the soundest faith, and that *Madomet* lies and flatters. Hee commanded also three Princes, hee deified brothers sonnes, to be instructed by the Iesuites, and Christian apparrell to be made for them, the whole City admiring. And yet at the same time, *Abdel Haf* judgement was, that it was not iustice to pay debts to Christians, in *Mo. Bowcan* case, whereof againe we had reference from the King to him, perhaps on like ground, as some *Europeans* thinke.

Rantimori

Rotas.

Mendaker,
Douipore.

Laino,
Agra.

Terrible fires
at *Agra*.

See how
Merchants
spoke the
Iesuites, when
Iesuites play
the Merchants

Andanagar
lost to the
De-
Perill of huge
armies.

Polana sacked.

Punishment of
Cowardice.

Christianitie
learned to bee
aid. By the
Mogol.

thinke it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnicks, *eo nomine*, therefore setting out men of warre, so to make the Christian Name, not as an ornament poured out, that the *Virgin foules* may be converted, and some Christ, but as filthy matter running out of rotten hearts and poisoned lips. yea, with force and armes, to excommunicate the Kingdome of Christ in those parts: at least, let reformed Professors reforme this *Man-of-warre-Profession* against innocents, that the Name of God through them be not blasphemed among the Gentiles. But to returne to this dissimulation (as since it hath to the world appeared) those three Princes were Christened solemnly, conducted to Church by all the Christians of the Citie, to the number of some sixtie horse, Captaine *Hawkins* being in the head of them, with S. Georges colours carried before him, to the honour of the *English* Nation, letting them file in the Court before *Sha Selim* himselfe. The eldest was named *Don Philippe*, the second *Don Carlo*, the third *Don Henrique*; and on the ninth of September, was christened another young Prince, the *Acabars* brothers sonnes sonne, by the name *Don Duarte*, the King giuing daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

October the twelfth, we were certified by Letters of M. *Jourdain* from *Surat*, that thirte Frigates of the *Portugals* were cast away on the barre of *Surat*, halting before the winter was broken vp, to catch more *English*; many of the men escaped, and were glad to beg releefe at the *English* doore.

§. V.

Descriptions of Fetipore, Byana, the way thither, of the Nill or Indico, and of diuers Mogoll affaires, Cities, and Castles.

Saray is a kind of publicke Inn. See Stead and Cramer.

Amere, a child-giving Saint.

Fetipore described.

Ruines.

The Bazar.

Faire Meskies.

Kalender is an order of Moorish Voyages. Bad water.

He first of November, I was sent to buy Nill or Indico at *Byana*. I lodged that night at *Menbapore*, a great *Saray*, 7th by which is a Garden, and Moholl or summer house of the Queens Mothers, very curiously contrived. The second at *Camnau*, 11th at 45, end, is a Moholl of the Kings. And at euery cove end from *Agra*, is erected a stone pillar for 130th to *Amere*, where lieth interred the body of a great Moorish Saint, called *Haghe Mander*, whereto the *Acabar* waithing children, made a foot-pilgrimage to beg for issue, and caused a pillar at each cove to be set vp; and a Moholl with lodgings for fixtene great women at euery eighth cove alongst, and after his returne obtained three lones.

At 70 on this way, and 135th from *Agra*, is seated the famous citie of *Fetipore*, built by the *Acabar*, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth fresh, haue four faire and strong Gates, it being some three *English* miles betwixt gate and gate. In the middelt it is all ruinat, lying like a waste defarte, and very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground being now converted to Gardens, and much sowed with Nill and other graine, that a man standing there, would little thinke he were in the middelt of citie.

To the entrance of the gate from *Agra*, some course in length vpon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the Suburbs; as also without the Southwest gate for two *English* miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground; and on the left hand are many faire enclosed Gardens, three miles alongst from the citie. At the entrance of the Northeast Gate is a goodly Bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side. Clove within the gate is the Kings Saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and Moholl, with much curious building; and on the further side hereof, vpon an ascent, stands the goodliest Meskie of the East. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the Gate, which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world: on the top are a number of clustring pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this Gate may be plainly seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about six times the largenesse of *Londons* Exchange, with faire large walks alongst the side, more then twice as broad, and double the height of those about the *Burle of London*, the pillars upholding them, being of one intire Rone: and round about are entrances into many goodly rooms, neatly contriued. Opposite to the Gate toward the further side, stands a faire and sumptuous Tombe, artificially inlaid with mother of Pearle, and inclosed with a grating of stone curiously carved. Ouer head is rich pargetting and paynting. Herein lieth the body of a great *Kalender*, at whose foot the whole Meskie was builded. Vnder the court yard is a goodly Tanke of excellent water; none other being to be had through the citie, but brackish and fretting, by drinking whereof was caused much mortality, that the *Acabar* before it was quite finished, lett it, and remoued his seat to *Agra*, so that this goodly Meskie was short liued, in fifty or sixty years space being builded and ruinat.

It was at the first called *Sykary*, which signifieth, seeking or hunting; but after the *Acabar* was returned from his *Amere* Pilgrimage, and was father of this *Sha Selim*, hee named it *Fetipore*.

pare, that is, a Towne of content, or place of Hearts desire obtained. The North North-west side of the Citie, without the walles, is a goodly Lough for 2. or 3. in length, abounding with good fish and wilde fowle; all ouer which groweth the herbe which beareth the *Hermodystyle*, and another bearing a fruit like a *Globet*, called *Camolachachery*, both very cooling fruits. The herbe which beareth the *Hermodystyle*, is a weed abounding in most Tankes near *Agra*, spreading ouer all the water; the leafe I obserued not, but the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell, of a hard woodie substance, haue at each angle a sharpe pricked pricking point, and is a little inclosed on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit being Greene, is soft and tender, white and of a meallish taste, much eaten in *India*, being exceeding cold in my judgement: for alwayes after it, I desired *Aqua-vite*. It is called by the people *Singarra*. The other beareth a fruit in manner of a *Globet*, flat on the toppe, and of a soft greenish substance, within which a little eminent, stand fixe or eight small fruits like *Akorne*s, diuided from each other, and inclosed with a whitish flane, at the first of a russetish Greene, tasting like a Nut or *Akorne*; in the middelt is a small Greene sprigge naught to be eaten.

Camnau is a small cuntry Towne, round about which is made very good Nill, by reason of the fallnesse of the soile, and brackishnesse of the water: it maketh yearly some five hundred M. *Ouchen* 3. distant makes very good; besides which, no Towne but *Byana* it selfe, compares with this. I remained here to the two and twentieth and three and twentieth, 6th to *Candere*, a roughish dirty *Alden*. At 2nd on this way, is one of those *Moholls*, before mentioned. It is a square stone building: within the first gate is a small court, with a place for the King to keep his *Darressy*, and two or three other retiring rooms, but none of note. Within the second court is the *Moholl*, being a four-square thing, about twice as bigge, or better, then the Exchange; haue at each corner a faire open *Dewmanan*, and in the middelt of each side another, which are to bee spread with rich carpets, and to sit in to passe the time: And betwixt each corner and this middle-moat, are two faire large chambers for his women (so that each *Moholl* receiueh fixtene) in fuerall lodgings, toward doores to any of them, all keeping open house to the Kings pleasure. Round by the side goeth a faire paved walke, some eight foot broad: and in the middelt of all the court stands the Kings chamber, where he like a Cocke of the game may crowe as he will. At *Candere* I remained till the eight and twentieth, and returned to *Bachma*, 4th backe in the way.

The twentieth of December, I went to *Byana* 8th, a backe way throw the fields. This citie hath bene great and faire, but is now ruinat, save two *Sarays* and a long Bazar, with a few stragling houses, many faire ones being fallen, and many others not inhabited (except by rogues or theues) so that many streets are quite desolate. On the North-west some three or foure cove off, are the ruines of a Kings house, with many other faire buildings: the like ruines are to be seene on the South-west side, ouer against a Towne called *Scanderbade*, in like distance vpon the height of the rocky mountains: the way leading vp is a narrow steepe stony cawley, not to be passed on horse-backe, some quarter of a mile the ascent: the entrance is thorow a small wicket, passing the lips of the mountains in a narrow gutte. On the right hand, vpon the very edge, is a pleasant building, where are diuers Tombs: from each side, the way may be made good with stones against millions of men. Passing a mile hence on a faire cawley, you come to the Kings house, sometimes faire, now ruinat, where a few poore *Googers* remaine in the ruines. Many Tombs and Monuments yet remaine. At the foote of the hill toward *Scanderbade*, is a pleasant Valley inclosed with a wall, and therein many gardens of pleasure. This City hath been in ancient times the seat of a great *Patane* King, and hath had the walles extending on the cliffs 8th in length, in those places where is any possibilitie of getting vp, the rocks otherwise ouer-hanging: the fortifications on the other side I saw not. It hath bene a goodly city, inhabited now only with *Googers*, which are keepers of cattell, and makers of Butter and Cheese. From hence notwithstanding all this strength, did the *Acabar* force *Sha Selim* the Tyrant, and then laid it waste, as he hath done *Mander*, and most of the strong holds which he took. The cuntry which affordeth that rich Nill which takes name of *Byana*, is not about twenty or thirtie cove long.

The herbe Nill groweth in forme not much vnlike Cues or Cich-pease, haue a small leafe like that of *Sena*, but shorter and broader, and set on a very short foot-stalk, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like unto broome. It usually groweth not about a yarde high, and with a stalk at the biggest (which is at the third year) not much exceeding a mans thumb. The feed is included in a small round codde about an inch long, resembling *Femigrazum*, save that it is more blunt at both ends, as if it had been cut off with a knife. It carryeth a small flower like that of Hearts-case: the feed is ripe in November, and then gathered. The herbe once sowne dureth three yeeres, being cut euery yeere in August and September after the raine. That of one yeere is tender, and thereof is made netee, which is a weighty Reddish nill sinking in water, not come to his perfection: that of the second yeere is rich, and called *Gyere*, very light and of a perfect Violet colour, swimming on the water: in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this Nill is called *Cattell*, being a weightie blackish Nill, the worst of the three. This herbe being cut the

Fetipore inter-
preted.
Hermodystylis
described.

Camnau.

Candere.

The Kings Mo-
holls described.

Dewmanan is a
Hall.

Byana.

Ruines.

A strong Fort.

Description of
Nill or Indico.

The growth
and variety of
the herbe.

Their making
of Indico.

moneth afore said, is cast into a long cistern, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be couered, which it remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into another round cistern, in the middle of which is another small cistern or cener: this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like barter or white flannel, and then let it settle, skimming off the cleare water on the toppe: then labouring it off, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare water, doing thus oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine, which they take forth and spread on cloth, to dry in the Sunne: and being a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour) this is the cause of the faintly flow. So if raine fall, it loseth his colour and glasse, and is called *Alad*. Some decedivally will take of the herbe of all three crops, and steepe them altogether, hard to be discerned, very knauihly. Fowre things are required in Nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glasse in the Sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water, or burning in the fire, it cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leauing a few ashes.

The Great Mo-
gol in dang-
er of a Lyon.

About the sixt of January, the King being on hunting, was assailed by a Lyon, which hee had wounded with his Peece, with such fiercenesse, that had not a Captaine of his, a Resbour, Tutor of the late baptized Princes interposed himselfe, thrusting his arme into the Lions mouth as hee ramped against his Maister, he had in all likelihood been destroyed. In this struggling, *Sultan Cosroes*, *Rustan Ramlu*, and others came in, and amongst them flew the Lyon, that Captaine having first received thirty two wounds: whom therefore the King tooke vp into his owne Palanke, with his owne hand as if wiped and bound up his wounds, and made him a Captaine of five thousand in recompence of that his valourous Royallite.

His thankful-
nesse.

Kings manner
of hunting.

The Kings manner of hunting is this: about the beginning of Nouembre, accompanied with many thousands, he goeth forth of his Caille of *Agra*, and hunteth home thirty or forty Courie round about the Citie; to continuing till the ende of March, when the heat drives him home againe. He causeth, with choise men, a certaine wood or desart place to be inclosed, by contracting themselves to a neuer comers, till they meet againe, and whatsoever is taken in this inclosure, is called the Kings Sika or kee, whether men or beastes, and whatsoever lets come to escape, without the Kings mercy, must loose his life. The beastes taken, if mans meat, are sold, and the money giuen to the poore: if men, they remaine the Kings slaves, which he yearly lends to *Cabul*, to barter for horse and dogs, these being more murtherable than the people that live in woods and desarts, till hee die differing from beaust.

This Ch. Charles
I have spoken
with since in
Indico after
dures yeares
seruice.

Journey to La-
bor.

Indico idola-
try.

Delty. There
are said to be
four Deities
within the
cistern built by
Rag, who by
his Ponde or
Meguine
confronted
the earth by an
Iron stake,

which he pul-
led out boundly
with the blood
of a Snake,

with his
Ponde: but he
saw of good
fortune.

The last of his
race was wife
Fetery, who
after leuening
taking a Peon King,

was at 140 by him taken and slain. He began the Peon Kingdomes. They came from the mountains
between *Candhar* and *Cabul*. The second built by *Tyag Shai*, a Peon King. The third little of note. The fourth by *Sherbaf*,
where is the Tomb of *Hamas*. * A faintly Ocelus with *Gere* or *Hibem* inscriptions, as some affirm, supposed to be the last
by Alexander.

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by Alexander.

Nasir-ud-din a Peon King would have taken it vp, and was prohibited by multitude of Scorpions, and that it hath inscriptions. In diuers parts of India the use is to be leene, and of late was found buried in the ground about *Fetipore* a stone pillar of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to *Agra*, but was broken in the way, to his great griefe. It is remarkable that the Quarters of *Indico*, especially near *Fetipore* (whence they are carried farre) are of Lachmure, that they may be drest like legges, and fine like plancks to feede chambers, and cover house of a great length and breadth. From this Monument is said to be a way vnder ground to *Dely Caille*. Now here remaine only *Gogers*, and here are here of Deere. We saw in the way the rames of diuers places, and near the same, the ruins of a wall 200 in circumference, 10 Parke for game. Some part of this way was the same, and some report being giuen out of the Kings death, many Reges with that talic alarme were abroad: yemeth the Follower of *Dely* with 20 thousand horse and foot in their pursuit, who burnt their Townes, and took the dead, and their whateuer hee could get: and the next day at breakfast we were like to be surprized by the enemies.

Ganore 14 c. Panepur 14 c. at the entry whereof was placed a Mancina, with the heads of some hundred theues newly taken; their bodies set on stakes 4 mile in length. *Carnall 14 c.* the way the same, where but for our peace language we had been slain. *Tonassar 14 c.* here is a Caille, a goodly Tanke, and by it *Pagade*, much reuerenced by all the Gentiles throughout India. *Neere* it all ore the Sal-amaniacke pits. *Shabad or Grobad 10 c. Amulsh 12 c. Tilloma Suray 14 c. Syriam 7 c.* it hath a faire Tanke with a Summer-house in the middle, to which leads a faine Bridge of fifteen stone arches very pleasant. From hence is a small River cut to the Kings Garden a cote distant, with a cawley of forty foot bread, planted with trees on both sides to it. The Garden is fowre square, each waye a cote in length, or better, inclosed with a Bricke-wall, the sides planted with all sorts of trees and flowers, seated vnder a (as I haue told) forty fifty thousand Rupas: crossed with two maine walles forty foot broad, 80 eight high, with a continuing along these channells in the middle, and planted on both sides thicke with trees: Cypresses: one of these cawleys is also planted with peele curiously interwrought. At the outting hand is an eight square Mohl with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire Tank, where these eight other rooms, with faire Galleries round about: on the top of it a faire Tountier: the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich caruing, and pergetting; and on two sides two faire Tankes in the midst of a faire stone chequer, planted round with Cypresse trees: a little distant is another Mohl, but not so curious.

From hence we passed to *Dorap 15 c. Palloepur Saray 13 c. Nider 12 c. Salloepur 11 c. Fetipore 7 c.* a Saray built (if it were finished) by *Shah Selim*, in memoriall of the ouerthrowne *Shah Sultan Cusroem* his eldest sonne: the occasion whereof was this. *Shah Selim* vpon some slight toke arries in his fathers life time, and fled into *Purpur*, where he kept the strong Caille of *Atchabek* (but came in some three months before his fathers death) whereupon *Acabar* gave the Crowne to *Sultan Cusroem* his fenne. But after *Acabar* death, *Selim* by his friends, seized on the Caille and treasure, and his fenne fled for *Labor*, where hee gathered home twelve thousand horse all good soldiers and *Mogols*, possessing the Suburbs twie daies, and proclaimed King in the Kalle, and his Father in *Cabul*. In this place hee gave battell to *Strat*, French, and did slay his three hundred horse, and put them to the sword: to the second of him came *Melke Ali Curual* (the King being 20 c. feline) with some two hundred horse, beating up the Kings drums, and using a huge shout, bearing *Gid-fane* King Selim, vpon which the Prince fled: but as he fled, tied, the Prince himselfe beinge only with horse, and got to a choyard *Labor* *Cabul*, which he had gotten, he would hee put his father to further trouble: hee beinge to passe a River where hee gave Mahors of Gold, the Boate-man grew in distrust, and in the middle of the Channell leapt ouer-board, and swam to the shore, where hee gave notice to the Governour of the Towne aduising, who presently with fiftie horse came downe to the River, where the Boate was full sitting, imbrued himselfe in an arrow and slayed him by the name of King, dissembling offering his aide, and inviting him to his house: which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his Company and guarded, till hee had slain the King, who sent *Germasud* to fetch him fettered on an Elephant. From hence his Father proceeded to *Cabul*, pushing forward as hee found it hee in this road, carrying his fenne with him, and returning by this place where the battell was fought (as time lay) could find eye: hee burned it with a gish, others say, on his hand: did him with his nopting vnder his hand, and feling, it with his owne teale, which yet remaineth and hee live in the C. City of *Agra*. All along on both sides the way from *Cabul* to *Agra*, a refula le distance, the King caused trees to be planted to shade the way, in remembrance of this exploit, and called this place *Tupor*, that is, *harts comers*, as before heard of the Crow which for his birth was wanted to buy his Father *Acabar*: this is any day, may by the people told, hee is glad.

From hence to *Finke Mohel 10 c. Candan a Saray 13 c. Labor 7 c.* where I arrived February the fourth. On the twentie eighth, arrived here a *Peris* Embassie, allied to the *Abdally*, with a great Accompanying him, by them learned, that the way to *Candhar* was now closed, the warts beinge dead, which the *Ting* *Gelale* had caused, who the former yeare had

The stone of
Indico.

The Kings gar-
den, Saray
was made,
and the
Indico.

The Kings gar-
den, Saray
was made,
and the
Indico.

The chief of
the quirel
was the Mo-
gol and his el-
dest sonne.

The Prince
taken.

Of Meen-
men, who
shall read: for
in story, has
housell.
Two sisters.

Of Meen-
men, who
shall read: for
in story, has
housell.

As to the *Perfian* with some ten thousand *Turkes*, and had obtained some Jaggere neere thereto, wherof he purposing to make himself King, was overthrown, and being tent terly by the *Perfian*, refused to come, till deluded by promise of a marriage, he was got to the Court, and there lost his head. We heard also of the *Perfian* taking from the *Turke*, the strong Castle of *Curdus*, after a yeeres siege, with other *Asian* and *European* news.

§. VI.

Description of Lahor, and of the Kings house there: how the Mogolls entered India: Of diuers strong holds, strange Beasts, and Plants; of the Superstitions: Of the Ways, Treasures, Outlawes, Cities, Building; adioyned and intermixed: Princes not subject: Agra and Echebars Sepulchre described.

The house.

The River Rauer.

The Kings house described.

Pictures.

The Pictures on the wall of the Princes or great men.

The Moholls.

Lahor is one of the greatest Cities of the East, containing some 24 s. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting vp about it, and by the Kings command, now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the *Paras* it was but a Village. *Multan* then flourishing, till *Hameen* enlarged this. The Towne and Suburb is some 6 s. thorow. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, hauing thereto twelue faire gates, nine by the land, and three openings to the River: the streets faire and well paved, the inhabitants are *Bacnans* and handicrafts men; all white: men of note lying in the Suburbs. The buildings are high, with bricke and much curiositie of carued windowes and doores: most of the *Gentils* doores of fixe or euen steps ascent, and very trouble some to get vp, so built for more security and that passengers should not see into their houses. The cattle is leared on *Rauer*, a goodly River which falleth into *Indus*, downe which go many Boats, of fixtie tunne or upwards, for *Tawin Sind*, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes along by *Multan*, *Seepare*, *Buchur*, *Rauer*, &c.

This River cometh from the East, and runneth Westerly by the North side of the City: vpon which within the Castle is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the River-wad, 30 Within the City on the left-hand, you enter thorow a strong gate; and a Muskett shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with Atticania for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand, thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keeps his *Durbar*, and round about which court are Atticania's also for great men to watch in. In the middle there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go vp to a faire lone lounter or small court, in the middle whereof stands a faire Dezoncan, with two or three other retiring rooms, wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the wall is the Kings Picture sitting cross-legged on a chaire of State: on his right-hand *Sultan Persie*, *Sultan Caracoe*, and *Sultan Timoree*; his sonnes: next these, *Shah Olan*, and *Don Sba*, two of his brothers (the three baptiz'd before spoken, were sonnes of this last); next them *Emirjee Sheriff*, eldest brother to *Cann Afim* (of whom it is reported his estate be such, that of one hundred chier women which he kept, he neuer suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be euer touched by any stranger, but caused them to be euer buried in the ground there to rot: as also that he alway had in seruice five hundred Maligaes, in so much that when euer he went from court to his house in *Agra*, which was at least a coile, no man removed foote with his torch, but stood all alight to his house) next this man, *Emirjee Roffere*, late King of *Candhar*, then *Cann Canna* (which is the Prince of the *Cannes*) then *Cutick* *Cann*, *Rauan Manijengo*, *Cann Afim*, *Afoph Cann*, *Shee Fereed*, *Kelish Cann*, and *Rauan Ingan* (who this last had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers child.) On the left hand of the King is *Rauan Bowling*, who beats away fyes, than *Rauan Ramdas*, who holds his sword, *Clerff Cann*, *Cann Iohn*, *Jemana Lege* or *Amaler Cann*, *Marcon Boncan*, *Rauan Roffere*, *Rauan Kallig*, *Mao Kell*, and *Lala Berling*. Note also that in this Gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King, over the doore is the Picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand of the Virgin *Mary*. This Dezoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the *Rauer*.

From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the West, you enter another small court, where is another open Chountor of stone to sit in, covered with rich Semanes. From hence you enter into a small Gallery, at the end of which next the River, there is a small window, the King looks forth at his Deiance, to behold the flights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the River. On the wall of this Gallery is drawne the Picture of the *Acabar* sitting in his State, and before him *Shah Selim* his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his right and by him *Sultan Cafferom*, *Sultan Paras*, *Sultan Caracoe*, his three sonnes: at the end is a small Dezoncan, where the King vish to sit: behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, alen, if the right-hand whereof runneth a small Moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for

feuerall women, with Galleries and windowes looking to the River, and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to be fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King vish to sit, are drawne over-head many Pictures of Angels, with Pictures of *Bacian Dews*, or rather Duels, intermixed in most vgly shape, with long homes, staring eyes, thagge haire, great fangs, vgly pawes, long tails, with such horrible deformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frighted there with. Within this court is a pleasant Dezoncan and lodgings, and the way to another Moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

Now to returne to the former court, where the *Ades* or *Guird* keeps their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Debar, beyond it another small court with Atticania, and passing thorow another gate, a faire large square Moholl, called the new Moholl, of that largeness that it may lodge two hundred women in state all feuerall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on, you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another Moholl the stateliest of the three, continued into fixteen feuerall great lodgings, each hauing faire lodgings, a Dezoncan (or Hall) a small paved court, each her Tanke, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to her selfe: all seated very pleasantly vpon the River. Before the Moholl of *Sultan Cafferom*'s mother, is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that she brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the middle stands a goodly Gallery for the King to sit in, with such vgly Pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Pally, behind one punkawing another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrows, &c.

Before this Gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings, and windowes alongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble lounter, conuexed over-head, looking over the River, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the walls and feelings all one laid with pure gold; and round alongst the walls, about a mans height, come three other different are placed faire *Unice* Looking-glasses, three and three each about other: and below these alongst the walls, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors, as of *Acabar* his Father, *Hameen* his Grand-father, *Babur* his great Grand-father, who first first foote into *Indus*, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like *Kalanders* or *Foekers*, who came to *Dely* to *Seconders* Court, when reigning, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned vpon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said *Seconders* reign; which he performed: but after his death, he sent his sonne *Hameen* vpon his Successor *Aram*, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose vp a great Captaine of the Blood-Royall in *Bengala*, who fought a great battel with *Hameen* neare *Ganger*, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he drue him forth of the Kingdome to the *Perfian Shaw*; of whom hee obtained new Forces (with whom came *Byram*, *Cann Canna* his father, for General) and reconquered all, lining after that in security. This King dying, left *Acabar* very young, appointed *Byram* *Cann* Protector, whom the *Acabar*, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomey or Pilgrimage to *Mecce*, as is said, made away with him. His sonne *Cann Canna* or *Cann*, of the *Cannes*, doth also much curbe *Shah Selim* the King, with his friends and Allies, being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. *Shah Selim* affirmed himselfe to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of *Tamerlane* the Great, being the Great-grand-child of *Babur*, King of *Cabul*.

But to returne to the entrance of this Moholl, passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the City againe; this house and appurtenances of Moholls being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the East-side of the Castle hard without the wall, is the Garden of *Afoph Cann*, small, neat, with walks (planted with Cypress-trees) diuers Tankes and lounters: as you enter, a faire Dezoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire Tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a lounter for coolefence. Beyond are other Galleries and walks, diuers lodgings for his women neatly contriued; and behind, a small Garden, and Garden-house. In the midst of the Garden is a very tartly lounter with faire buildings over-head, and a Tanke in the center with large and goodly Galleries alongst the four sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adioyning to this is a Garden of the Kings, in which are very good Apples, but small, Toot white and red, Almonds, Peaches, Figgies, Grapes, Quinces, Oranges, Limmons, Pomgranats, Roses, Stock-gillow-flowers, Marigolds, Wall-flowers, Ireos, Pinkes white and red, with diuers sorts of Indian Flowers.

On the West-side of the Castle is the Ferry to passe over to *Cabul* (and so to *Tartary* or *Cassan*) a very great road-way, and the further side of the River is a goodly Countrey. Inhabit numbers of *Cassians* fall of Tartary exceeds two or 3 s. in length. Passing the Sugar Gonge is a faire Moholl built by *Shah Fereed*; beyond it (without the Towne, in the way to the Gardens) is a faire monument for *Don Sba* his mother, one of the *Acabar* his wives, with whom it is said *Shah Selim* had to do her name was *Imanque Kelle*, or Pomgranate kernel) vpon notice of which the King intended her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his Moholl, where hee dyed: and the King in token of his loue, commanded a sumptuous Tomb to be built of stone in the midst of a faire square Garden richly walled, with a gate, and diuers rooms over it: the compass of the Tomb hee had willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire lounter with rooms over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention, are of such largeness, that if they

Pictures of Angels and Bacian Dews.

Large Moholl for two hundred women.

Pictures of his women and their offices.

Babur first conqueror: his descendants.

Tamerlane.

Afoph Cann his Garden.

Apples, with Quinces, and flowers.

Two other
Rivers which
flowe into
An excellent
race of horses.

Cambaja.

Munkeyes.

Part. Frig. tis
Violent tyfe
called the Rye.

Baroch.
A Mine of
Agates.

Tartie or Tadi-
a strong
Wine.
Yus Medum
A Mate of water
Sint. Dige-
mesto him.
M. adies as
true as —

Certaine pla-
ces of note
in the Coun-
try of Parag.
Ganges his be-
ginning and
course.
Lacawes.
Oude.

Holy, holy
place and Ja-
son's place.

Indus Aff-
horne.

power; and whence some four yeeres since (proclaiming Liberty and Lawes of good follow-
ship) hee sacked *Cambaja* with a sudden power, combined by hope of spoile, of one hundred
thousand men, which for fourteen daies continued; & offshores these and tharke. There is also
between this and *Trage* a certaine *Ratan* on the Mountaines able to make feuentene thousand
Hill and Foot, the people called *Collets* or *Quellers*, keeping in a Defart Wildernesse which
it cursumeth from Conquest; and on the right hand is another able to make tenne thousand Horse,
holding in a Defart Plaine a Cattle impregnable, whose Land is subject to *Ginsay* Gunow govern-
ment, but their four yeeres hee hath denyed him Tribute, and stands on his defence. This
Ratan is said to have a Race of Hories not equall in all the East, each valued at fifteen thou-
sand R. reported to be much swifter then the *Arabians*, and able to continue with reasonable
speed a whole day without once drawing bte; of which he is said to have one hundred Mares.
From *Ginsay* to this Cite is a sandy, woolly Countrey, full of theemth beasty men, and
of Mankind, Savage Beasts, Lions, Tygres, &c. 30 c. about this City is made *Nall* called *Cahs*,
of a Towne 4 c. from *Amandan*, not so good as that of *Biana*.

Cambaja is hence 38 c. sandy, wooddie, the sixth way: it stands by the Sea, encompassed with
a strong brick wall, the houses high, and faire, the streets paved in a straight Line with strong
gates at the end of each, the Bazar large: about the Cite are such infinite numbers of Munkeyes,
leaping from house to house, that they do much mischief, and vntyling the houses, are ready
to braine men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall. On the South is a goodly Gar-
den with a Watch-tower of an exceeding height; on the North are many faire Tanks. It is
the Mart of *Gun-war*, and is lauded by the *Portugals*, that you shall often finde two hundred
Frigates at once riding there. It aboundeth with all sorts of cloth and rich Drugges. The Bay is
S. e. out, 4 dayes row to pass by the reef of the great *Bare* which drownes many, and therefore
requires guidance skilful. If the tydes: in the neape tydes is kill perill. Thees are also when you
are out the Channell are not a little dangerous, forcing you (if not the better provided) to quit
your goods, or in long bukerings, betraying you to the tydes fury, which comes to swift that ten
to one you escape not. Four Coes beyond this Bay is *Iomifer*, now much ruined, and from
thence eighteen to *Baroch*, a wondrous, dangerous passage, in which are many wild Peacocks.
Within 4 c. of *Baroch* is a great Mine of Agates. It is a faire Cattle feated on a River twice
broad as the *Thames*, to the mouth of which is hence 12 c. Here are made the rich *Bassatas*, in 30
finest: surpassing *Holland* Cloth, for *Indus* Rupas a Booke, which containeth fourtene *Eng-
lish* yards, and are not three quarters trod.

Hence to *Varian* 30 c. a goodly Countrey and fertile, full of Villages, abounding with wild
Date Trees, which generally are plentifull by the Sea-side in most places, whence they draw
at quare called *Tartie* or *Sura*, as also from another wild Coco-tree called *Tartie*, 3 hence is *Sura*.
In a Towne between *Baroch* and *Amandan*, lyeth a great Saint of the *Moors* called *Pelle-
Medum* much resorted to out of all places of *India*, for wealth, children, or woe, at all they de-
sire. Diuers in the way goe with great chains on their legges, and with their hands bound
together, and their mouths locked vp, (only opening them for food) and when they come be-
fore him in this manner of their humble deuotion, they ascribe that presently their chains and
locks flye open, not one returning in vaine; if themelues be not vaine in their hopes, and in
these and other like actions, which maynt on *Yus* *Varian*, forsake their vaine Iudge.

From *Agra* to *Quellers* is 130 c. East, the Cite great and walled, seated on an ascent, and
the Cattle on the height well fortified: at the foot whereof anciently *Ganges* took his course,
but hath now broken a passage thorow the Valley some 4 c. distant, notwit standing as yet a
small branch remaineth there. *Ganges* is within his bounds three quarters of a mile broad, but
with great rain is so: his banks are covered the whole Vale nere 10 c. It hath three Ri-
vers of note which fall into it, as doth he himselfe into the Gulfe of *Bengala*. In it are innume-
rable Alligators or Crocodiles, there called *Margum*, he hath eighteen large branches. Thence
to *Lacawes* is 30 c. A Towne of great traffique for Linnen and other Merchandise. To *Oude*
from thence are 30 c. A Cite of ancient note, and late of a *Potan* King, now much ruined: the
Cattle built by 2 hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of *Ramekand* Cattle and Hou-
ses with the *Indians* acknowledge to the great God, laying, that hee tooked his vp him to see
the *Temple* of the World. In their ruines remaine certaine *Brames*, who record the names
of all such *Indians* as waite themselves in the River running thereby; which custom they say,
hath continued foure lakies of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand, and
five hundred yeeres before the Worlds Creation.) Some two miles on the further side of the River is
a Cite, of a vale with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within, that a
man may well looke himselfe there, if he take not better heed, where it is thought his allies were
buried. Hither resort many from all parts of *India*, which carry from hence in remembrance cer-
tain vases of River a lakie as Gun-powder, which they say have bene refused euer since.
Out of the ruines of this Cite have bene found here is great Treasure and such abundance
of *Indian* Ache-horne, that they make here Bucklers, and diuers sorts of Drinking Cups. There
are of these Hories, all the *Indians* ascribe, some rare of great price, no lewell comparable, some
esteeming them the right *Indians* Hories.

From

From *Oude* to *Achapor* 30 c. some 30 c. from whence lyeth *Bomace* the principall Mart
of *Bengala* goods. From *Achapor* to *Tempore* 30 c. seated on a small River, over which is a bridge
with Houles like *London* Bridge, but nothing so good. The Cattle hath bene a feat of the *Potan*
Kings, there yet remaining two faire Meskites, with many other ancient Monuments: the hou-
ses are like those of *Amandan*, the circuit some 8. or 10 c. Hence come excellent sweete
Oyles, Carpets, Hangings embroidered with Silke, all sorts of fine Linnen, &c.

Thus much from *Agra* to *Tempore* this way: from thence (returning that way to *Agra*) to
Alabaff 110 c. 30 c. all which are thorow a continual Forrest. The Towne and Cattle
stand on the further side of *Ganges* pleasantly seated, called anciently *Pragy*, and is held one of
the Wonders of the East. Diuers *Potan* Kings have fought to build here a Cattle, but none could
do it, till *Achapor* layd the foundation and proceeded with the Worke. It stands on a Point or
Angle joining the River *Ganges* on the South-side falling into *Ganges*. It hath bene forty yeeres
a building, and is not yet finished, neither is like to bee in a long time. The *Achapor* for many
yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continueth
working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of
the World. In this Cattle *Sba Selim* kept when he rebelled against his Father. The outward
walls are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like *Agra* Cattle, within which are two
other walls nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire Court, in which stands
a Pillar of stone finite Cubits about ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be
found) which by circumstances of the *Indians*, seemeth to have beene placed by *Alexander* or
some other great Conquerour, who could not pass further for *Ganges*. Passing this Court you
enter a lelle, beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his *Despase* to behold Elephants
and other Beasts to fight. Right against him within a Vault are many *Agades*, being Monuments
of *Baba Adam*, and *Shama Heval*, (as they call them) and of their Progenie, with Pictures of
Nash and his Delicent.

The *Indians* suppose that Man was heere created, or kept here at least for many yeeres, affirm-
ment themselves to be of that Religion, whereof these Fathers were. To this place resort ma-
ny thousands from all parts to worship: but before they approach these Reliques, they wash
their bodies in *Ganges*, shauing their heads and beards, thereby deeming themselves cleansed from
all their former sins. Out of this Court is another highly paved where the King keeps his *Der-
bar*; beyond it another whence you enter into the *Moball*; large, divided into sixteen feuerall
Lodgings for sixteen great Women with their Slaves and Attendants: in the middle of all,
the Kings Lodgings of three Stories each containing sixteen rooms, in all eight and forty
Lodgings, all wrought over-head with rich Parquetting and curious Painting in all kind of Co-
lours. In the midst of the lowest store is a curious Tanke.

In this *Moball* is a Tree which the *Indians* call the Tree of Life (being a wilde *Indian* figge
Tree) for that it could neuer be destroyed by the *Potan* Kings and this mans Ancestors, which
have sought to doe it by all means, flogging it vp and lifting the very earth vnder it to gather
forth the sprigs, it still springing againe, inasmuch that this King lets it alone seeking to cherish
it. This Tree is of no small esteeme with the *Indians*. In the waters ide within the *Moball* are
diuers large *Deuencams*, where the King with his Women often pass their times in beholding
Gemin, paying his Tribute to *Ganges*. Betweene them and the waters side at the foot of the
wall is a pleasant Garden shaded with Cypresse Trees, and abounding with excellent fruits and
flowres, hauing in the midst a faire Banqueting Houle, with priue staires to take Boate. From
hence in October or November when the great Frost is past you may passe by Boats for *Bengala*;
but the passage is dangerous: 4 c. downe are two Castles opposite on the Banks, *Haryaly*
and *Gulfee*, seated on two hills rayled by industry, built by the *Potans*.

From *Alabaff* to *Tempore* is 20 c. alongh the River *Ganges*. At 2 c. on this way is a sumptu-
ous Towne for this Kings first Wife, Mother to *Sultan Cafferin*, and Sister to *Ras Maung*,
who vpon the newes of her Sommes reuolt poysoned her selfe. From hence passing *Ganges*
is a more direct way to *Tempore*.

To *Chappore* is 12 c. here is one of the fairest Sarais in *India*, like a goodly Cattle them
Inne to lodge strangers, the lodgings very faire of stone with Lockes and Keyes able to lodge a
thousand men: a man can scarce thorow side to side with an Arrow; nere to it is a faire
bridge both built by one man: the way perillous for Theues. *Tray* is hence 12 c. anciently
the seat of a *Potan* King but now ruined. On the height of the hill cut steep downe, is seated a
strong Cattle double walled, hauing at the entrance the figure of a mans face which the *Indians*
much worship pouring abundance of Oyle vpon it. To *Amedore* is 4 c. a plentifull Coun-
try full of good Sarais for Carauans. Much Indico called *Cole* of a grosse sort is made in this
Cite, which is spent in *India*, or transported for *Somercard*, *Cafesat*, and the like parts, none
passing into *Europe*, except much with that of *Biana*. Hence to *Agrais* 7 c. passing *Gemin*
close to the Cite.

Lands lying Easterly from *Lahor* with their Lords.
Alongh the River Easterly, lyeth the Land of *Rams Baffon*, whose chief Caste is *Tem-mey*.
50 c. to *Lahor*. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the *Mogol*, a great Mimon of *Sba Selim*.
Oude 3 Out

The returne
from *Tempore*
another way
to *Alabaff* to
Agra.
A mighty Cattle
A mighty
Cattle.

Alexander
Piller.

Mon. of *Adam*
and *Eve*, and
of the Creation,
Pilgrimage &
Holy-water.

Strange Tree:

Tempore.

Chappore.
A fair Saray.

Tray, Face wor-
thipped.

Negers.

Idolaters pil-
grimages, and
evil-demons.

Calisy.

Serenegar.
Dow Lager.Exteme of
cold.

Cann.

Guns, scarce of
horfe to
climbe hills.Rocke of Dia-
monds.

Pore-owlers.

See of Pegu
Fluents here
before.Description of
Agra, and the
Cittie.

The Cittie.

Out of this, and the adjoining Regions, come most of the *Indian Drugges*, growing on the Mountaines, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Colius, &c. This *Raia* confines the Kings Land Easterly. Bordering to him is another great *Raia*, called *Tulluck Chand*, whose chiefe City is *Negerat*, 80 c. from *Labor*, and as much from *Syrinan*, in which City is a famous Pagod, called *for Durga*, vnto which worlde people resort out of all parts of *India*. It is a small thort Idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idolls feet, have found it whole the next day (able to ye I am afraid, to curse the father of lyes and lyes, how cur) yea foute out of impious piety here sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats, and preciously recovering: the holier the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more greeuous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine, before the Diuell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to craue children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents, or lost by themselves, which hauing made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answer, not one departing discontented. They report this *Pagan Deity* to haue bene a woman (if a holy Virgin may haue that name) yea that shee still liues (the Diuell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. *Diuers Morres* also report to this *Peer*. This *Raia* is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite *Sba Selim*.

On this *Raia* Easterly confineth another, called *Decamporga*, a mighty Prince, his chiefe seat *Calisy* about an 150 c. from *Agra*, his Country held 500 c. long, North and South 300 c. broad, populous, able to raise vpon occasion foue hundred thousand foot, but few or no horie; the Land plentifull in it selfe, but sends forth little.

To the Eastward of this *Raia*, betwixt *Iemini* and *Ganger* lyeth the Land of *Raia Manja*, a mighty Prince and very rich, reported to be served all in vessels of maffie gold: his Country 300 c. long, and one hundred and fifty broad, his chiefe seat *Serenegar*: the Mountaines called *Dow Lager*, vpon which in time of Winter falls such extreme Snowes, that the Inhabitants are forced to remouee into the Valleys. Yet doe I not thinke that any of these Lands extend Northerly about forty degrees, but the height of the Mountaines causeth this extremity of cold. This *Raia* Land extendeth within some 300 c. of *Agra*, part within 50 c. of *Syrinan*, very plentifull.

On the further side of *Ganges* lyeth a very mighty Prince, called *Raia Rodom*, holding a mountainous Country, his chiefe seat *Cannu*; his territories extend 400 c. long, and not much lesse in breadth, abounding with graine, haue many goodly Cities: thence cometh much Muske, and here is the great breed of a small kind of Horfe, called *Gonra*, a true traueiling saddle-horse. This Prince is puissant in foot, but hath few Horfe or Elephants, the mountaines not requiring the one, and the cold excluding the other: his Lands thought to reach neare *China*.

To the South of this *Raia*, thware the freames of *Ganges*, is seated another, *Raia Mugg*, very powerfull in horfe, foote, and Elephants. In his Land is the old rocke of naturall Diamonds, which yields him no small benefit. His Lands extend East, somewhat South 700 c. from *Agra*. Beneath him amongst the freames of *Ganges*, keepeth a *Potai* Prince of the *Doly-King*, whom the King cannot subdue, by reason of the freames and Ilands of *Ganges*. He con-⁴⁰ fineth vpon *Purroy*, and makes often inroades vpon the Kings lands, enforcing *Sba Selim* to maintaine a frontiere army. Hence to the mouth of *Ganges*, all is the Kings Land: only in the mouth, the *Portugall* Out-lawes hold a small Fort, and doe much mischief, liuing in no forme of subjection to God or man.

On the further side of *Ganges*, is the mighty King of *Arracan*, enjoying a large territory, and infinite numbers of small Barkes. Eastward from him is the Kingdome of *Siam*, behind it *Oua* and *Langama*. Betwene *Tanassar* and *Arracan* is the Kingdome of *Pegu*; the Land newly discovered, To the South is the Kingdome of *Queila*, *Madacca*, &c. On the Sea-coast of *Ben-⁴⁰ gale*, this King hath two chiefe Ports, *Ongela* (vynnized by the *Portugall*) and *Pipile*, passing which, and the Land of *Orissa*, you enter into the Lands of *Golconda*, on whom *Sba Selim* maketh warres, and hath forcibly taken much of his Land. His chiefe Port is *Mahidipatan*, and his Royall seat *Braganadar* and *Golconda*, that late builded. Alongst the sea foote toward the Cape, is the mighty King of *Besenger*, vnder whom the *Portugall* hold Saint *Thomas* and *Negapatam*, but are not suffered to build a Cittie. But I let passe these neighbouring *Indes*, and returne to *Agra*, the *Mogoll* royall residence.

Agra hath not been in fame about fiftie yeeres, being before *Acabar*s time a Village, who remooued (as you may heare) from *Estepore* for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous and beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, fearely the great *Bazars* and some few others, which are large and faire. The Cittie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone, belying to the land-ward some c. in length, and as much by the Rivers side, vpon the banks, where there are many goodly houses of the Nobility, pleasantly out-looking *Ganini*, which runneth with a swift current from the North to the South, somewhat Easterly into *Ganges*. Vpon the banks of this River fland the Cittie, one of the fairest and admirable buildings of the East, foue three or foue miles in compasse, inclosed with a faire and strong wall of squared stone; about which is cast a faire ditch, ouer it draw-bridges. The walls

walls are built with bulwarkes somewhat defensible, regaled with a counter-scarpe or front without, some fiftene yards broad. Within this are two other strong walls and gates. To the Cittie are foue gates, one to the North, by which you passe to a Rampire with great peeces, and other West to the *Bazar*, called the *Cichery* gate, within which ouer against the great gate, is the *Caf* his seat of Chief-Justice in matters of law, and by it two or three murderers very great place (one three foot in the bore, and fiftene long) of cast brasse. Ouert-against this seat is the *Cichery* or Court of Rolls, where the Kings *Vizier* sits every morning foue three houres, by whose hands pale all matters of Rents, Grants, Lands, Fines, Deits, &c.

Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate, ouer which are two *Raia*s in stone, who were killed in the Kings *Derbar* before the Kings eyes, for being ouer-bold in speech, they telling their lines beately, in remembrance of which they are heere placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a faire street, with houses and munition all along on both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile, you come to the third gate, which leads to the Kings *Derbar*, alwayes chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the South called *Acabar Dromae*, close within which is the Whores child, many hundreds of which attend there day and night, according as their feallur turnes come euery feuenth day, that they may be ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Moholl, he giuing to euery one of them stipends according to their vnrworthy worth.

The fourth gate is to the Ruer called the *Derfane* leading into a faire Court extending alongst the Ruer, in which the King lookes forth euery morning at Sun-rising, which hee fakes, and then his Nobles report to their *Taffian*. Right vnder the place where hee lookes out, is a kind of scaffold whereon the Nobles stand, but the *Adlers* with officers away below in the Court. Here also euery noone hee looketh forth to behold *Tama*'s, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffes, killing of Deere with Leopards, which is a custom on euery day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday on the contrary is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts and iustified men, the King iudging and seeing execution. To returne to the third Gate, within it you enter into a spacious court with *Atef*'s round about like shops or open stalls, wherein his Captaines according to their degrees, keep their leaue day Chockes. A little further you enter within a rayle into a more inward Court, with in which none but the Kings *10* *Adlers*, and men of fore are admitted, vnder paine of fwaeking by the Porters cudgells, which lay on lead without respect of persons.

Being entred, you approach the Kings *Derbar* or Seat, before which is also a small Court inclosed with railles, couered ouer head with rich Semians to keepe away the Sunne; where aloft in a Gallery, the King sits in his chaire of State, accompanied with his Children and chiefe *Vizier* (who goeth vp by a short ladder forth of the Court) no other without calling daring to goe vp to him, save only two Punkaw's to gather wind. And right before him below on a scaffold is a third, who with a horfe taile makes haucoc of poore flies. On the right hand of the King, on the left behind him, is the picture of our Saviour; on the left of the Virgin. Within these railles none vnder the degree of foure hundred horse are permitted to enter. On the further side of this Court of preience, are hanged golden bells, that if any be oppressed and can get no iudice by the Kings Officers, by ringing these bells when the King fits, he is called, and the matter discused before the King. But let them be sure their cause be good, least hee be punished for presumption to trouble the King. Here euery day betweene three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth (and many thousands resort to doe their duties, each taking place according to his degree) where hee remains hearing of matters, receiving of newes by letters read by his *Vizier*, granting of suites, &c. till during in of the Euening, the drumme meane while beating, and Instruments playing from a high Gallery on the next building opposite: his Elephants and Horses passing by in braue file, doing their Taffian, and being perfild by Officers to see if they prosper. In the Cittie are two high turrets, ouer-laid with pure maffie gold, which may be seen from farr, one ouer his *10* Moholl, the other ouer his Treasury. After his going in from the *Derbar* in the Euening, foue two houres after hee comes out againe, sitting forth in a small more inward Court, behind the other, close to his Moholl, into which none but the *Grandes*, and they also with tickets to be renewed with euery Moone, are permitted to enter, where hee drinks by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running ouer, mixing also among, seuerie iudicatures. From this Court is his priuy passage into a curious Garden, and to his Barge, by which hee often passeth the Ruer to an other Garden opposite. It is remarkable, that both in Court, and here in these Gardens, no Courtiers or Gardeners are tied to attendance, but by their feuenth dayes turne.

Some adde, that the Cittie hath no walls, but a ditch round about, not broad, and dry alfo: ad-joining to the ditch without the Cittie are very large fibures. The City and fibures are one way fiftene mile in length, thure in breadth. The Noble mens houses and Merchants towne with bricke and stone, flat roofed, the common sort of mud wall, covered with thatch, which cause often and terrible fire. The Cittie hath fixe Gates, the aduoyning Ruer *Ganini* being broader then the *Thames* at *London*, on which are many Boats, some of one hundred Tunnes, but these cannot re-
time

Seats of offi-
cers.It is said that
they were two
Brothers Reli-
gious Tutors
to a Prince
their Nephew
whom the
King demand-
ed of them.
They refused,
and were com-
mitted, but
drew on the
Off. etc. it flow
twelve, and at
last by mul-
titude of
fighting were slain,
and there haue
elephants of
them, and
summes flured
Singers or
Brothers at-
tending. Some
say they are
there as a
Court of
guard of wo-
men, of which
are here two
or three hundred
dying by succed-
tion.Taffian is a
seate of hu-
militie. The
Kings Det-
ach.Of this Ye-
rephs elee-
prelating of
his Treasures
in this Cittie,
&c. see Cap-
tains former
relations.
Of other
things, see that
now follows
in Sir *T. Foe*
Journal.A written
booke entit-
led, *A Description*
of *Agra*, and the
four principal
watts in it.
I haue bene
with author,
except hee be
N. 7. p. 161.

Description of
Acabars Tombe.

turne against the streame. Most of the Noble mens houses are by the Rivers side. From *Agra* to *Lahor* fixe hundred miles, the way is set on both sides with Mulberry-trees.

King *Acabars* Sepulchre is 3 c. distant from *Agra* in the way to *Lahor*, nothing neere finished as yet, after tenne yeares worke. It is placed in the midst of a faire and large Garden, inclosed with bricke walls, neere two miles in circuit; it is haue foure Gates (but one of which is yet in hand) each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receive a great Prince with a reasonable traine along the way side is a spacious Mobell for his fathers women (as is said) to remaine and end their dayes in deploring their decollated Lord, each enioying the lands they before had in the Kings time, by the pay or rents of five thousand horse the principall, so that this should be to them a perpetuall Nunery, neuer to marry againe.

In the Center of this Garden stands the Tombe four square, about three quarters of a mile in compasse. The first inclosure is with a curious ryle, to which you ascend some fixe steps into a small square Garden quartered in curious Tankes, planted with variety of sweetes: adjoining to which is the Tombe, rounded with this gardenet, being also four square, all of hewne stone, with faire spacious Galleries on each side, hauing at each corner a small beautiful Turret, arched over head, and covered with various Marble. Betwixt corner and corner are foure other Turrets at like distance. Here within a faire round coffin of Gold, lieth the body of this Monarch, who sometimes thought the World too little for him. This Tombe is much worshipped both by the *Moor*es and *Gentiles*, holding him for a great Saint. Some tenne or twelue foot higher, you see by staires to another Gallery, (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing only three of those Turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his Wardrobe for a memoriall. The third story hath but two of those middle Turrets on a file; the fourth one: the fifth hath only the corner Turret, and a small square Gallery. The Tombe was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, covered with a white thert, interwrought with Gold flowers. By his head stands his Sword and Target, and on a small pillow his Turbant, and thereby two or three faire gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shoes, and a rich Bason and Ewre. Every one approaching neuer makes his reuerence, and puts off his shoes, bringing in his hand some sweete smelling flowers to beset the Carpets, or to adorne the Tombe.

At my last sight thereof, there was onely over head a rich Tent, with a Semaine over the Tombe. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled Marble, and to be seled all within, with pure sheet-Gold richly inwrought. These foure last Turrets also inclosing the Sepulchre, are of most rich curious Marble, & the ground vnderfoot paved with the like. There are in continuall worke about this and other buildings about it, the Mobell and Gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich Quarry neere *Ferozpoore*, which (we haue said) may be cut in length and forme, as Timber with lawes, and Plankes and feelings are made thereof.

CHAP. V.

The ninth Voyage of the Indian Companie to the East Indies, in the Iames, whereof was Captaine M. EDMUND MARLOWE of Britfoll, and the Master IOHN DAVY, which wrote this Iournall.

February 1611

April 1612.

They cross the Equinoctiall.

This seemeth to be the Ile de Martin Vag.

The tenth of February, 1611. we departed from the *Dowries* vpon our Voyage. The thirteenth at night we anchored within the Ile of *Wight*, where we stayed till the nine and twentieth of the same Moneth, and then set saile and turned out at *Hilens* point. The same day at noone we had *Dunose* North from vs three leagues off, the *Dragon* before vs, and the *Hofander* and the *Salomon* put in the *Necilles*.

The eleventh day of April, 1612. by obseruation we were vnder the Equinoctiall line, and in longitude from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, five degrees twenty minutes West. This night the variation was five degrees thirty five minutes from North to the East. The twenty fourth, the variation of the Needle was fourteene degrees seuen minutes. This day at noone we were in latitude by obseruation, nineteene degrees fortie minutes: the longitude from the meridian of the *Lizard*, eleven degrees twenty four minutes West. These twenty four leagues we failed two leagues South by East. Here we saw an Iland South-east from vs fourteene leagues. This Iland I saw when I was with Sir *Edward Michelborne*. This Iland is like *Cornu*. The latitude is twenty degrees thirty minutes: the longitude eleven degrees thirty minutes West from the *Lizard*. The variation of the Needle fourteene degrees thirty minutes. This Iland is ragged: vpon the Easter end standeth a little pike, but the Iland is round like *Cornu*. East North-east from this Iland is another Iland or two in sight, seuen or eight leagues off.

The

The feuen and twentieth of June, at nine of the clocke at night, we saw the Land of *Saint Laurence*, in latitude by iudgement foure and twentie degrees eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, five and twentie degrees no minutes. The variation was fifteene degrees and ten minutes.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning the variation of the needle was fifteene degrees, no minutes, in foure leagues off the shore, betweene the headland of the Bay, and the lands before the Bay, is no ground in fouente or eightie fathomes.

This night we anchored in the Bay of *Saint Anguiline*, in five fathomes by the South-land. The day we weighed and came in by the River with the shippe. The one of our anchors lay in five and thirtie fathomes, and the other in ten fathomes. You may ride in shoalder water off each side, if you will: for this channell of deepe water is but narrow. Here no Sea can come to hurt you, because the Shoals and Land breake it off. It may well be called an harbour, for the goodnesse of the place. We spent twentie dayes in this Bay.

The eighteenth of I. Lie, in the morning we set saile for *Bantam*, and wee steered off West by north from the river to go to the northward of the Ilands. An I. in this counte you haue no ground with the lead for it is all steepe home to the shoare of the other side: for when you haue twentie fathomes within the Ilands, you are hard by the stones: but by the II. ands and Shoals is a shoal shoaling from seuen to thirtie fathoms, and no ground, the gap betweene the hills being East by South from you, you goe right into the rode, or Eait.

The eighteenth, at noone wee were in latitude three and twentie degrees, five and fortie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope*, two and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes East, and two leagues off the next land. Here the land is all white by the waters side.

The nineteenth, in the morning the variation was fifteene degrees no minutes, and then the ship was from the neerest land twelue leagues: and the latitude by iudgement three and twentie degrees, five and fiftie minutes. At noone, the latitude by obseruation foure and twentie degrees, one and thirtie minutes: and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* two and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes East. These foure and twentie leagues we failed vpon a right line South-west by South, twentie leagues. This night the variation was fourteene degrees thirtie minutes.

The foure and twentieth of September, in the morning wee saw the Iles of *Nintam*, which is in latitude, one degree, thirtie minutes. The Sea betweene the two great Ilands is eighteene leagues from *Priaman*, and eleven leagues from the Shoals before *Tecou*. Beware you come not neere these Shoals by night, but rather be short three or foure leagues till day-light. And then when you see three hommocks, that will rise vp like three Ilands, haue a speciall care, that you haue one at your bowsprit end, to give warning of any fowls in your way: for there are Cormorants that you may easily perceive. Your course from this Sound of the two great Ilands of *Nintam* to goe for *Tecou* or *Priaman*, is East North-east to the Shoals aforesaid. But when you come thorow the Sound, keepe your lead going: and come no neerer the South great Iland then sixteene fathome: for towards the Eastlie are Shoals: and a breach off the Northern-Iland also, as you shall see vpon your Leadboard-side going in.

For your better knowing when you draw neere the Shoals of *Tecou*, set the three hommocks which are like three Ilands, but are vpon the Maine, for it is low land by them: and when you haue them North-east and by East, you shall begin to meet with them: and when the first land is North North-east you are past them. But be very carefull every where: for it is all bad ground herabout before you passe the high land of *Mananabo*, which is in latitude four degrees, thirtie minutes, or thereabout.

The fixe and twentieth, we were anchored in the rode of *Priaman*; where wee found the *Thomas*: and wee stayed there to recouer sick men foure dayes. And then the *Helior* and wee did set saile for *Bantam*. The latitude of *Priaman* is in fiftie minutes Southerly. The variation foure degrees ten minutes. The rode is behind the second Iland in fixe fathomes: vpon which Iland you haue fresh water and wood. The Barre of *Priaman* is by it.

The eight of October, the ship came downe by the *Helior*, where wee stayed for her to goe for *Bantam*, and in the morning set saile.

The three and twentieth, we came into the rode of *Bantam* which the *Iames* and the *Helior*. The fourth of November 1612. we weighed from the rode of *Bantam*, to goe for *Coromandel*, by the straight of *Sunda*: but the wind and streames were so much against vs, that we were forced into the straight of *Sunda* againe, to fit our ship being with much weather-beaten.

The eleventh of Decemr, we were anchored againe by *Pulo Pannan*, and went to worke to ro-mage our ship to take in ballast.

The tenth of Ianuarie, being ballasted, watered, and fitted, wee set saile for the straight of *Melacca*: but being late in the moneth, streames and winds both against vs, with much toyle to flye, and men were pliced fouente leagues from *Bantam*, and could get no farther from the tenth of this moneth to the first of March: whereupon our hope was then past for that. And taking aduise amongst ourselfes, we concluded to water and wood, and so to returne for *Bantam*, and to proceed without *Samarra*.

They anchor in the Bay of Saint Anguiline.

Iulie 18. They depart from the River of Saint Anguiline.

They failed towards Bantam by the side of the Ile of Saint Laurence.

September 14. Iles of Nintam.

They arrive in the Rode of Priaman in Samarra.

October 8. They arrive at Bantam.

November.

December 11. Ianuarie to the Straights of Melacca.

March. They are put back to Bantam.

The

June 5, 1613.

A special note.

They describe the Land.

Negapatam.

They arrive at Palecate.

A good note.

They Anchor on the Road of Petepoli.

A Factory with nine men erected in Petepoli.

A great tree, a chief mark for to know the Road.

They arrive at Masulipatan.

They returne from Petepoli for Bantam.

They arrive at Bantam.

They arrive for Patana.

June 10, 1614.

The cleventh, being fitted with wood and water, we bare vp for Bantam the second time. The fifth of June 1613 at noon, in latitude 1 a degree, no minutes, and longitude from the stile hills, 23. degrees no minutes West. Here you shall see plainly, that we have been carried with the streame four degrees, thirty minutes, which is ninty leagues. For whoeover he be, that shall sail downe from Bantam, or vp, he shall find such vncertaine sailing, if he looke not well to the variation of the needle, what he may well misse his expectation for the annuall at his Port. For there is neither English nor Hollander, that can find any way how to deale with those streames, but only by the variation: for that will helpe much in ten or fifteene leagues, if it be carefully observed. Here we saw the land, it is so low, that you cannot see it before you see the Pagods or Pagan Churches: and we were when we saw the land four leagues off. You may be bold with your lead in fifteene fathomes by night upon the Coast, and by day in ten fathomes: but take heed you have a fire man at the lead, for it will shoald suddenly; for after you come to have thirty fathomes, you will come presently to shoald water, for it is like a well, and the ground Ozie. Your course along the shoare is North and by East to Palecate, and so vp to Masulipatan. This land was about Negapatam. Here we steered North North-east all night, in three and twenty and fiftene fathomes, three or four leagues: the variation thirteenth degrees, ten minutes, you shall in twelve degrees of latitude surely see the land.

The sixth at noon, we anchored in the Road of Palecate in eight fathoms land. There is a middle ground, where you have but five fathoms, and fixe, seven, eight, within that againe. The markes for the Roade are the round hill by the other hill West Northwesterly, and the Hollander Fort South-west and by West, as we saw. The variation is thirteenth degrees, ten minutes. The latitude thirteenth degrees, thirty minutes.

The eight at noon, we were in latitude fourteen degrees, forty minutes: we failed since we weighed the last night twenty three leagues, the depths hie and twenty and three and twenty fathomes: the course North and by East; but the lead is our guide vnder God.

The ninth at noon, we were in latitude fifteene degrees, thirty minutes. Here you have the land in sight, but not the high land of Petepoli. These four and twenty houres we failed fiftene leagues North in fifteene and sixteen fathomes. And this high land is a Pagodie or Pagan Church. You may, if you will, hale in with it into five fathomes, when the hill is North North-west, but you must goe off East for it, for we did so. But beware in going off for a lowness of land, and come no nearer it then twelve or thirteenth fathomes, till you be surely past it. This high land is from the high land of Petepoli five leagues.

The tenth, we anchored in the Road of Petepoli, in five fathoms sand. This new high land North North-west from vs, and the platforme of Palme-trees upon the Island East North-east, Easterly, and the Barre North-west and by North from vs. All the Sea-coast is low land. The latitude fifteene degrees, two and fiftie minutes. The variation thirteenth degrees, fifty minutes, perfect and full.

The nineteenth, in the after-noon we set saile, when the Factory was fitted. The Merchants which were left there, were Master George Chaussey, and our Purser, with seven men more to keep our house and goods.

The twentieth came, you goe East South-east nine leagues, in seven or eight fathomes, and then North North-west: I care not in five fathoms or less, after you are about the point, for it is low land. There is but one great tree bigger then any of the rest to know the Road, but that must you bring West and by North from you, and you shall have three fathomes and a quarter fathome, and ride three miles off the land.

The one and twentieth, we anchored in the Roade of Masulipatan, where we found a ship of Holland: here we were well entertained. Here we did stay about fixe months, to wit, vntill the sixteenth of January: and then we weighed and went for Petepoli, where we arrived the nineteenth of the same, and stayed there to take in the goods and Merchants, till the fourth of February. And then we set saile for Bantam, and kept the same courses which we did before downe, all the way vp. We arrived at Bantam the twentieth of April 1614, where we stayed till the tenth of June 1614, and then set saile for Patana.

The tenth of June 1614, at noon, we had sight of the Islands nine leagues from Bantam, our going is from five, fixe, seven, eight, twelve, fourteen, and so to foure and twenty fathomes: at this time our course was North North-east, after you are cleare off the Road, the wind from the East South-east: the latitude Southerly five degrees, foure and forty minutes.

The cleventh, at fixe of the clocke in the morning, we were by the two Islands that lie North from Bantam, in five degrees of latitude by Sumatra, in twentie fathomes, which is the fairest course out of home. Here you must be careful to looke well out for two lands, that lye east with the water. From fix in the morning we failed seven leagues North North-east, in sixteen, fifteen, fourteen and thirteenth fathomes, and are now from Bantam seven and twentie leagues North and by East nereast, the wind from the East to the South South-east. From twelue in the night we failed eleven leagues North, in ten and cleven fathomes Ozie: but when you passe the Riffe, you have hard sand: the latitude foure degrees, twelve minutes Southerly. Beware by night.

night, goe no: without ten fathomes, nor within to the Maine to leffe then fixe or seven. And to be bold with a fire man at the Lead: for that must be the best Pilot.

The twelfth, in the morning from eight degrees Easterly, we failed seven leagues North North-east in eight, seven, fixe and five fathomes, and are with the second Riffe.

From the second in the morning to eleven in the morning, we failed seven leagues North North-east by judgement: but the streame did set so fast in, that we were forced to anchor in foure fathomes and a quarter leffe: the Riffe land in sight, but not Lucapora. Here must especially care be had, when you come with the land off the Riffe, that is, twelve leagues short of Lucapora, and foure eight leagues from Bantam, that you come not within fixe fathomes till you see Lucapora, for it is very vncertaine ground, full of pits. And for a warning to avoid it, beware you bring not the Riffe land last mentioned South-west and by South, but keepe off in seven fathomes, till you see Lucapora, and then you need not feare, for the land is bold two leagues off, but remember you must leaue it to the Eastward of you, and when you see it, feare not five or foure fathomes, for that is the depth you may be bold in with the Maine of Sumatra, but in the left toward the land is five and an halfe, and fixe fathomes. The streame setteth North North-west, and South South-east, it hath fixe foot water. The flood cometh from the South-west, and the ebbe from the North-west. The thirteenth, we rid full with very vncertaine weather.

The fourteenth, we came with the land and Maine, and put through betweene them in five fathomes and an halfe. And at noon we had the land East North-east a league from vs, for so nere is the deepest water: then steere North till the point be North-west and by West in five or fixe fathomes. The distance is foure leagues, keepe the land South South-east from you, for about it is very vncertaine ground.

Then the next reach lyeth North North-west nereast: but keepe Sumatra side, and not Banca, although you have deeper water: for Banca side is Rocks, and founding depths, Sumatra is Ozie. And you may be bold in this first reach: and you shall have nine, ten, eleven, twelve, eightene or twentie fathomes, till you come with the high land of Banca, which at Lucapora will these like lands, then that you see lands, besides the great land of Banca: five leagues before you, and Sumatra side fall in with a hie, and all flat ground: wherefore no neerer then five, and no farther off then nine fathomes, but rather for aduantage hale nere vnto the flats of Sumatra in fixe or five fathomes. Here is the Channell and narrowest: here goes tydes royally one way, as well as the other. The fifteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west by North eight leagues, and we were with it fixe degrees East.

The sixteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west and by West, and West North-west downe to Palimbam point: but keepe nere Sumatra in fixe or seven fathomes: for Banca side is not good: although it be deeper water, yet there are many Rocks toward the end of the great land of Banca. This reach is seuentene leagues long to the Towne of Palimbam, and the hill Mompin is North from you, which standeth upon the Northern end of Banca. Then is the Road of Palimbam South South-west from you: your depth ten fathomes off Sumatra side. The distance betweene the land and Sumatra at this end is fixe leagues in my judgement.

Keepe Sumatra side by night or day in seven fathomes, till you have the Northern end of Banca East South-east for a Riffe that lyeth off the Northern end two leagues: and then will your latitude be one degree, one and twentie minutes Southerly, and foure leagues off Banca. But you must alter courses to bring it thus. For when Banca is North-east and by East. Then you must steere North North-east, and North, as Lead and discretion shall guide: but goe not with leffe then ten fathomes by night.

The seuenteenth, at none one degree ten minutes Southerly: Here you saile North in eight or nine fathomes Ozie: and here you see that Ile of Palo Timor without you. Here by reason we had it calme, we anchored in nine fathomes. Here the streame did set West South-west and East North-east.

The eighteenth, here your course is North North-east, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And when you have the two Northernmost Islands in the Offing South-east from you, then is Palo Timor North-west and by North. And being thus it hath two hills with a Valley in the middle, and two little Islands by it. And when it is South-west, it sheweth round like the New-stone.

The nineteenth, this land hath water and wood, but none Inhabitants. The latitude of this land is fortie minutes South.

The twentieth, now your depths must bee from fifteene to twentie in and off, and your course North to Linga, the land is faire in sight, goe not off by any means, rather anchor. Here Linga is hard ground.

Now your course to Bantam is North & by West nereast, but goe not without foure and twentie, nor within twentie. And that will bring you in sight of the round hill of Bantam, which hath in latitude one deg. ten min. and is the fairest way. The hill standeth in the middle of the land.

The one and twentieth, now your course for Palo Timor is North North-west, and North by West luying always five leagues off land, I meane Islands; and your depths are twentie, nineteen, and eighte fathomes, Ozie. The latitude of Palo Timor is two degrees fortie seven minutes Northwesterly, or much thereupon.

The Ile Lucapora.

Banca is a great Island.

Palimbam point. The hill Mompin, upon the Northern end of Banca.

The Ile of Palo Timor.

Linga.

Bantam.

Palo Timor.

The

Pulo Capai.

The two and twentieth, from *Pulo Timon* to *Pulo Capai* is thirtie fixe leagues North by West neereft in eightene, nineteene, twentie, and twentie two fathomes. And when you have the Ilands West off you, then have you thirtie fixe fathomes clofe by the Iland. If occasion serve you may goe betweene the Ilands and the Main in a faire Channell. These Ilands are in the latitude of foure degrees fittie two minutes Northward.

The foure and twentieth, from *Pulo Capai* to the other Ilands, which are so many that you cannot tell them, the course is North-west by North fourteen leagues and then the Northern end of the Iles is distant from the Souther end nine leagues. The depths are twentie two and twentie foure fathomes.

The five and twentieth, now your course to *Patane* is West North-west fortie eight leagues: to goe no further off the land then twentie leagues, nor no neerer, then twelve or thirteene leagues, unless you have occasion to anchor. The Land is bold and high. After you passe fixteene leagues West North-west, there are no more Ilands till you come to *Patane*, but only one Rocke: and you may if you will, goe betweene the Main and it. This Rocke is fourteen leagues short of *Patane*.

They arrive at
Patane.
Sangora.

The thirtieth, we anchored in the Road of *Patane* in three fathomes and an halfe, where we did ride till the first of August and then let saile for *Sangora* to trimme our ship. This *Sangora* is a very good place vnder two Ilands, fast by the Main, and from *Patane* fourteen or fiftene leagues.

August, 3, 1614.

The third of August 1614. we came to an Anchor in the Road of *Sangora* vnder the Easter-20 most Iland of the two, and there we trimmed our ship well, and came away the ninth of September, arrived at *Patane* the next day following, where we stayed till the sixt of October, to take in the goods of the *Globe*, to carrie them for *Bantam*.

The ninth of October we let saile from *Patane*, being bound for *Bantam*; holding the same course backe, that we came forth: and the ninth of November we arrived safe at *Bantam*. We rid there till the seven and twentieth of January, to lade our ships, and to fit all things for our Voyage home for *England*.

They returne
for England.
The death of
Capt. Edmund
Marlow.

The nine and twentieth, wee set saile from thence: And within some hundred leagues from *Bantam* home-ward bound dyed our Captaine Master *Edmund Marlow*, an excellent man in the Art of Navigation, and all the Mathematicks. The first place at which we anchored was the Bay 30 of *Saldanba*, where we stayed for our Comfort the *Globe*: which arrived there the next day following.

The nine and twentieth of April 1615. wee came to an anchor in the Road, where we stayed till the thirtieth of May. And then being well fitted in both our ships, wee did set saile for *Santa Helena*, where wee safely arrived the third of June, and rode there till the fourth in the morning. Then wee let saile together for *England*, where, God bee prayed, we safely arrived the third of August 1615.

CHAP. VI.

A Rater, or brieft direction for readie sayling into the East-India, digested into a plaine method by Master JOHN DAVIS of Lime-house, upon experience of his five Voyages thither, and home againe.

p. I.

Nauticall Observation of places betwixt the Lizard and Saint Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.

Lancrota.

Irst, the *Lizard* hath in latitude fiftie degrees ten minutes. The Cape *Fuizterre* in *Galicia* hath in latitude forty three degrees twentie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, two degrees thirtie fixe minutes West. The Iland of *Lancrota* hath in latitude twentie eight degrees, forty minutes, and longitude from the *Lizard* five degrees twentie foure degrees West. The variation of the Compass fixte degrees fixe minutes from North to East. And when you are in the latitude of thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, and chance to have five degrees twentie minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe to be North North-east from the said Iland, and your course is South South-west to goe with it.

Grand Canaria.

The Grand *Canaria* hath in latitude twenty seven degrees fortie minutes, and longitude from the

CHAP. 6. S. I. The best course to passe the Equinoctial Line.

the *Lizard* fixe degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is fixe degrees from North to East. Likewise in the Latitude thirty degrees thirtie minutes: when you have fixe degrees and fiftie minutes variation, you have the said Iland South and by West from you.

The Iland of *Saint Marie*, being the Eastermost of the *Azores*, hath in latitude thirtie four degrees; and longitude from the *Lizard* fourteen degrees West. The variation of the Compass one degree fortie minutes from North to East. But when you are in the latitude of thirtie degrees thirtie minutes coming home-ward, and finde five degrees variation, and would keepe the Ilands in your course, goe North-east for *Saint Marie*; but it is better to goe more Northwardly, and so you shall bee sure to see some of them: for the variation is much upon that rate in the North-east course, till you come in with the Ilands.

The latitude of *Sal*, which is one of the Ilands of *Cape Verde*, is ten degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the *Lizard* twelve degrees twelve minutes. The variation three degrees, thirtie minutes from North to East.

Sal.

Bonaifia is from *Sal* fixe leagues. The mid-way betweene the Meridian of *Cape Verde* and these Ilands in the latitude of nine degrees, you have two degrees fiftie minutes of variation to the East-ward: and the nearer you are to the Main Iland, the less variation. But when you come in five degrees of latitude, if the *Ternados* does not meete with you before, there you shall beginne to have them, which are winds blowing every-where.

Bonaifia.

But if you will passe the Equinoctiall, vie what diligence you may, in plying to get from 20 diete vnhaltfull and troublefome winde: but keepe your selfe so, that you may bee but South and by East, or South South-east from *Main*, because it may bee in your minds wind. But you may there find much time, and get little advantage. Now as soon as you have the wind at South South-east, and are in two or three degrees off the Line, stand away with it. For if you may passe the Line in ten degrees of longitude from the *Lizard*, your variation will be fixe degrees ten minutes from North to East, and you shall feele neither the East South-east frame to hurt you, nor the North-west and by West frame, that setteth over to the West-Indies.

The best
course to passe
the Equinoctiall
all Line.

But if the wind doe hinder you much, feare not to passe the Line in fourteen degrees of 30 longitude from the *Lizard*, your variation will bee in that place fixe degrees fiftie minutes. And being past, make your way to the South-ward as speedily as you may: but if the wind be at East North-east or East, as many times it will bee, doe not goe to the East-ward of the South-east and by East, although in your minde it were the best course: for if you do, your South course againe, although you have spent so much time as in your South course would have 30 twentie eight degrees.

For it is great odds, when a man may saile thirtie fixe leagues in foure and twentie houres, and will saile but foure and twentie clofe vpon a wind. For when you have brought your selfe 40 into the variable winds way, it cannot be long before you have a flent to get up to the Cape of *Good Hope*, where you shall note, that your variation will increas in running South from degrees of variation, and more to the West-ward fourteen. Whereby if you note it well, you shall perceive, that in these parts, betweene the Tropicks I mean, it keepeth no method in Easting or Westing, as it doth without them: as you may see at the Ile *De Fernandes de L.* 50 *rocha*, the latitude whereof is foure degrees South, and longitude from the *Lizard* nineteen degrees twentie minutes West. The variation is there eight degrees ten minutes, from North to East: if you come there to ride, the Road is vpon the North-east side, but it is all ground in some place. The depth, nine, eight and seven fathomes water, sandie grounds, with a flower 30 Rocke here and there.

Increase of
variation in run-
ning South-
ward of the
Line. The Ile of
Fernando de
Lancrota.

This land riseth like *Pauls* steeple, and that land like the steeple will bee when you are in the Road South South-west from you. There is much broken ground and Ilands by the Ile it selfe. Here is good refreshing and good water, but dangerous landing for the Sea to strike your Boats and drowne your men.

The *Portugals* of *Fernamburo* have some few *Slaves* here that make Cotton and keep the Catell. They have *Guiney* Wheate there growing.

The Iland of *Santa Helena* hath in South latitude sixteen degrees, & longitude from the *Lizard* 60 four degrees thirtie minutes East: and from the Cape of *Good Hope* twentie three degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is seven degrees thirtie minutes from North to East. This Iland is one of the best for the bignesse thereof for the refreshing of men, that I know in the Sea: it is handeth so healthy, and hath so good a Road for Shippes, as a man can desire. The Road is open to the North-west tide: right before the Chappell you may ride in twelven, tenne, nine, eight, or seven fathomes water, good ground and no danger, but what you like along the shore.

The land is little, but very high land, a man may see it eightene leagues off. Upon it are all things fitting for a mans comfort, coming with it in distress. If you will see this land, you have the wind alway at South-east or thereabouts. Therefore keepe your life in the latitude of sixtene degrees tenne minutes, or fifteen degrees, and runne West upon that height, and you cannot misle it; whether it be day or night you need not feare, but this you may assure your selfe, that in your course from the Cape of Good Hope, there is nothing that will wrong you. I meane no streame nor Current. For I have seene that my selfe three times coming from the Cape the South-east wind will take you in thirtie degrees, and sometimes before, and will carry you to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall Line.

The Bay of
Saldanha.

Saldanha, which is the Bay where we doe commonly anchor out-ward bound, hath in latitude thirtie four degrees twentie five minutes, and longitude from the *Lizard* twentie eight degrees East. The variation thirtie minutes from North to East. For the knowing of the land hereabout *Saldanha*, it is all high land. But commonly when you come from the West-ward it is foggie and darke upon it, so that you shall fee the breach of the shoare, before you can come to make it, or know it. If you see the land when you are in the Offing rise like a Table, and other round hills by it, one like a Sugar-loafe; bring this Table East by South, and then stirre so fee, till you come close vnder the land, for this course will bring you in with the point of the Southern land going into the Roade. Now when you see the point it selfe, which is low land, you shall see the Ile of *Penguin*; but keepe your selfe neerer the point then to *Penguin* land, because there are sunken Rocks all toward the land: keepe your Lead going, for toward it you shall have ground at fiftene fathomes, and then you may be bold to go by it in ten fathomes water. Then the Roade is South-east by East from this point in six fathomes, or five if you list. The Table will bee South South-west the middle of it, and the Sugar-loafe South-west halfe Westerly. The worst winds for that Roade are from the North-west to the North-east. Here is good watering and fresh victuals, when the people come downe with it.

There is fresh-fish in the River to bee had at sometime of the tyde with a seine: it doth high sometimes five foote water, and sometimes fixe, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

Betweene the Coast of *Brasil* and this Roade the Compasse hath twentie degrees variation, and more or lesse as you are to the North-ward or South. For the more you are to the South-ward, the more you have, and to the North-ward the lesse. But in thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, you have the highest variation twenty one degrees from North to East, & longitude from the *Lizard* seuen deg. thirtie minutes, or from the Cape of Good Hope, thirtie five deg. thirtie minutes West: Now when you come in eleven degrees no minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe, if your variation bee good, you are three hundred and thirtie leagues short: and it will keepe a good method in decreasing after the rate of thirtie or eight and twentie leagues to a degree: for when you are in two degrees of variation, you shall bee eight and fortie or fiftie leagues short: and when you have fortie minutes, and cannot see the land, you are but ten leagues off.

Now if you can see the Land close by the waters side, before you can see the other high land, the foggie hanging vpon the shoare, and are in thirtie four degrees of latitude, you may see white lande waves cleby the waters side, your course is to the point, if they beare East South-east from you, and being neere the shoare is North-east. For these white lande waves are almost three leagues short of that point going into the Roade, and fift by the point to the South-west from the land point going for the Roade, the two points doe lye North-east and South-west. And then the land toward the Cape lye South-east and by East, and South South-east. So likewise the land lye North to the North-ward off the Bay North North-west, and South South-west.

Comelland.

Penguin land and this Point lye North and by West, and South and by East.

To the Northward of this land is an land called *Comie* land, and it lye North in latitude thirtie three degrees twentie seven minutes, and North North-west from *Penguin* Ile. This *Comie* Ile hath had ground about it: but you may goe betweene the Maine and that land. If you will anchor, this Ile vpon the West-side hath a dangerous ledge of Rocks lying off it to the Seaward. The Maine all along the shoare is bold, but what you may see.

Chapmans
Chance.

Chapmans Chance hath in latitude thirtie four degrees tenne minutes, and is an Harbour, which lye within the South-west point vnder a little Hill like Charing Crosse, close hanging by the Sea-side of the South South-west-side of the land like a Table, standing in the very bottom of the Bay.

This is a very good Harbour for the ships for the maine land of the Cape will be that in vpon the West-side of the land: and there is good ground, and a good depth to ride in, as ten, nine, eight, seven, fixe, or five fathomes.

This Harber is not past ten miles ouer land to *Saldanha* from it: and a man may come away

with that wind that you cannot come forth withall from *Saldanha*. Wherefore when any shall have bene there with a ship, they shall better know it. Wee went not in with our ship, because we were ill fit to goe about, before we did know it to bee a Harbor. For we did suspect it by chance standing in with a scant wind, and being toward night our Captain Master *Edmund Marlow* (one of the Masters Mates in the Pinnasse) to see whether it were a Harbor or not, hauing little wind, and by that time hee came in with it, the Sunne was downe, so that he could not see and take that notice he would, for quick returning to the ship.

Cape *Falso* hath in latitude thirtie four degrees thirtie minutes, and is distant from the Cape of Good Hope, nine leagues East South-east.

Cape *Falso*.

Betweene these two Capes there is a deepe Bay, and before it there is a Rocke euen with the water; but it lyeth neere the Cape of Good Hope. In this Bay is the great River called *Rio Dolce*, that runneth fast vp in the Land. There is good refreshing, as the *Hollanders* report, for they have bene there with their ships.

No variation
Cape *das Aguilhas*.

Here at Cape *Falso* is no variation that I can find by observing South from it. The Land lye North to the Cape *das Aguilhas* East South-east from the Cape of Good Hope, and is distant fixe and twentie leagues: no danger is to be feene, but a bould shoare along the coast. And so it is bould fixte leagues to the Eastward: for so farre I have sailed to the East-ward of Cape *das Aguilhas* the land lye North Easterly for one hundred leagues.

The very Cape *das Aguilhas* hath in latitude thirtie two degrees, fiftie minutes South, and is very low land. But there is high land to the East-ward of the last named Cape. You may have ground with your Lead in seuen or eight leagues off the land, for one hundred leagues East, at seuentie, sixtie, fiftie five, fiftie four, fortie fathomes, fandie blacke ground vpon your Leade, which will helpe you in coming home if you cannot observe the variation nor latitude. The variation of Cape *das Aguilhas* is no degrees thirtie minutes from North to West. And at the Cape of Good Hope the Compasse is varied from North to East five and twentie minutes. Alsoone as you are to the West-ward of Cape *das Aguilhas*, you shall haue Ozie and deepe water; whereby you may see that this will helpe you well in darke weather to know how the lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of Good Hope.

When you saile into the East-India from the Cape of Good Hope, you must bee very careful in your course: for till you come vp to haue seuen or eight degrees of variation, you shall find it sometimes very vncertaine, shouts of streames that will let a man sometimes one way, sometimes another as I haue often found it to bee so, and haue had none other means to helpe my selfe, but by the variation, which is very sure, if you bee careful in observing. But after you passe eight degrees of variation, you shall not need to feare the streames, if you bee bound to the East-ward, for the streames or tydes doe set betweene the variation afore-said, and the Cape *das Aguilhas*.

The great benefit of the Variation.

Now if you find betweene the Cape and this variation of seuen or eight degrees that you doe not alter it to your ship running East; for this is your fittest course, if you bee bound for *Batavia*, or within for any place of the Ile of Saint *Lawrence*, till you come vp to the variation afore-said, as you may chance at five or sixe degrees, alire your selfe you are wrong with it. For the variation will increase by the rate of nine and twentie or thirtie leagues, to the Ile of Saint *Lawrence*. I meane these leagues in Easting from the Meridians, and not the you saile by, for if you saile North-east and by East, and you shall haue thirtie fixe leagues for one degree and halfe Easting, or longitude, which will alter one degree of variation.

And the more North-ward your course is, the lesse variation you haue, as you shall plainly understand: for in five and twentie of latitude in sight of Saint *Lawrence*, you haue sixteen degrees no minutes. And running North by the land to the River of Saint *Aguilone*, you shall haue but fiftene degrees in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes, which is plaine that it is lesse to the North-ward, then to the South-ward. So likewise vp to the East-ward in the latitude of eleven degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie three degrees forty minutes. And in the latitude of thirtie three degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie seuen degrees ten minutes, as I haue seene and observed my selfe, and in my judgement in ten leagues Easting and Westing of the same Meridian, as hereafter shall more plainly appere in their due places.

§. II.

A note for finding out of the River of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence, of divers small Isles in the way thence to Achen, and of many Ports and passages in and about Sumatra.

The River of *S. Augustine* hath in latitude, twenty three degrees thirtie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* twenty three degrees twenty minutes East. The variation is fourteen degrees fifty minutes from North to West. But when you goe for it, seeke the land in the latitude of twenty four degrees twenty minutes, because in the latitude of twenty five degrees tenne minutes, there is dangerous falling for Rocks and shoals, which I have seene. And in this latitude twenty four degrees twenty minutes, you have the variation fifteen degrees forty minutes. The shoare bold, but what you see before you. And the coast lieth South and North by a meridian Compasse, without counting the variation, or meddling in this place with it, but steere North and North and by East, as discretion will guide you by the land: then coming along the shoare in twenty four degrees tenne minutes, you shall see a head-land, which hath vpon it a round hill of white sand, and is like a Cattle, with some few trees by it. This head-land is short of the Bay thirteene leagues, and your course is North and by East and North still, no danger till you see the Isles and Shoals before the Bay: and in the Country you shall see a land like unto *Wolmussler Hall*, and a gut betweene two high lands, like *Darmouth*. The River is betweene these two hills: when you come with the Isles and shoals, and will goe into the North-ward of them, you may be bold of the shoals in foure fathomes, if you will looke in by them, but anchor not by them: for it is bad ground, with Corall that will cut your Cables in funder, if you ride but little time there; but rather hale East, vpon the Channel coming from the River, where you have Ozie by the Main, in twelue, foureteen, or twenty fathomes water: and you shall find deepe water in along to the River, till you come fall by the two hills, and *Wolmussler Hall* within the point on the West North-west side. There you may choise your route from twenty fathomes to twelue, eleuen, tenne, nine, eight, seuen, six, or five fathomes. But it is Ozie ground without the two headlands, and land within. This River lieth from the Isles without shoals East, and is distant five leagues. Here is good filling of water, and wooding, verry good victuals; but you pay filuer: for that they desire most. The people are of a reasonable disposition; but you need not to trust them, nor none else where you come, but stand alwayes vpon your Guard, while your Boat goe into the River to fill water. You shall haue a verry good Ox for foure hullings, and a Goat for one hulling *Englysh*, and as good as you haue in *England*. The men of this place are tall and well made.

The River of
S. Augustine in
the Islands
Laurence.

The Cape of
S. Sebastian.

Small Isles, a
good place of
refreshing.

The Ile of *S. Mary*.

The Cape of *S. Sebastian* hath in latitude twenty five degrees fortie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* twenty five degrees no minutes. The variation of the Compasse is sixteen degrees fortie minutes from North to West. Here vpon the South-east side is a verry good place for refreshing, as the *Hollanders* report, much vpon the latitude of twenty four degrees no minutes. It is named *Santa Lucia*; for as they haue reported to mee, there is a race of the *Poringalls* lieth there. They say the ships ride verry secure, and haue about nine or eight fathomes water, land ground, and an Island or two before it. And this must bee much better for shipping bound vp or downe, then the River of *S. Augustine*, because it is vpon the head of the land.

The Ile of *S. Marie*, vpon the East side of *S. Laurence*, hath in latitude sixteen degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* thirty one degrees no minutes. The variation is nineteen degrees fifty minutes from North to West. This Island is inhabited; and there we had Henues, Limons, and other refreshing, good water; but neuer a Harbour, all Roads you may ride off the West side, before a Towne of twelue or sixteene houles. The depth of water is twenty fathomes, more or lesse. The distance from this Island, our to the Main is tenne leagues. To the North North-west, from this Island is a great Bay, that lieth sixteen leagues deepe West North West in from the South-east side of the Bay, there is good riding vnder a little Island, and in from that vpon the Main, there is a River of fresh water. And there is likewise water and wood vpon the Ile by the Road, you may ride in twelue, tenne, nine, or eight fathomes: but you haue need to fluee your anchor, so it is to loffe Ozie, that your anchors will come home. Here you haue Rice abundance, hens, and some cattle. The people haue warre on the side of the Bay with the other. Truth be it, people need not too farre for treachery. It is a place of verry vncertainty and contagious weath, for raime, thunder and lightning, as ever I came in, and verry vnhomely: but I lost many men here. But if distresse vige a man to it, you may vnde a ship, or doe any business by the land, with standing vpon your guard, and vnting the people friendly, as the *Hollanders* haue bene driuen vnto. The latitude of this Bay is fifteen degrees fortie minutes. But if you goe with *S. Marie* first, you cannot misse it: for it is the next Bay vpon the Main vnto the land.

name of this Bay is *Antongill*. We did ride here in the first East *Indies* Voyage for the Merchants of *London*, in the yeere 1601. from December to March, and then went for the East *Indies*.

The latitude of the Ile de *Rogue Pie* is eleven degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* forty one degrees no minutes of the great Circle East. Here in the sight of these two Islands, we had the highest variation of the Compasse, which was twenty three degrees thirtie minutes. Now South from this place, as neere as I can iudge by sundry times going vp and downe, we haue likewise the most variation, that is: if you be in the latitude of twenty seven or twenty eight degrees, then you haue twenty six degrees no minutes: if you be in thirty three degrees no minutes of latitude, you haue twenty seuen degrees twenty minutes of variation. And this you may see in my Voyage in the *Lamei*, begun in February, 1611. and ended the third of August, 1615.

The Shoals, called *Baixas das Chagas*, haue in latitude fixe degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* thirtie three degrees thirty six minutes East. The variation is nineteen degrees thirtie min. from North to West. These shoals are very dangerous. There are three or foure Islands and other dry lands: we were twenty foure houres vpon and among these Shoals. There is in some places corall, in other some sand; sometimes tenne fathomes, and by an by fixe fathomes; the best water the ships had, was foure fathomes; but God be thanked, we had no hurt to any one of the ships. We were cleere by keeping the Isles South-west from vs: for vpon the North North-east side it is, that we found the way out. If they had been well in our

Charts, we had misse them.

In the Channel of *Maldina*, the Compasse varieth 17. degrees. And at the Cape de *Comeri* fixe teene degrees. The lands of *Nicaragua*, lying off the North end of *Sumatra*, haue in North latitude seuen degrees tenne minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* seuen degrees thirtie no minutes East. The variation is seuen degrees five minutes from North to West. If you goe with these Isles of *Nicaragua*, as you come from the West-ward, when you come within nintie or fortie leagues, you shall meete with ourtals, or the running of some tydes, which will make you misfit shoal water: but we found none wish our Lead when we found. Many such you shall passe. I thinke they be the streames coming from the Bay of *Bengala*. Among these lands there is no danger, but what you see: you may be bold to water and fit your selues here. The people will not come aboard your ship, but will buy and sell in their Canoes. Further into the North-ward are more lands; as in eight degrees lieth an Island called *Illa de Sombro*, because Sombro the South-side the land is like a hat. Vnder this Island is good riding; and the people will come to your ships from the other lands to the East-ward, for there are many lands.

Achen, which is a Citie vpon the West North-west side of *Sumatra*, hath in latitude five degrees forty minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* seuen degrees fortie minutes East. And the variation is fixe degrees twenty five minutes from North to West. You may ride in seuen or eight fathomes, or at low water in five or six; it lieth five foot vpon the Barre. Your Road is to the East-ward of the Caffe, and a round hill in the Country South-east from the hill, which is South-east of you, is called the hill of *Padr*, because there is a Towne of that name vnder it, twenty five leagues from *Achen*. Before the Road in the Offing are five or sixe lands. The Pepper of this place is better then the Pepper of *Bantam*. At *Padr* Pepper is to be had, but little else. The land lieth from the Road of *Achen* forty or fifty leagues East and West.

And if you will goe for the straight of *Malacca*, there is no danger till you come to the East-ward of the Isles *das Larras*, but a faire depth, at twenty five or thirtie fathomes water. The tydes *Larras*, as much one way as the other. At these Isles *das Larras*, you may see the high land of *Malacca*: but here about *Sumatra*, is all low land. And your variation here about the Equinoctial is all one, in the latitude of foure teene or fifteene degrees. For when you haue seuen degrees fifty minutes in the Offing, you are much vpon seuen degrees thirtie minutes longitude from *Bantam*. And that distance you are in for longitude from *Bantam*, when you are vnder the Equinoctial line and haue fixe degrees thirtie five minutes of variation. So that much vpon that rate of thirtie one leagues in the Offing of Easting or Westing, will alter one degree of variation, or one degree and an halfe of longitude; and within you runne foure leagues, or two degrees. This I haue found by experience both within and without going home from *Bantam*.

If you were at *Achen*, and would saile for *Prasman*, which is a Towne vpon the West side of *Sumatra*, and hath in latitude no degrees nintie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* seuen degrees forty minutes East: The variation foure degrees forty minutes from North to West: The furthest way is this. To the East-ward of *Prasman* there are lands, in the South latitude of one degree and thirty minutes, which are called the Isles of *Nimcom*. Your course is to goe with these lands, and come not betweene the maine, but keepe the Sea, till you see those lands: keepe in one degree twenty minutes of South latitude, and you shall finally fall with the North end of the biggest. Now this great land being the biggest of the two, is twenty leagues long verry neere; and there are many little lands neere it. And when you are with this

The bay of
Antongill.
The Ile de
Rogue Pie.
The highest
variation.

Baixas das Chagas.

The Islands of
Nicaragua.

Illa de Sombro.

Achen in *Sumatra*.

The Isles *das Larras*.

The Isles of
Nimcom.

§. III.

The way from Bantam to the Straights of Palimbon, upon the East-side of Sumatra, of Banca, Bintam, Straights of Sincapura, and Sunda, with other places.

When you weigh from *Bantam* Road, you goe North-east by East in foure or five fathoms, till you come with the point of the maine, where it cometh to beare South-east by South, you have very shoald water vpon that spit of hard ground. Wherefore keepe off betime: before you come neare in foure or five fathoms, there is a good bigge Island on your North North-west, as you go from *Bantam*, which you may leave on your larboard side in going from the aforesaid Towne, and your depths are five or six fathoms, there will be the land toward the Straights make like an Island, because you have lost sight of the low land, there in your North North-east course, you have a long bed of small Islands in your way and low with all, but bold: for there is eightene or twentie fathomes water among them, *Bantam* bearing South-west by South Westerly from these Islands. Their latitude is from five degrees, to five degrees, thirtie minutes.

When you are at the Northern end of these Islands, go North North-east and North over for the Coast of *Sumatra*: and in your course your depths will be thirtene, twelve, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, and a halfe fathomes; and then you shall see the low land of *Sumatra*, the trees I mean, and your ground vnder your lead will be Ozie. The latitude about three degrees, thirtie minutes South. Now when you come in with a riffe of hard sand here-about, and haue in your North and by West course foure fathoms and an halfe: Note it well, and hale off againe East North-east into your old depths, which are from ten to feuen fathoms or five off *Sumatra*, your course North by West, and North North-west, to hold the coast from fute to fute fathoms. But if you not without ten fathoms neither by night nor day for the Coast is bold in five fathoms.

But if you go from *Bantam* North, you must looke very carefully about for a shoald, that lyeth in that course from the aforesaid Towne off the Road, till you haue sight of the twell Islands vpon the Coast of *Sumatra*, that lye three leagues from that maine land; and then you haue no more Islands by *Sumatra*, till you come in three degrees of South latitude; and there shall you fall

upon *Lufapara-falla*, which is the first of those four Islands at the South South-west end of *Banca*. And looke out very well for them, in going your North by West course, as the depths will guide you from five or six, to nine or ten fathoms, Ozie ground. When you haue sight of these four Islands, you shall see much broken ground by them, and among them very shoald water. Heere likewise you shall see two round homocks of a good height: and though they seeme to you to stand vpon the maine of *Sumatra*, yet they doe not so, but vpon the Island of *Banca*. The aforesaid four Islands haue three degrees, no minutes South latitude. When you come to haue these Islands East from you, your shoalding will be five and foure fathomes, and your course North and North by West, till you haue the Southermost Ile South-east by East from you. Then you goe

North North-east by *Banca*, in eight and feuen fathomes, for the Island of *Banca* is steep. When you come with these Islands, keepe *Sumatra* side for the bolder side: the channell is in breadth three miles. Now in edging to the other side, you shall go from eight fathoms into three fathoms. Then haue you hard ground on that side, and Ozie ground on *Sumatra* side. This course of North North-east, is but one reach or three miles, before you go North againe. Heere at the narrow the Tide stretcheth North and South, and runneth twelue houres one way and twelue houres the other. When you are past the bankes or shoalds by these Islands, your depths are ten and nine fathoms: then you faile three leagues North by the land. The next reach lieth North by West, and the depth in the best is fifteene fathoms. And when you draw neare to the high land vpon the North side of the Island of *Banca*, your course is North North-west, and the best depths twentie fathoms. It is very flat and shoald heere vpon *Sumatra* side. This course of North North-west, and North-west by North, continueth nine leagues. Then you faile twentie leagues North-west by West, the depth will be foure and twentie fathoms. The latitude in this course is one degree, eight and thirtie minutes South. When you leave the North-end of these Islands South-east by South from you, it will show like broken Islands. But as you go, keepe off the maine, because it is shoald hill. Your next course is North ten leagues, in ten, nine, eight and feuen fathoms. Heere you haue sight of three or foure Islands, to the Northwards of the great Island, but no sight of the maine land. The latitude here is one degree, five minutes South. Then your course is North-east by North, with a round Island, and other little Islands by it. This round Island is like the Moniton of *Dartmouth*, the depths ten, nine, eight, and feuen fathoms, and latitude about thirtie minutes South. This Ile is called by the Countrey people *Pulo Sia*, but *Lusifer* call it *Pulo Pene*. Heere you may haue water and wood, if you need. Then your course is to go without *Linga* from hence North North-west, and the depth is fifteene or sixteene fathoms: and the distance from *Pulo Sia* to *Linga*, is thirtene leagues. At the Souther end of *Linga* are many Islands:

Pulo Sia:

Pulo Linga.

Islands; and there are at the Norther end also many. This Island of *Linga* lyeth vnder the Equinotiall line, as wee found by obseruation, where the Charts make it to lye almost a degree in South latitude. It is full of Islands and sunken grounds her-about. Heere we found the side to runne South South-east, and North North-west. The depth in the offing is twentie fathoms, Ozie ground: your course is North by West fifteene or sixteen leagues, where you shall see eight other Islands. But in your going beware of the tide, and keepe in fifteene or sixteen fathoms water, and Ozie ground: the latitude of these eight Islands is fiftie minutes North. Heere you may likewise haue wood and water among these Islands. These Islands and sunken grounds continue to one degree, ten minutes of North latitude: the Tide runneth twelue houres, the flood from the Northward, and ebbe from the Southward, the depth twentie fathomes. Heere along by these Islands is fourteen fathomes, till you come vp to the Ile of *Bintam*, which hath in latitude one degree, ten minutes North, vpon the South-east side of this Island is bold shoalding from fourteene to nine fathomes, yet hath a round hill in the middle of it, and it is a greater Island, then any that is neare it: vpon the Easter point I came over in feuen fathoms: the Tide of the Norther side stretcheth West by North. And when you are past this Easter point, you are open of the Straights of *Sincapura*. Heere the Tide stretcheth East from the Straights of *Sincapura*. Thence you go North-east and by North feuen leagues, with a strong stream against you, for an Island called *Pulo Tinge*, vpon the Coast of *Lor*, in latitude two degrees, twentie minutes North, you may see the round hill of *Bintam* euen with the water, for their distance twentie leagues, and the course is North by West. Heere wee saw an Island called *Pulo Tinsau*, and the other Islands by it are called *Pulo Lore*, leauing two round hills vpon it. And *Pulo Tinge*, where we roade, hath a piked hill vpon it. Their latitudes are two degrees, thirtie minutes, and two degrees thirtie minutes.

The Coast of *Lor* is bold from *Pulo Tinge*. When you haue made the Straights of *Sincapura*, and would goe for *Lor*, your course is North-west by West. But beware of the Current, you may be bold in sixteen, eighteen, twenty, or five and twentie fathomes, and good ground to anchor.

From *Pulo Sia* steere South-east for an Island called *Pulo Pacadure*, distant from *Pulo Sia* eleven leagues, in latitude one degree no minutes South. It is a ragged Island, and hath by it two little Islands. The depth is fifteene fathomes. Be sure to keep in that depth, and you shall goe without danger. From this ragged Island your course is South-east by East nine leagues, to another Island called *Pulo Pagadure*, and your depths are fifteene or sixteen fathomes. In that course be very careful: for *Banca* vpon this side is all Rocks and breaches, in some places eight or nine leagues off, and so it is without you againe all bad ground. Then from this Island your course is South-east by East, to an Island called *Pulo Calafai*, or the Mariners Island: and their distance is fortie leagues: when you see this Island of Mariners, lie short off it, because you cannot anchor by it for foule weather. Your depth from this Island to the other is fifteene fathomes. From this Mariners Island you may see the high land vpon *Banca* beare West by North from it, and is distant fifteene leagues.

The head of *Banca* lieth from this Ile South-west by West nine leagues. Saile not by night by any means when you see this Island: for if you goe neare to well by your Compass, the stream will deceiue you, and put you to the Eastward of an Island called *Chinabata*. Your course is to goe betweene *Banca* and these Islands, because it is all Rocks to the East, and all Heeples. This Ile of *Chinabata* and *Pulo Calafai*, lie South and North one from the other, and are distant thirtene leagues. Your course betweene *Banca* and *Chinabata* is South South-west: looke to the stream, and borrow of *Banca* in this place in twentie or twentie five fathomes. The distance betweene them is tenne leagues. The Rocks in the Offing are called *Pulo Pelican*. From which straight to the coast of *Sumatra*, the course is South-west by South, till you haue shoalding off the maine. And goe as you did outward from *Bantam*, keeping the shoalding of *Sumatra* in feuen

or eight fathomes, till you draw neare the straight of *Sunda*. I haue hereunto added like Nautical obseruations, I suppose, written by *Thomas Clyborne*, touching the centure and vte to the more skill. He intuteth them,

Certaine principall Notes, gathered by mine owne experience, in my three Voyages into these parts: wherein the true course, and distances, with shoalds and rocks is shewed: and on which side you may leave them: as hereafter followeth.

The Southermost Salt hill lieth in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for *Bantam*, you may goe betwixt the Salt hills, or on either side of them, if neede be; but most men goe to the South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to *Palimbon* point, is betweene the North-East by East, and

South-East by South, in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for *Bantam*, you may goe betwixt the Salt hills, or on either side of them, if neede be; but most men goe to the South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to *Palimbon* point, is betweene the North-East by East, and

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South-East by South, in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for *Bantam*, you may goe betwixt the Salt hills, or on either side of them, if neede be; but most men goe to the South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to *Palimbon* point, is betweene the North-East by East, and

South-East by South, in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for *Bantam*, you may goe betwixt the Salt hills, or on either side of them, if neede be; but most men goe to the South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to *Palimbon* point, is betweene the North-East by East, and

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South-East by South, in sixe degrees no minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for *Bantam*, you may goe betwixt the Salt hills, or on either side of them, if neede be; but most men goe to the South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to *Palimbon* point, is betweene the North-East by East, and

and the East North-east. The distance betwixt the Salt hills and that point twenty leagues. In that course you shall leave the Island that maketh the Straights of *Sunda* on the Lar-board side, and that Island is five leagues short of *Palimbang* point. From *Palimbang* point your course is East South-east about three or four leagues with *Pala Pangem*: then leaving that land on your Lar-board side, and being clear of it, you must steer East South-east, about two leagues more: then South South-west, and South by West about one league, and that will bring you into *Bantam* roads, where you may come to an anchor in three fathomes, loft Oze.

Certain Notes from Bantam Road to the Islands of the Moluccaes, with the course and distances: as hereafter followeth.

From *Bantam* roale North-east by North two leagues, then East by North, and East North-east two leagues, and that will bring the low point to the Eastward of *Bantam* Bay, South from you about one league: but come no nearer that point then three fathomes, then East, and East by North four leagues, and then you shall have four or five fathomes, and shall be neere five Islands, with white sand without them, and a Ledge of Rocks East from them about half a mile, thence you must leave to the North-wards of you. From these Islands your course is East South-East, with the Eastermost Island of *Jacarra*. From the Eastermost Island of *Jacarra*, which is the Northermost from this land, your course is North-east by East four or five leagues, then East thirty leagues, then look out for a land that lieth about three leagues from the Maine, and if it be clear weather, you shall see a low land to the North of you, but you may goe either between the land and the land, or between the land and the Maine: but the best way is to goe three leagues to the Southward of the land. Then East by South and East twenty leagues, and that will bring you in sight of *Madura*. Note, if you be four or five leagues from the West end of *Madura*, you shall have, thirty or three fathomes, and being five leagues off the Easter end, you shall have four or five fathomes. All along this coast, you shall have Oze ground. From the West end of *Madura*, your best course is to steer East by North, while you have brought your ship in the latitude of six degrees; and then keepe your ship in that latitude if it be possible, and (by Gods helpe) you shall goe clear between the shoales of *Celebes*, and another shoale lieth South South-west from the shoales of *Celebes*. The Southermost point of the shoales of *Celebes* lieth in six degrees. From the South point of the shoales of *Celebes*, your course is East North-East with the Straights of *Celebes*: the distance between them is thirty leagues. From the Straights of *Celebes* to *Ternate*, the principall Island of the *Moluccas*, upon a straight line, the course is North-east, distant about two hundred leagues.

If you be minded to goe for the *Moluccas*, then from the Straights of *Celebes*, your course is North-east by East, and North-east thirty leagues; and that will bring you into a straight between two lands, namely, *Celebes* and *Cambaya*: the distance between these two lands is five leagues in the middle between them, you shall have thirty eight fathomes, sandy ground. But this is to be noted, when you come between these two lands, you cannot fail by night: for it is dangerous, while you be cleare of the Straights of *S. Thomas*, distant from this place as hereafter followeth.

First, North-east by North five leagues, then North North-east eight leagues, then East and East by North three leagues, and this will bring you into the Straights of *S. Thomas*, which Straights you shall hardly perceive, untill you come very neere them: for they are narrow, and one land shootech in an other. The going through is East about one league, and the least water you shall have in running of that league, is eleven or twelve fathomes. In running of those twenty leagues, if you be named, you shall be land-locked, and shall see six or seven fathoms dry with the rimme of the water, most of them will be on your Lar-board side: but this course as renamed (by Gods helpe) I will carry you cleare of them all. From the Straights of *S. Thomas*, your course is North-east by East, and East North-east four or five leagues, and that will carry you into the Sea, but not out of the light of land: then North North-east thirty eight leagues; and then look out for a small Island, and a shoale that lieth North North-west from that small Island. You must bring that small Island East from you about two leagues, or seven miles: then steer North by East, and North North-east five leagues, then West North-west, and North-west by North two or three leagues, then North-east by North four or five leagues, and that North-east by North course, will carry you between two shoales, that lie in two degrees no minutes South latitude. The distance between them is not one mile, and they are cleare of these shoales, and are within one league fathome between them. When you are cleare of these shoales, and are within one league fathome of that land, which North-East by North-west by East with the Straights of *Bangka*, which he in one degree twenty minutes to the South of the Equinoctial: this straight lieth North-east by North, and so you must goe through.

From the Straights of *Bangka* to *Macian*, the course is North-east by East distant seentie

Note.

The Straights of *S. Thomas*.The Straights of *Angina*.

Macian.

Bangia.

two leagues. *Bachas* lieth in no degrees thirty minutes to the North of the Equinoctial, an l' being neere this land, if it be cleare weather, you shall see all the Cloue Islands, which shew like high piked hills in the midst of them. You may steer with any of them at your pleasure, if wind and weather serve: for there is no danger lying neere them.

Notes of Botum.

Botum is a great land, and an high land, the longest part of it lieth North North-east, and South South-west. Upon the North North-West part or end of the land, there is a River of fresh water. If a man be at the Norther end of *Botum*, and be minded to sail to the Kings Towne, his course is between the South by West, and South South-West, and so shall l'ayle along the land twenty leagues, as it were up a River, betwixt two lands, *Botum* to the Eastward, and *Cambaya* to the West, distance between them four leagues, in some places but three, in some places but two leagues, and in some very narrow.

In this course afore-named, nine leagues short of the Kings Towne, there is a shoale, not very bigge, yet dangerous, and dry at a low water. Now to know when you are neere it, you shall see a round hill upon *Botum*, neere the water side: that hill and the shoale lie East by North, and West by South one from the other; you must leave that shoale on your Lar-board side. From this shoale, your course is still between the South by West, and South South-West, to goe with the narrow Straights, four miles short of the Kings Towne: this Straight is one league through, and about half a mile broad, the course is South South-West through, and it is no great matter for the course in that place, so you keepe the ship in the middle, which is best: for there is no riding in the narrow, by reason of the swift Tydes that runne there. Hee that goeth through, must take his Tyde with him to drive him through, for (lightly) there is never any wind there, the land is so high over the Maits on both sides. But you may anchor two leagues short of this narrow, and ride well (by Gods helpe) in thirty fathome sand. So, when you be through this straight, you must steer South South-west one league, to goe cleare of a point of land that you must leave on your Lar-board side; and being cleare of that point, you must leave up South South-East about four miles, if the wind will give you leave, and then you may come to an anchor in eight or twenty fathome, hard sand, neere a flat land.

Then you shall see the Towne of *Botum*, upon the side of an hill, from you about one league. The Road of *Botum* lieth in five degrees fifteen minutes of South latitude. From *Botum* road West South-West four leagues, then South-West, and South-West by South five leagues, then West by South and West thirty leagues; and that will bring you to the Straights of *Celebes*.

From the Straights of *Celebes* to the Island of *Banda* upon severall courses, as followeth: First, East seven and thirtie leagues, then East by South fifteen leagues, then North-east half a point to the North-ward, about seven leagues, and that will bring you into the latitude of five degrees tenne minutes, and then your best course is East North-east, with *Buro*, distance between that and *Buro* sixtie three leagues. From the South part of *Buro* to the South part of *Amboyna*, are eight and twenty leagues. From the South part of *Amboyna* to *Banda*, the course is East South-East distance about thirty leagues. *Banda* lieth in four degrees forty minutes. Your going in is between the high Mountaine called *Gunappi*, and the great Island of *Banda*, the hill being on your Lar-board side, and the great land on your Star-board side.

A dangerous shoale.

The road of *Botum* is in five degrees fifteen minutes of South latitude.

Buro, Amboyna, Banda.

p. II.

Their Aids with the Mogols Subjects, and fights against the Portugals: setting a Factorie, and departure to Achen.



Thirteenth of September, sixteen Sailes of *Portugall* Frigats put into the River. The two and twentieth it was determined by councill, that wee should send a Poft to *Agra* to the King, to signifie our arrival, and to require his answer certain, Whether wee would proceed wth trade, and to settle a Factorie. Otherwise to depart his Country.

The thirtieth, this morning I heard of the taking of *Master Canning* the Purser, and *William Chambers*: whereupon I caused the *Guzerat* ship to anchor fast by me, thereby to stay her, till I might see and hear how all stood on land. Also wee stayed a Barke of Rice, being informed that it belonged to the *Portugals* of *Bassora*: and from *Bassora* the came. In five, I took out of her twelve or fourteen Quintals of Rice, and gave them thirteen pence a Quintal for it. After that the ship, I wrote to the chiefe on land, that they should send me all my men, with the value of all the goods which I had landed; which being performed, I would then deliver their ship with all their people, and gave time till the first of October to returne me answer: by which time if they did not, then I would dispose of ship and goods at my pleasure. Some tenn of the chiefe men of the ship I took into my ship: in the ship there being some four hundred men, or four hundred and fifty.

The sixth, *Mulla Jaffer* came aboard accompanied with foure chiefe men, and many others. Hee brought me a great Present. He came to intreat of Trade, and relate of the ship which I held.

The tenth, I left the Barre of *Surat*, and came to the Roade of *Swalli*, and anchored in eight fathoms at high-water. It is from the Barre of *Surat* some ten or twelve miles North. The five-and-twentieth the *Gouverneur* of *Amadavar* came to the water-side. The nineteenth, I landed, having aboard of my ship four men for pledges. The one and twentieth, I concluded with the *Gouvernours* and *Merchants* to trading with them, and settling a Factorie in any part of their Country.

The *Gouverneur* of *Amadavar* came to *Swalli*.

The Articles agreed upon, and sealed by the Gouverneur of Amadavar, and the Gouverneur of Surat, and foure principall Merchants, and to be confirmed by the State and Firme of the Great Mogoll within fortye dayes after the former sealing, or else to be void, for the settling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, Goga, or in any other part or parts of this Country within the Great Mogols Dominions. Witnessed under our hands and Seales, the one and twentieth of October, 1612.

1 *Inprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henric Middleton be remitted, acquitted and cleared to vs: that they shall neuer make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our Goods, Wares and Merchandises, to satisfie for the same.*

2 *That they shall procure from their King the great Mogoll at their proper cost his grant and confirmation of all the Articles of agreement under the great Seale of his Land, and shall deliver the same unto vs for our securitie and certaintie of perpetual amitie, commerce and dealing with them within fortye dayes after the sealing hereof.*

3 *That it shall be lawful for the King of England to keepe and continue his Embassadour at the Court of the Great Mogoll during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weightie Questions, as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace.*

4 *That at all times upon the arrivall of our ships in the Roade of Swally there shall be Protection in the Cities of Surat three severall dayes together, that it shall be free for the Country people of all sorts to come downe to the water side, there to have free trade, dealing and commerce with vs.*

5 *That all English Commodities shall pay custome, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Custome-house, after the rate of three and an halfe the hundred.*

6 *That all pettie and Poollery wares be free of Custome, provided that it exceed not in value tenne Reals of eight.*

7 *That we shall have ten Manns for our Mandas carried from the waters side to Surat: and after the same rate backe againe: and for Caris we are to repaire to the Moccadam of Swally to send for Surat, and at Surat to repaire to the Broker for Caris downe againe.*

8 *That*

8 *That if any of our men dye in those parts, that then neither the King, nor Governour, nor under Officer shall make sale or challenge to any thing that is the deads belonged, nor demand fees, nor any kind of Taxts, nor Customs.*

9 *That if all our men dye here in these parts, betweene the times of the coming of our ships, that then by some Officer thereto appointed in and true Inuentorie, notice, and knowledge be taken, of all such Monies, Goods, Jewels, Jewellies, Apparell, and what else to our Nation belongs: and the same shall safely preserve and keepe, and deliver to the Generall, Capitaine, or Merchants of the first ships that shall after here arrive: and to receive a discharge from the Generall, Capitaine, or Merchants, to whom such Goods and Monies shall be delivered.*

10 *That they secure our men and goods upon the Land, redeeming all such both goods and men as shall happen to be taken upon the Land by the Portugals: and shall deliver both men and goods againe to vs free of all charges, or the value of our goods and men instantly.*

11 *That as in all Kingdomes there are some Rebels and disobedient Subjects: so in our Nation there may be some Pirates, and Sea-Rovers, which may happen to come into these parts, and here may rob and steal: if any such shall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Fairtrade here be liable or answerable for such goods so taken, but will ayde them with our best means that are so grieved by Justice to our King, for redresse and restitution unto them.*

12 *That all such provisions of victuals as shall be sent during the time that our ships shall remaine here in the Roades of Surat and Swally, shall be free of Custome: provided, it doe not amount unto above a thousand Dollers in Money.*

13 *That to all Questions of wronge and injuries that shall be offered unto vs, and to our Nation, that we doe receive from the Judges and those that be in authority, present and speedie Justice according to the qualitye of our complaints and wronge be done vs, and that by delays we be not put off, and wearied either by time or charges.*

The fourteenth, I landed the Present for the Great Mogoll, and brought it to the Tent of the *Gouverneur* of *Amadavar*, who took notice of the particulars: also of our Kings Letter to their King to advertise their King thereof. Which done, I returned the Present to my shippage, according to agreement with the said *Gouverneur*. For I had told him, that whilste their King would confirm the Articles concluded on, and likewise write our King a Letter, I would not deliver the Present, nor our Kings Letter: for if he refused so to do then was he not a friend, but an enemy, and to the enemy of my King, I neither had Letter nor Present. Altho the same day, the former finished, I delivered our Present to the *Gouverneur* of *Amadavar*, and another to his home.

The fourteenth of November, 1612, the *Capita* of Frigats came in sight of vs, some two hundred and fortie saile. I had thought they had come to fight with vs: but they were the Fleet of the Merchant men bound for *Cambaya*. And every year there cometh the like Fleet, all *Portugals* from the South Coast, to wit, from *Goa*, *Chaul*, &c. to goe to *Cambaya*: and from thence they bring the greatest part of the lading, which the Caracks and Gallions carrie for *Portugall*. By which may appeare the great Trade that the *Portugals* have in these parts.

The seven and twentieth, I received Letters from *Master Canning* and *Edward Christian*: both signified the coming of foure Gallions to fight with vs, and that they were readie, riding at the Barre of *Goa*, the fourteenth of November.

The nine and twentieth, *Master Canning* came aboard: and the *Portugall* Fleet coming in sight of vs yesterday, drew neere vs with the flood and at two in the afternoon I had sent a ship of six hundred and fourety men, and at four I was about two Cables lengths from the Vice-Admirall, fearing to goe neerer for want of depth, and then I began to play upon him both with great and small shot, that by an hour we had well peppered him with some fiftie fixe shot from him. From him we received one small shot, Saker or Minion into our Maine Mast, and with another he funke our long Boate: now being night we anchored, and sued our Boate, but lost many things out of it.

The thirtieth, as soon as the daye grew light, I set saile and steered betweene them, bestirring our felles with our best endeavour, putting three of their four shippes on ground on the sand thwart of the Barre of *Surat*.

At nine anchored. This morning the *Hofander* did good service, and came through also betweene the shippes, and drew neere vs, upon the flood the three shippes on ground came off, we set saile, they at anchor, and came to them, and spent upon three of them, one hundred and fiftie great shot: and in the morning fowre fiftie shot: and at night we giving the Admirall our foure Peeces out of the storme for a far-well, he gave vs one of his Prow Peeces, either a whole or Demi-calvering, which came even with the top of our Fore-castle, ther thorow our Daime, killed one man, to wit, *William Barrell*, and shot the arme of another.

This day the *Hofander* spent wholly upon one of the shippes, which was on ground, and from the enemy received many shot, and which killed the Boat-swayne *Richard Barker*. Night being come we were barked on both sides, some miles from them, and anchored: and at nine of the clocke they sent a Frigate to vs, which being come neere, came drawing right on the halfe of the

Notice of foure Gallions, The fight betweene foure Portugall Gallions and vs. Of these fights see a larger Relation in my Pilgrimage, lib. 5. cap. 5. 4. The Portugals had foure great Gallions and some twentie lesser Frigates. They lost in these fights their swadron credited and one hundred and fiftie, or so others due hundred men and dead men and English Trade seized amongst their towne. Nathaniel Samuel of Legh, was Master of the Religion.

This Frigate was taken with the shot, as Mr. Siles, the actor was another vanto me, and eight of her men were taken; downed.

December 1, 1614.
The Portugalls put over the fight.
Madaidibar.

Mohor, Mohor, or Moh.

Six hundred and five and twenty great shot spent on the four Gallions and three thousand small shot.

Hofander: and being discovered by their good watch, they made to shooote at it; the first, called it to set sail; the second, went throw their sails, and to they took their leave. Their purpose, doubtless, was to have fired vs, if they had found vs without good watch.

The first of December, 1612. we rode, they not coming to vs, nor we to them: they might without danger of the lands have come to vs, not we to them. This day I called a Council, and concluded to go down to have a broader channell, hoping also that the Gallions would follow vs. The second, we went downe some fixe or seven leagues, but they followed vs not. The third, at flood we played vp againe, and anchored faire in fight of them.

The fourth in the morning, we weighed, and flood away before them. In the after-noon they came vs out, and stood in with the land againe: and at night we directed our course for *Diu*.

The fifth night, we anchored some four or five leagues to the Eastward of *Diu* in fourteen fathoms, and aboard the *Mare*.

The ninth, we came to *Madaidibar*, and anchored in eight fathoms. It is from *Diu* some ten or eleven leagues, and lyeth nearest East and by North, a faire Coast, no danger but that you see: your depth, if near *Diu*, fiftene, sixteen, when half-way, twelve fathoms, then ten and nine, not less: it is a faire landy Bay; and on the West-side of the Bay is a River that goeth farre into the Countrey: and this place is some five or six miles short to the Westward of the Isles of *Mortie*. The fiftenth in the morning, we departed from *Madaidibar*, to go to *Mohor*, which we discovered the Bay: because some that were there in the *Afienfon*, reported it to be a good place to winter in. At four of the clocke in the after-noon, we anchored in the Bay of *Mohor*; which is from *Madaidibar* nine or ten leagues. East North-east, Having found the Coast and channell very good, depth ten fathoms, no danger, but what you see, I sent our Pinnace on land, where presently we had twenty good things, at the which I gave a sheepe, the best we had this Voyage.

The sixteenth in the morning, I sent our Pinnace on land, where we found few people, but the ruins of a great Towne.

The seventeenth in the morning, the Generall of the Campe sent to me four men, to intreat me to send unto him one of my men, that he might talke with mee.

The one and twentieth I landed, and had much conference with the Generall of the Campe: he much desired that I would land two peeces of Ordnance, making many and great promises of favour to our Nation; but I refused him. He presented me with a horse and furniture, and two *Agra* Girdles: And I presented him a Vest of Stammel, two Peeces, two Bottels of *Aquavite*, and a Knife. The two and twentieth, we saw the four Gallions coming toward vs, and at nine at night they anchored within four of vs.

The three and twentieth in the morning, by Sunne, we weighed, and began with them, and continued fight till ten or eleven. Then they all four weighed, and flood away before the wind, and so went from vs: for they failed large, much better than we: we followed them two or three houres, and then anchored. This day I spent upon them an hundred thirtie three great shot, and some seven hundred small shot. In this fight *John Hacknel* was killed with a great shot. The four Gallions anchored from me some two leagues.

The four and twentieth, by Sunne rising, I weighed and went to the four Gallions, and fifty eight began our fight, and continued it till twelve. And this day shot two hundred and fiftie great shot, and one thousand small shot. By this time both sides were weary, and all three of them to the sea, and itered away South by East. The four first following of vs, at two or three of clocke they laid it about and anchored. Now I began take knowledge of our powder and shot, and found more then halfe of our shot spent, and of two *Hofanders*, having now spent on the four shippes five hundred, five and twenty great shot, and three thousand small shot. Being from the land some four or five leagues, we met with a land, whereon there was some two or two fathoms and an halfe, and it lyeth from *Maso* South South-east, or thereabout, the end of the said land. I went over it in nine fathoms: and then were the two high hills, which are our *Goga* nearest North of vs. Upon this land was the *Afienfon* cast away. The shoaling is something fast. Between the land and this land is nine and ten fathoms. We continued steering South, with an ebbe. At low water we anchored in eight fathoms, the tide letting at East North-east, and West South-west, by the Compass. At twelve at mid-night I weighed, wind at North North-west, and steered South South-east, depth twelve and fourteen fathoms. At four fifteen red East South-east. At five steered East till twelve fathoms, halfe a fathom more or less. At nine we met with a bank, seven fathoms, five or six fathoms, then presently ten, twelve, or thirteen. Then the wind turned on vs: we lay South-east. And about twelve the land of *Daman* East South-east. The high land to the Southward of *Daman* South-east by East. And being over this land, we had presently fourteen, fiftene, feunteine, twenty fathoms. At two being high water, we anchored in feunteine fathoms, faire in sight of land, *Daman* East South-east. The highest land to the Southward, South-east by South. At eight at night, we set tide half tide, calme, still fiftene and sixteen fathoms, anchored all the ebbe.

The five and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The six and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The seven and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The eight and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The nine and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The ten and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The eleven and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The twelve and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The thirteen and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The fourteen and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set sail, in the afternoon anchored off the Parre of *Surat*.

The seven and twentieth in the morning, we were three or four miles short of *Swally*, and about twelve of the clocke we anchored in the Road of *Swally*. In the after-noon *Thomas Kerridge* and *Edward Christian* came aboard.

The six of February, the *Firma* came to *Swally* as a private Letter: therefore I refused to receive it, being jealous it was a counterfeit; requiring the chiefe men of *Swat* to come downe and deliver it to me, with those rights that it belonged.

The eleventh, the *Sakander*, his sister in law *Mudgoff*, and diuers others came to *Swally*, and delivered it to me, with profertion of their Kings love to our Nation.

The fourteenth, we landed all our cloath, three hundred and ten Elephants teething, and all our Quicke-silver. The Gallions came within some three or four miles of vs.

The sixteenth, I landed *Anthony Starkey*, to traueise home our-land for *England*, with Letters and advertisement of our good successe.

The feunteenth, I received all my goods from *Surat*: at night I set sail, taking my leave of these coasts: it fell calme, and I anchored, Note that in the Land of *Cambaya* it bloweth South-west and North-east.

The eighteenth, I set sail againe, came faire by the Gallions. They all weighed and followed me some two or three houres, and then we departed without shooting a shot on either side.

The nineteenth, thiward of *Bafam* we took three *Malabars*, which had nothing in them: we took a Boat from one of them.

The twentieth, still we were faire aboard some five leagues off, and came along the shoare in fourteen, eighteen, twenty fathoms water. At night we were faire out-against *Chaul*, lying both Towne and Caste.

The one and twentieth in the after-noon, we were faire aboard *Dabul*, and here were aboard three luncques, all of *Calicut*, laden with Cokes.

The two and twentieth, the *Hofander* in the morning sent her Boat vnto two luncques. At twelve of the clocke we were at the rocks, which lye at the Northward of *Goa*, ten or eleven leagues, and lye from the Main six or eight miles. Two or three of these rocks are higher then the hull of any ship. At fixe we were thiward of *Goa*, which is easily knowne by the land, which lyeth at the mouth of the River, and vpon the land a Caste. From *Daman* till you come to *Goa*, the shoare is very faire, no danger, and faire shoaling. Not without sixteen or feunteine, nor within ten fathoms: good anchoring all the Coast. And all this Coast from *Daman* to *Goa*, lyeth nearest South and North, we steered along the Land.

The four and twentieth, we saw a Fleet of Frigates, some sixtie or eightie saile, bound to the Southward: here North latitude thirteen degrees, halfe a minute. The high land by the waters side lyes vs; and the land began to be very low, and faire shoaling sixteen or feunteine fathoms, some three or four leagues off. In the after-noon we came into a Bay, where all the Frigates, and three or four Gallies were, and fetched out a ship laden with Rice: all the *Portugalls* died in their two Boates; and also there were two Frigates aboard of her, so that all good things they carried away with them.

The five and twentieth, we romaged our prize, finding nothing but Rice and coarse Sugar, of which we stored our selues, and rooke out both high masts, and what firing we could, and at night suncke her, taking out of her all the people, twenty or five and twenty, all *Moors*.

The six and twentieth, we met with a little Boate of *Malinda*, laden with Cokes, bound for *Cannore*, into which I put all the people of the prize: only eight I kept for labour, one of them a Pilot for this Coast. At twelve we were thiward of *Cannore*, latitude eleven degrees.

The seven and twentieth, we were thot a little off *Calicut*, and were thiward of *Pannaire*, at noon latitude ten degrees, thirtie minutes.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we saw *Cochin*, which maketh it selfe by the Towers and Caste: and in latitude nine degrees, forrie minutes, or there-about. Note that from *Goa* to *Cochin*, we neuer had above twenty fathoms, being sometime four or five leagues from land: and being three, four or five miles off ten or twelve fathoms, from latitude eleven degrees, thirtie minutes to *Cochin*, very low land by the waters side; but vp in the Countree all along high land. Note that thot of *Cochin* four or five leagues, you shall see a high land in the Countree, somewhat like a table, but rounding off. And to the Northward of this round hill, high long hills or mountaines. All this day we ran within six or eight miles of the land, in nine, ten, twelve fathoms.

The nine and twentieth, calme, latitude eight degrees, some fixe leagues off, no ground in forrie or fixe fathoms.

The thirtieth, we anchored in fiftene fathoms, some fixe and twenty leagues short of Cape *Comari*, against a little Village: and presently fixe or eight Canoes came aboard, and brought vs all provisions, water, Hennes, Cocos, &c. The name of this place is *Bingar*: the King name *Tramcar*.

The one and thirtieth, all the day the people came to vs with Hennes, an l other victuals.

The first of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 1.

The second of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 2.

The third of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 3.

The fourth of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 4.

The fifth of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 5.

The sixth of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 6.

The seventh of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 7.

The eighth of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 8.

The ninth of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 9.

The tenth of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, February 10.

to know whether I would trade with him: which if I would, he offered to hide my shippe with Pepper and Cinamon.

The fourth, the people still came to vs with provisions. At two of the clocke in the after-noon, we set saile from *Beringar*: all the night I anchored.

The fifth in the morning we set saile, being faire aboard *Cape Comorin*: and here met with a fresh gale of wind at East by North, which ligit our fore-top-saile and maine boome, yett a Canoe with eight men came aboard me, three or foure leagues from land: in the after-noon came another Canoe. Here we were troubled with calmes and great heate, many of our men taken sicke, my selfe one of them. The eight, we came againe into the Road of *Beringar*.

The Thirtieth, we set saile from *Beringar*. Note that this place giueth good refreshing, with plenty of water, and the people harmlesse, and not friends with the *Portugals*. From this place to the Cape, all the people that dwell by the waters side are Christians, and haue a *Portugall* Friar or Priest that dwelleth among them. All the night we anchored some foure of five miles from the two rockes, which lye off the Cape in eightene fathomes. The two rockes lye five or six miles from land.

The fourteenth in the morning, I set saile, wind at East, and plyed to windward: we were a little current to the Southward. Note that the Coast of *Malabar*, euen from *Daman* to *Cape Comorin* is free of danger, and faire shoalding on all the Coast from *Cochin* to the Cape: more neale fixteene, eighteen, twenty fathomes faire by the land: and five or six leagues off no ground after you come within five and twenty or thirtie leagues of the Cape. The variation at *Daman* is fixteene degrees, thirtie minutes. And halfe way to the Cape, it is fifteene or thereabout: and here at the Cape it is fourteen. And the Cape hath latitude North seven degrees, thirtie minutes. In the after-noon, we ran off open of the Cape, and found much wind at East South-east, which gaue small hope of going to the Eastward, till the end of the Monson, which will be the first of April, or thereabout, as the *Indians* report. So I bore vp and anchored foure or five leagues within the Cape, in twentie fathomes, faire by the two rockes. Right off from these two rockes, lyeth a facklen rocke, which is very dangerous, and is some two miles without the fore-said two Rockes. If you come within twentie fathomes, you shall be in danger of them: but life and free of danger, is not to come within foure and twenty or five and twentie fathomes. Here we layed nine dayes.

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at fixe of the clocke, we saw the Ile of *Ceylon*, East South-east, off some eight or nine leagues: little wind at South, latitude observed seven degrees North. At foure of the clocke, we were faire aboard the land, depths thirtie, fifteen, fixteene fathomes. At eight flood off till day: little wind at South, being from the land five or six leagues, no ground in fixte or fuentie fathomes.

The first of March, all the morning becalmed: in the after-noon a Sea-burme at North-west and West. At fixe of the clocke, we were faire aboard *Columbo*, the latitude whereof is fix degrees, thirtie minutes, or neare there-about, depths foure and twenty, five and twenty fathomes, three leagues off.

The twelfth, we stood in with the land, and anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, wind at South-east and South. I sent my Boat on land, foure leagues to the North of *Punta de Gale*: and after some stay, a woman came to take with an *Indian*, that went out of our Boat: shee told him that we should haue no provisions; but said shee would go and tell the men, which we desired. Afterward two men came to my *Indian*, and told him, that we should not haue anything there, for that our Nation had sometimes taken a Boat of theirs: but it was the *Hollanders*, and not our Nation.

The fourteenth in the morning, at fixe of the clocke, the Southernmost point of *Ceylon*, called *Tendore*, whose latitude is five degrees, thirtie minutes, and lyeth from *Punta de Gale*, East South-east, some ten or twelue leagues, bare East North-east some five leagues off.

The fifteneenth, we were neare to one of the kinds that *Linsloe* writeth of: it lieth from the land two leagues. We had five and twenty fathomes when we laid: vpon the land right against this find is a high Rocke like a great Tower. The land lieth here East North-east.

Captaine Best is entertained at Achen.

The twelfth of April at noon, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Achen*, in twelue fathomes; but you may ride in foure or eight fathomes. Your best road is, to the Eastward of the Cattle, and Ruers mouth. The thirtieth, I landed the Merchants, the King not being in Towne. The fifteneenth, the King came, and sent his Chaplaine to me for my landing, brought by an Eunuch, and fixe or eight more, and also the *Xabandar*. To whom we gaue an hundred and twenty M. m. With them the same day I landed: and two hours after my landing, the King sent me a Present in viduals: I hauing presently vpon my landing sent the King two peeces: for the curio is, at landing to present the King with some small thing, and he requiteth it by fullall dishes of meate.

The

Variation at Cape Comorin, fourteen degs. Inside foure degrees, thirtie minutes. And longward from the Cape of Good hope little five degrees, thirtie min. A very dangerous uncklen rocke.

The Ile of Ceylon.

March 1. *Columbo* in five degrees, thirtie minutes.

A finding lying foure two leagues off the shoare.

April 12. Two anchor on each side of *Achen* in foure fathomes. The King was in the city.

The fifteneenth, the King hauing sent an Elephant with a bason of Gold for our Kings letters, I rode to the Court accompanied with fortie of our men, all admitted into the Kings presence: and after many complements, the King returned the Letter vnto me, for to read it: and so the fifteneenth it was deliuered vnto him in his owne language. The contents pleased him very well. The day wel spent, the King told me, he would now heare me some of his pleasures; and caused his Elephants to fight before vs after fixe of them had fought, then he caused foure Buffies to fight before him, which made a very excellent and fierce fight. Their fiercenelle was such, that hardly sixtie or eighty men could part them, fustening ropes to their hinder legges, to draw them asunder. And after the some tenne or twelue Rams, which likewise made a very great sight, and so continued till it was foure hundred dishes, with such plenty of hot drinks, as might haue sufficed a drunken army. Betweene nine and tenne at night, he gaue me leave to depart, sending me two Elephants to carry me home; but I rode not on them, they hauing no countings on them.

The eighteenth, I went to the Court againe, the King fo appointing: where we beganne to treat of the Articles formerly made by his Grand-father, and M. *James Lancaster*. And coming to the matter of hauing all goods both brought in, and carried out free of custome, we ended without concluding any thing.

The nineteenth, the Embassie of *Siam* came to visit me, telling me of the three *Englishmen* that came to the King of *Siam*, and of their great entertainment, and ioy of their King to receive a Letter from the King of *England*; and that it was some thirty Moneths since. They also told me how ioyfull their King would be, if our shipping came to his coasts: telling me what great quantities of cloeth of *Portugall*, which is *English* cloeth, would fill in their Countreys. The colours most in request, flammell and reds, with some others, as yellows, and other pleasing light colours, as at *Surat*. They also told me that their King had made a Conquest ouer the Countrey of *Pegu*, and is now the greatest King of this Orientall part, except the King of *China*, and hath vnder him twentie fixe petty Kings; and in the warres is able to make fixe thousand Elephants. Their coyn is all Silver. Their Gold is leffe esteemed than the vales thereof. In their Countreys is great store of Pepper, and rawe Silke. He saith, that the *Hollanders* haue twelue and fouretee fathomes. Likewise *Siam* is a good Port, which is an excellent Port: the entrance Court then *Pattane*. Thole that doe goe to the Court of the King, and is neerer vnto the Kings Court. And from this Port of *Siam* to the Kings Court, is some twenty dayes journey by Land. I moued the Embassie for his Letter to the King, which he promised me, and also for his Letter to the Gouernours of Ports, in fauour of our Nation, when we should come vpon those coasts. And lastly, changed coynes with him, giuing of our *English* coyn, and receiving the Kings coyn of *Siam*. I had after this, often euercourse with these Embassadours.

The twentieth, I went to the Court, but spake not with the King: whereupon I sent to the King's Deputie, and complained of my dishonour, and of some abuse by the *Xabandar* offered vnto me. He promised that I should haue present redress, and that he would enuoy the King therewith, which accordingly he performed the same day. The twentie one, the King sent two Officers vnto me, to signifye that at all times I might reuiue vnto his Court, with free access, and passe all the Gates without stoppe, or attending nor his Crech, and likewise remoued the *Xabandar*, and appointed me the Gentleman, whom the King sent Vice-Embassie into *Holland*, to attend, and accompany me at all times to the Court, and elsewhere at my pleasure.

The foure and twentieth, I wrote vnto the King, who had access vnto the King, who gaue me all content, and promised the ratifying of all the Articles, formerly agreed vpon by his Predecessor, and M. *James Lancaster*. So after diuers complements, heooke leave, and sent me home presently after my returne an Elephant to attend me, and to carrie me whether soeuer I pleased me to trauell. And this is a signe of the honourable esteeme that he holdeth of the parties to whom they send their Elephants: for none may haue an Elephant, nor ride on them, but thole whom the King doth honour.

The second of May, the King inuited me to his fountaine to swimme, and I was with him; it being some five or six miles from the Court, and he lent me two Elephants to carrie me, and my provision; and having washed and bathed our selues in the water, the King presented me with an exceeding great banquet, with too much Racke, all to be eaten and drunken as we fate in the water; all his Nobles and great Captaines being present. Our banquet continued from one of the clocke till towards fiseat which time the King released me; and halfe an houre after all strangers, and presently after followed himselfe.

The fourteenth, certaine *Portugalls* came into *Achen*, which came from *Malacca* with an Embassie from the Gouernour to this King. The wind short, they landed three leagues to the Eastward of the Road of *Achen*. This day I sent the *Hollanders* to seeke the Barke which came from *Malacca*, making *Edward Christian* Captaine in her. The fifteneenth in the morning, the *Portugall* Barke was brought vnto me aboard the *Dragon*. But before the came aboard, the King

Our Kings Letter to the King of *Acha*.

The Embassie of *Siam* come to visit me. Or this you may read in M. *Varis* his iournall. *English* road clothes well told in *Siam*. Gold office (he then the value thereof in *Siam*. *Hollanders* excluded or calling themselves *English*.

A signe of most honourable esteeme.

May 2. 1613.

Edward Christian Captaine in her. of the *English* Barke.

sent two Messengers to me, to desire me to release both her, and that which might bee in her: which I refused to doe: answering, that I would not release her, vntill I had seen both the Barke and that which was in her: but willed them to tell the King, that in honour of him, whatsoever he required, I would doe for him. Afterward the Barke came, and by *Edward Chyffius* I was informed, that there were some four or five fardels in her, and that nothing was needed withall, that was in her. Wherein being certified, I came on land, and found my Merchants to be at the Court, who by and after came in, informing me of the Kings great displeasure, for taking the *Portugall* Barke in his Port, protesting by his god, That he would make them all prisoners, if the Barke were not released. The King hauing intelligence of my coming on land, presently sent for me. And on the way to the Court, as I was going, I met a Gentleman that came from the King, to desire me to release the Barke. But I told him, I would first speak with the King. In fine, I came to the Court, and presently was brought before the King: where after much discourse, at the Kings request, I gave him the Barke, and all that was in her, with which hee was much pleased, and gave me an honourable ride, to wit, *Aracania Pato*, which signifieth, *The honourable White man*, requiring his Nobles to call me by the same name. And farther, to acknowledge his thankfulness to me, he told me his Benjamin at mine owne price; namely, at twenty Tyils the Bahar, it being worth thirty foure and thirty five, professing by generally reames his love, and much esteeme of mee, willing me to aske whatsoever I would of him. I required onely his Letters of fauour vnto *Priaman*, which he most willingly promised. Of his Mangoes, whereof himselfe did eate, he gave me to eate, and likewise to carry to my lodging, and so I tooke leave and departed.

The fouen and twentieth, *Malim Gary* came to *Achen*, by whom I receiued Letters from our Merchants at *Sarat*, and also a Copie of the Kings *Firma*, sent them from *Agra*, bearing date the twentyeth of Iunary, and the twentieth year of the Great *Mogul* raigne, confirming all that was said betweene the Gouverneur of *Amulauer* and me.

The fawenteenth of Iune, 1613, came there a Merchant of the *Hollanders* into *Achen* from *Majulipatan*, and had been eight months on his journey. He told vs of the death of *Captaine Anthoeie Hippon*, who died in *Patane*, and of *M. Brenne* Master of the Globe, who died in *Majulipatan*, and that they had been euill dealt with at *Majulipatan*.

The foure and twentieth, I receiued of the King his Present for the King of *England*, namely, 30 his Letter, a Cryse or Dagger, an Hales, foure pieces of fine *Callicott* lawne, and eight Camphire dihes.

See this Letter transcribed, as a raritie for the Reader, out of *M. Copelands Journall*, which was *Minister* in that *Poyage*, and *filloweth* in the next Chapter.

The third of Iuly, the Kings Armad arrived, and had been but twenty dayes from the coast of *Ior* to *Achen*. In Iuly they tooke the *Factorie* of the *Hollanders*, and made a prey of all their goods, and brought hither prisoners of the *Hollanders* some twenty or twenty foure. The fawenth, I receiued the Kings Letters for *Priaman*, and the Chap for my departure. The twelfth, I tooke my leave in *Achen*, and came aboard.

The thirteenth in the morning, I set saile, and comming neere the great Westermost Iland, open of the Northermost gurgin the same Ile we found faire shoaling twenty fathomes, cleare ground, sand, agood birth from the land. This depth with cleare ground continued almost to the end of the Iland: so that on the East side of this Iland, there is very good anchoring, and on the Iland great store of wood. But being neere the great Iland, to the Eastward of this, we could get no ground: betweene these two great Ilands is the best land safest course, going on or out to the way North of *Achen*. Likewise, to the Eastward of the Eastermost Iland, but that is out of the way. Note, that from the twelfth of April to the middle of Iune, we had much raine, fildome two dayes without raine, with gusts and much wind. From the fifteenth of Iune, to the twelfth of Iuly, very much wind, very fore breffes, alwayes at South-West, and West South-West, and West.

§. III.

Trade at Tecoo and Passaman: their going to Bantam, and thence home.

Priaman,
Tecoo,
Passaman.
They arrive at Tecoo.

He third of August, we were in sight of *Priaman*, nine or tenne leagues off, it being from vs North-east by East, it shewing with two great high hills, making a faire swamp or fadde betweene them both. We saw also *Tecoo* the high land on it: it is not more then halfe so high as *Priaman* land, and riseth somewhat flat. Then we saw also the high land of *Passaman*, which lieth some feuen or eight leagues to the Northward of *Tecoo*, euen mid way betweene *Passaman* and *Priaman*, which Mountain is very high, and riseth like *Moue Givelle* in *Scitie*.

The fawenth in the afternoone we came to *Tecoo*, and anchored on the East side of the three Ilands

Ilands in feuen fathomes. The Southermost Ile bore West South-west. The middlemost West North-West. The Northermost North, and halfe East a mile from the Ilands.

The ninth, I landed my Merchants; and in the afternoone I landed with the King of *Achen* Letter, the eleuenth, I called a Council for sending the *Hofander* for *Priaman* with the Kings Letter, which departed the next day, and returned the eighteenth, and was sent to *Bantam*.

The five and twentieth, there came in a Luncke of *Bantam*, the Owners *Chawfer*. They confirmed vnto me the death of Sir *Henrie Middleton*, with the loss of most of the men of the *Trades Increase*, and Maine Mast which brake with forcing her downe to carrie her, and that now she was gone from *Pulo Parian* to *Bantam*: that three hundred *Chingies* dyed in working on her.

The eight and twentieth, my Boat and men returned from *Passaman*, hauing been well inured, and brought with them the Squire of the place to deale with me: with whom I deale and went through.

The fourteenth, the Gouverneur called me on Land, being set with all the chiefe: I came to him, and after much talke agreed for the price of Pepper: Money, eighteen Dollers the Barre. Lastage, eight pence the Barre. Canikins, thirtie the Barre. Sealars, thirtie five the Barre. They inteded for Prefers to fixtene great men.

The thirtieth, *Henrie Long* came from *Passaman*, and gave mee knowledge of the sickness of *Maister Oliver* and diuers others dead, whereupon I sent my Shalop to fetch both him and all other of my men away, and to successe my *Factorie* there.

The one & twentieth of October, the *Hofander* returned. The Merchants from *Bantam* wrote to me that they had readie sixteen thousand bags of Pepperall which, if it pleased me to come thither, I should haue, or as much thereof, as should Ieme good vnto me at thirtie Dollers the *Timbane*. Out of these and many other considerations, I presently called a Council: wherein we concluded that the *Dragon* should goe for *Bantam*; and the *Hofander* should stay in the Road of *Teco*, vpon the sale of *Sarat* goods: all which being put aboard of her, I departed from the Road of *Teco* in the thirtieth of October.

In this Road I had layed eleven weales, and bought one hundred and fiftene or one hundred and twenty tunnes of Pepper, and buried of our men five and twentie. All which either dyed, or contracted their deaths at *Passaman*, and not at *Teco*. And certainly, had we not attempted trading at *Passaman*, they had beene either all, or the greatest part of them now liuing. Therefore I doe wish all our Nation neuer to attempt the sending of our men to *Passaman*. For the Aire is so contagious there, and the water so euill, that it is impossible for our people to lue there.

The thirtieth, in the after-noon I set saile from *Teco*: at sixe at night wee were thwart of the offern of the three Ilands; all night we steered South South-west.

The eleuenth of November, we arrived in the Road of *Bantam* in foure fathomes at quarter Iffe. The twelfth, I called the Merchants aboard, and concluded on the price of Pepper at thirtie Dollers the Bahar: which is fixe hundred pound of our weight.

The fourth of March at eight at night I set saile from *Saldanah*, hauing bought beere with a little Copper, which at ten pence the pound might be worth some three pound tenne shillings, foure hundred ninetie foure Sheepe, foure Bees, nine Cales. On the day of our coming to Sea the people brought vs more then we could buy, or knew what to doe withall. We brought to Sea eightie Sheepe, two Bees, and one Calf.

The foure & twentieth North-North-west halfe West till nine, ten leagues & an halfe. Then West till fixe in the morning twenty leagues. Then we saw *Santa Helena* from vs West North-west eight or nine leagues off. I find the latitude of it to be sixtene Southerly. Allow we observed at noone it is but lath longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, twentie degrees. At three of the clocke we were anchored in the Road right against the Chappell.

While I was at *Santa Helena*, I sent my Boates to the Westward to find a shorter way to the Limon Trees, and to bring downe Goates and Hogges with more ease. For from the Chappell to the Limon Trees is a moit wicked way: and euen a dayes worke to goe and come. In fine, seeking they found some three or foure miles to the South-west a faire Valley, which leadeth directly vp to the Limon Trees. It is the greatest and fairest Valley from the Chappell; and either the next or the next last one from the South-west point from the Chappell: Here in this Valley is better water, and more cleare, then at the Chappell, the Road all one for ground and depth. Here at this Valley it is much better being then at the Chappell, both for getting of all the fourth Valley or *Swaraz*: and from the Point to the Westward of it, the second. So that you cannot misse of it. It is here much better riding then any other place on the Iland. From this place you may goe vp to the Limon Trees, and downe againe in three hours. In eight or ten dayes a man may here get two hundred Hogges, and many Goates, lying on land of purpose to kill them. The variation is here feuen degrees thirtie minutes.

Tit

The Legend.

The fourth of June 1614. we saw the *Land* North from vs. some four or five leagues off. And now our longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* was twenty seven degrees twenty minutes, and two degrees carried by the Current. So that the difference of longitude between the Cape of *Good Hope* and the *Land* is twenty nine degrees twenty minutes, or very neere therabouts.

Note, that this day three moneths at night I did set faile in the roade of *Saldanha*: yet notwithstanding our short passage, having bene from *Santa Helena* but two moneths and nine dayes, the one half or more of our Company are laid vp of the Scurvie: and it twodad of it. Yet we plenty of victuals, as Beefe, Bread, Wine, Rice, Oyle, Vinegar, Sugar: and all these without allowance. Note, that all our men that are sicke, have taken their sickebed: since we fell with *Floures* and *Corn*. For since that time we have had it very cold, especially in two great stormes, the one with the wind a North and North North-east: The other with the wind at South-west. From the Cape of *Good Hope* to the Islands of *Floures* and *Corn*, I had not one man sicke. The variation four or five leagues off, the Start is nine degrees thirte minutes, little more or lesse.

Commenting foden yout of long here into the cold, seeme to be a great cause of the Scurvie.

They arrive in the Thames.

The fifteenth, we came into the River of *Thames*, it being that day fixe moneths since we came from *Bastam* in *Lana*.

Blessed bee God.

CHAP. VIII.

Certaine Obseruations written by others employed in the same Voyage,
Master COPLAND Minister, ROBERT BÖNER
Master, NICHOLAS WITHING-
TON Merchant.

Þ. I.

Remembrances taken out of a Tradit written by Master PATRIK
COPLAND Minister in the former Voyage.



N the Tropickes are feldome or no stormes, but a smooth Sea with soft gales: flying fishes are frequent as bigge as a small Whiting: they lye twice the length of a ship. *Tornadoes* gusts within two degrees of the Line) cause all things, especially cloaths, to smell. They had ninetie or a hundred sicke, the rest weak, before they came to *Soldania*.

Commented on Soldania.

The Bay of *Soldania* and all about the Cape is so healthfull and fruitful, as might grow a Paradise of the World: it well agrees with *English* bodies, for all but one in twenty dayes recurred, as at the first day they set forth. They had then in June, Snow upon the hills, the weather warmth. The Country is mixed, Mountains, Plains, Meadows, Streams, the Woods as if they were artificially planted for order. There is free stone to build with, plenty of fish and fowle, wilde Geefe, Partridges and Duckes, Antilopes, Deere, Riuers. They had thirte nine Bees, one hundred and fiftene sheepe for a little Brasie cut out of two or three old Kettles. For the sheepe worth one penny, or one penny halfe, penny the piece; the Bees twelue pence. The people are loing afraid at first by reason of the visandrell of *Dutch* (which came there to make traine Oyle, who killed and stole their Cattell) and as our returne more kind: of middle size, well limmed, very nimble and active. They dance in true meane all naked, only wear a short Cloke of sheepe or Seale skinned to their middle, the haire lye inward, a Cap of the same, and a kind of Rats skinned about their priuities: some had a Sole on their feet tied about; their neckes were adorned with greasie Trusses, which sometimes they would pull off and extraw. When we threw away their busles entrailles, they would care them halfe raw, the blood lacholomely flaring: Bracelets about their armes they had of Copper or Iron, with many Orich fringes and shells.

Their persons and their apparel.

The Table.
Portcupina
Quila.

The Womens habit is at the Mens. They were flame-fact at their priuities, but at our returne homewards they would lye up their Rats-skinned and threw their furs. Their Brasies hang to the middle, their haire curled. Copper with thim Gold, Iron, Silver, their Houses little Tents in the field, of Skins, mouable at pleasure, their Language with doubling the tongue in their throat. There is a high hill, called the Table, ouer-covering all the adioyning Territories one hundred miles. Some went and discouered many Bayes and Riuers. The *Negroes* behaued themselves peaceably at *Sinos*, yet seeme of little or no Religion; they cut their skinned like *Basil Priests*, our seemed (by making price) to be Commandier.

The

The *Generall* tooke sea-scale to carry for a wonder to the *Mogol*. The *Portugall* Fleet was two hundred twelve type of Frigates, Merchants bound for *Cambaya*, which furnish the Caracks, four Gallions, with twenty five or twenty six Frigates. The Admirall was *Nuame de Anconna*. When the *Sabandar* perswaded him to keep between vs and shore; he answered proudly, that he feared to spend a weekes prouision on his men in hindring vs, being able to force vs to yield in an hour. They had all red colours displayed. After three fights, they manned a Frigate, with five or seven (four best men to fire vs, which were all sunk.

Peuyelpride.

The first fight.

Mediaprabandi is now ruined by the *Mogols* warres, which sometime hath bene a faire Citie, and walled. Here was a Cattle kept by the *Rasfuchers*, in which at that time a strong Rebelle to the *Mogol*, was besieged by the *Nabob*, with fittie or fixtie thousand people in his Camp. The *Nabob* had a flatly and spacious Tent, couered about with Cloth of Gold, beneath spread with *Turkie* Carpets. The *Generall* would not fire till he had taken the Cattle. He sent a horse, and two Yells wrought with Silke and Gold to our *Generall*, and ioues Yells for foure other. They have fire of good Grapes, yet none but *Rafin* wine.

Mediaprabandi.

The three and twentieth and foure and twentieth of December, in view of the whole Army we had a second fight, and forced them first to cut their Cables, and then flee from vs, being better of faile then we.

The second place of fight.

I rode to *Surat* in a Coach drawne with Oxen (which is most ordinary, though they have store of goodly horses) here in the way was the goodliest Spring and Haroutt together that euer I saw; the Fields ioyning, one greene as a Meadow, the other yellow as Gold, ready to bee cut: their graine Wheat and Rice; they have excellent bread. All along were goodly Villages, full of Trees yielding Taddy, like new sweet wine, much strenghtening and fattening. *Surat* hath houses and bricke bathes faire, square, flat-roofed, goodly Gardens, with *Pomegranats*, *Pomecitrons*, *Lemons*, *Melons*, *Pisces*, continuing all the yeere, with curious springs of fresh water: the people are graue, iudicious, neat, tall, goodly clothed in long white Callico or Silke robes.

M. Capelands journey hence ouer-land

Taddy or Palm-wine.

The *Sabandar* allured vs, that we had killed of the *Portugals* about three hundred and fittie; we heard after that there were poyled and killed about five hundred. The *Generall* sent Letters by land, and the Messenger with his *Indian* were poylond by two *Friers* homewards; but a second Letter was deliuered to a Mariner, which came to their hands.

The twelfth of Aprill, they anchored in the road of *Achen*, where the King welcomed our men. The *Arancia* came riding in a Tent on an Elephants backe, with two or three of the Kings boyes (for he is attended with Boyes abroad, Women within) holding a Bafon of Gold, to receive the Kings letter. Our *Generall* followed with foure or fittie men. After the Letter and Present deliuered, the King told vs we should fee some of his Pastime, and called for his Cookes, which after they have fought about once or twice, they take them vp, bath them, picke their teeth, and so vp their wounds. After an houre thus spent in Cock-fighting: his *Rammes* fought very fiercely; then his tame Elephants more cruelly: then his *Basties* most romantically. Finally, our Antilopes wherewith our *Generall* had presented him, whole fight best pleased him. Here all this while drinke Tobacco in a Silver Pipe; giuen by his Women which are in a close room behind him. After this. Supper was serued in by young Boyes of foureene or fiftene yeeres in *Smasse* (a mettall halfe Copper halfe Gold.) This Supper continued from luen till almost twelue, in which we had foure hundred dishes with hot drinckes. The next day the King sent the *Generall* an Elephant to ride on, and appointed one of his chiefe *Arancia* to attend him alwayes. They had continuall free access granted, without the Kings Creefe (which is vied as a Scepter) and promise to ratifie the Articles agreed vpon by his Predecessors and Six *Times* *Longafter*.

Amo 1613.

The second of May, all Strangers were invited to a banquet six miles off, for which purpose two Elephants were lent for our *Generall*. Here were all the dishes brought by water, the boyes holding the dish with one hand, and swimming with the other: so did they carrie the strong drink also, wherof when they had tasted (which they must of all) they threw the rest into the River. It continued from one till five. In it were five hundred dishes well dressed. Our *Generall* (weary with sitting by the King thus long in the water) was dismissed an houre before the rest. The Captaine of the *Dutch* house, taking there his bane, either with hot drinke, or cold sitting so long in the water, loone after died.

The second of June, they were entertained with a fight of foure Elephants, with a wild Tygret at a stake, which yet fastening on their Trunks and legges, made them to roare and lye extremely. This day we were told, that one eye of a Noble man was plucked out, for looking on one of the Kings women walking in a Riuer. Another Gentleman wearing a Shail, had his head round cut so farre as that was too large. Some he is said to boyle in scalding oyle, some are fawnapices, others their legges cut off, or spitted alive, or empaled on stakes.

The twentieth fifth, was before the King a fight of wild Elephants, which would quickly kill each other, but that some tame are made fast to them, which draw them backe, sometime eighty or an hundred men helping. They fe one wild betwene two tame to tame them. He lent the King a Letter, for painting and writing most flatly, a Creefe, &c. for a Prekent.

Elephant

The

The Letter is thus *Englished*.

PEDVCKA SIRIS SVLTAN King of Kings, renowned for his Warres, and sole King of Sumatra, and a King more famous than the Pretences of any King, comes, and honoured of all Rulers, and Nations: whom there is the true Image of a King, in whom is raised the true melody of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Metall, and adorned with the most glorious colours; whose Seat is high, and most complete, to a Christall Throne, pure and cleere as the Christall Glass, and whose Sould is like the pure Air, free from all Bannets and Ills: whose Pretence is as the Just King, King of Priam, and of the Mountain of Gold, viz. Solima, and Lord of the first of Stones, King of the Embrasures of beaten Gold, having for his Seat most Kings, his Territories, and his Armies, his Armour for himselfe, being likewise of pure Gold. His Elephant with teeth of Gold, his Tronions therewith belonging: his Lance both Gold, half Silver, his small/lost of his horse, all Tronions on an other Elephant of the same Metall, a Tent of Silver, and all his Souldiers half Gold, his Saddle also for an other Elephant of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (wherein his Pretences had all his best Gold, being taken the King of Atrov: All the Country of Priam, Tecco, Barouli, being included in him, is now under his Command: Sentence: Elephants, and much Prouisions can be sayd, to make his Warres at Atrov, where God gave me more Victory, then any of my Pretences:)

This Great King *(and this the King of Salvation to I AM E S, King of Great Brittain, viz. Eng- land, Scotland, France, and Ireland, To forgive the great debts he had received by his Highness Let- ter, delivered by the hands of Arancia Polo, Thomas Butti Marquis Embofco, &c. as the receipt whereof, his eyes were surprised with a Celestiall brightneffe, and his spirit ravish'd with a Divine joy: the opening thereof declareth; fauour more agreeant then the most aduantageous Flower; & free of perma- nence in the World. For which cause, I the Great King of Sumatra, doe proffesse my Selfe to be one of the best men and one of the best wile, who the most Potent Prince I AM E S, King of England, and doe exorbitantly desire that the League begun, may be continued to all Posterity. And herein I wish my great selfe felicitie, that being nothing in the world more pleasant or profitable to me, and for a Testimony of my desire, that the League and Amitie begun may be continued betwixt vs, I haue returned this Letter vnto your Maiestie, with my Prayers vnto the Great G O D for the continuance of the same. And it shall be my great felici- ty, to receive Memoriall from s^r Great & Potentate, and to remove a Nation. And for a Pleage of my Love, and Honour, and continuance of Our League, I do away Maistie a Crefpe wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beate Gold with a Ring of Stones, an Affignation of Swaffe, beate Copper half Gold, eight Twilfin Dittall small and great, of Caswie one piece of fawring silke, & one piece of Calico Laine: which your Maiestie accepting as from a Brother, I shall rest satisfied, and much honoured. And so with my Prayers to the Great G O D, Creator of Heauen and Earth for your Maiesties long life, with O- berty one your enemies, and Prosperitie in your Land.*

Given at our Palace of Achen, the 1022. yeere of Mahomet, by the account of the Moores.

**Description of
the King and
Court.**

This King of *Aches* a proper Gallant man of Warre, of thirty two yeares, of middlelife, full of spirit, among by lea and land, his Countrey populous, his Elephants many, whereof we saw one hundred fixtie; one hundred eighties at a time, his Gallies and Frigats carry in them very good Braffe Ordnance, Demicanon, Culuerin, Saller, Minion, &c. his Linding it selfe and family, though not through his Court at *Aches* place, having a goodly barge of the Maine River, which hee roweth through his Pallace, which barge hee cut and brought fixte or eight miles in an twenty dayes, and hee is a most gallant and valiant man, and his Countrey is full of people courteous: weert at our departure, leaving little without his chop. Strangers may neither come at him, nor depart from him. He desired the Generall to commend him to the King of *England*, and to entreat him to send him two waire women. For (saide hee) I beeged one of them with child, and it procease a Sonne, I will make him King of *Tromon*, *Poffimus*, and of the Coast from whence you fetch your Pepper: for that ye shall not need to come any more to mee, but to your owne *Englis* King for the Commodities. Iulij the twelfth we took one late of 50.

The ninth of August they went on shore at *Tecoo*: here they stayed eleven weekes, bought one hundred twenty Tunne of Pepper, buried twenty five men, which got their death at *Passeman*, for *Tecoo* is healthfull. Pepper growes most at *Passaman*, and the Country about.

I have thought good also here to add a word or two taken out of the Journal of Nathaniel Salmon, Master of the Salomon.


The *Sabanday* counselled the Admirall *Nimble del Cunha*, to caufe his Frigates to ride betwixt the shoare and vs, so to keepe vs from watering, which he refused; yea, M. *Canning* (which had been taken by them) was delivered at our house in scorn, they professing this their only feare and care, to be feared of us. This day we were informed, that the *San Pedro* had been taken by the

Jan. 3.

The air and
water at *Pañā*
man naught.

δ. II.

*Notes taken out of M. Robert Boners Journall, who was then
Master in the Dragon.*

 He first of February, having receiv'd in all provisions for so long a Voyage, we set sail from *Gravesend*, and the same day at ten of the clocke we anchored in the *Hou-*

[illegible]

Now, here that comes of the Sea, bound in for the Bay of *Saldania*, let him keep himselfe betweene thirtie three degrees fift minutes, and thirtie four degrees twentie minutes of latitude, to fall you be sure not to come much wide of the Bay. If seeing the land you find it high, then you are to the South-west-ward of the Bay; if low land findes, then know that you are to the North-ward of the Bay of *Saldania*. But falling within the high land to the South-ward of the Bay, which is betwixt the Cape and the Bay, the land lyeth North North-west; and South towards the point of Cape feuen leagues, and then it trends away North-east and South-west, Sugar-loafe lyeth *Penguin* land, but by the point is for two miles from *Penguin* land such a shoales: it is from the point to the North-west by the point for eight miles from North and South, and by borrowing on the said point, at eight or nine fathoms, the South-east, and East South-east, vntill you bring the Table South-west, and the South-east, lyeth South-westward by West, and so you may anchor in fixe and an halfe or fixe fathome, as you will, and then will the point of the land by the Sugar-loafe beare from you West North-west, and *Penguin* land North North-west some three leagues of, and the point some two miles minutes, the variation of the North is three or foure minutes Easterly: when you come in with the Sea, and heereabouts (although in this case) is not far from the Bay of *Saldania*, the point going in is thirtie four degrees five minutes of latitude, and the point of the Bay is thirtie three degrees five minutes of latitude.

I am of opinion that the Current near Cape *Das Aguilas* sets Southerly not past fiftie or sixtie leagues off the land, and therefore being bound to the Eastward haulle off the land sixtie leagues, after you are to the East-ward of Cape *Das Aguilas*, to shall you find no Current. The Current lyes from the Cape *Das Aguilas*, ninetie or one hundred leagues East Northerly, and not as in the Cards East North-east.

Isle de Nona, is a low round Island, about four miles in length, lying South South-East, and from the Cape of Good Hope, nineteen degrees forty minutes, and longitude N. 100. 30. West. This Island hath latitude fourteen degrees thirty minutes, and longitude N. 100. 30. West. We can perceive no danger from it, only at the South-South-east end of it lies a small break of water, where we are to be careful not to haul in of it, being bound this water, either to the Southward, and there is like-wisely many dangerous banks, wretches, and rocks, which have lost their ships, therefore be care you haul not much to the West-ward of this place, and you will very boldly haul in: in fight of it without danger, and is small you not meet with the Current.

The eight & twentieth day of November, we received a Letter from M. Canning, & our Purser For
 Scoring four Gallions of War, with thirty sail of Frigats, which were coming to fight with
 And this day we saw them some two leagues to the South-ward of the Barre of Surat. This
 day the *Sahandar* of *Surat* came aboard to view vs as wee judge being a friend to the *Portugals*,
 but the more he looked the worke he liked, we having all things readie, &c.

The nine and twentieth day at two in the after-noon we let faile, and flood with the foure
allions and Frigats which were come within foure two leagues of vs. The first which we met
withall was the Vice-Admirall: wee gaue her rich a welcome, as that she was glad to haue vnu-
der rest with all speed: night being neere and our long Boar funke, at our sterne with an vnu-
der rest, we anchored.

Departed from
Grateland.
The generall
wind blew
betwixt East
South-e. & S. &
South-e. ft.
Ternadoes.

This endangered
red and much
hindered the
*Dragon and He-
stor* in the third
Voyage, as you
may read in
the Relations
thereof.

Sold out!

Current needs,
Cape Das A-
milhas.

Love

ture Gallions
30. Frigars.
Fander a
ye,

is day we
can our

Th

Three of the
ships aground.

The thirtieth day, early in the morning wee fell late, and flood with them, and after some hours fight put three of the Gallions ashore on the offmost land, and then wee flood into deeper water, and anchored: their Frigates were fraight aboard the ships aground, and floored them vp with their yards, or els I thinke they had neuer come off. Alosome as the Flood came wee weighed, but they were ashore ere wee could get to them: we fought with them till it was darke, and had one man killd, and another hurt.

The first day of December, 1612. we roade within a league one of the other, always we had thought they would haue come to vs, we haue gone to them three severall times, but they are not to haile, I thinke they haue more minde to goe for Goa againe.

The nineteenth day, there came a second Messenger from a great Lord of the great *Mogel*. 10
from a place called the Castellor, which place that great man lyes in Campe against, sending our Generall word that if he will but come thwart that place with his ships to grace him, hee will be a sworne friend vnto the *English* for ever. The Generall hearing that hee was a great man in fauour with the King, refused to goe spend a day or two with him, to see what his desire was.

The twentieth day, we anchored thwart of the Campe being close by the Sea-side, for the *Cattile* be feigebatted vpon the Sea, they in the *Cattile* being a companie of Rebels and Rousers on the Sea.

The one and twentieth day, vpon the receipt of good caution for his person, our Generall landed, and at three returned to ship.

The two and twentieth day, we saw the foure Gallions and Frigates againe in fight, hauing 20
beene at *Diu* for more fresh Souldiers, to haue a bout more with vs. At night they anchored within a mile of vs.

The three and twentieth day by day light, we were vnder saile, and flood with the Admirall, and so fought till two of the clocke, at which time they cut their Cable, and began to runne, the Admirall hauing received a shot vnder water: but the helpe of the Frigates brought her vpon the Campe presently, and stopped it, and so for this time fled, all the Campe standing by the Sea-side looking on vs, within a league or two miles of vs. For a great Commander did thrust by vs besiege a *Cattile* holden by Rebels and Pirates, and were willing Spectators of this Sea-fight.

The foure and twentieth day, we flood with them againe, and fought with them till two or three of the clocke in the after-noon. They fled, and being light ships and cleane, went from vs: 30
one man killd, and no more hurt, prayd to God for all his mercies. Note, that wee haue spent five hundred eighty great shot, and three thousand small shot out of the *Dragon*, and some fixtie Barrells of Powder: their Admirall had thirte eight Peeeces, and the rest thirte by ship, very good Ordnance. This night we steered for *Surat* South-east, to haue without the fans. South from *Mea* some fixe leagues off lyes the first spit, on which land the Alencion was lost.

The fift day of February 1612. wee fell late and flood to the Southward, wind at North North-west.

The sixth day, being some eight leagues short of Cape *Comorin*, we met with the wind at East very much wind, so that we plainie fe there is no going to the East-wards, the Easterly 40
Monsoon not being done. Heere we anchored at a point of the land, from which point the land treads away East South-east with the Cape of *Comorin*, and distant eight leagues: but beware how you come neere this point, for what of it foure miles off lyes two sunken Rockes dole by the edge of the water, and lyes in the frame of twentie or twentie two fathomes: wherefore keepe off in twentie eight or thirte fathome, and feare them not. But bee sure that you keepe within thirte five or foure fathome, for the Current lett off South with the *Maldines*, and being calme some *Portugall* ships haue bene driven to the *Maldines*, and bene in great danger. You shall know this point from the which the two sunken Rockes lye, by this: Thwart of the point lye two big Rockes a good height above the water: a league right off from the Eastermost of the dry Rockes lye the two sunken Rockes, where we are aile, the two dry rockes do beare from vs South-east and by East foure miles off the North-herm: here the people will come aboard of your ship eury day with promoules as Hares, and Hogges with linnets in their little Canoes.

The five and twentieth day at foure a clocke, the Cape of *Comorin* did beare North North-west foure leagues off. Note, that the Cape is tell a very low land with two craggy 50
Rockes lying a little from it, but vp in the Countrey, high ragged Land: the Cape of *Comorin* hath latitude feuen degrees fiftie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of *Hope*, fiftie foure degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is foureteen degrees thirte minutes Westerly: we haue very faire shoaling off from it twentie foure fathomes, foure leagues of land, from the Cape the land treads away East North-east.

I doe thinke that the Gulfe of *Cambaya* is the worst place in all the *Indies* for W. mes, and therefore the ships which goe for *Surat*, must haue good provision. The Barre of *Surat* hath latitude twentie one degrees ten minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* fiftie three degrees thirte minutes Easterly. Variation sixteene degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. Latitude of *Surat* is twentie one degrees twentie minutes. Variation fouenteen degrees no minutes. The

Many women
at *Surat*.

Note, for the
Cape of *Comorin*, for longi-
tude, latitude,
and variation.

Sunken rockes.

Portugals slain
to bye.

The number of
shot spent in
our Sea-fight.

The Road of *Achen* hath latitude five degrees fortie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of *Good Hope* of seantie three deg. thirte foure min. East. And from the Cape of *Comorin* about fixteene degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is fixe degrees thirte minutes Westerly. As you ride in the Road one high great Island will beare North of you, distant foure fixe leagues, and the two other bigge Islands will beare from the West South-west to the North-west and by West anchor hold good: in the Westerly Monsoon, you shall haue many times very much wind, with gills of raine, but you shall ride very well: there goes a small Current to the Eastward, and Westward in manner of a tyde, but not to certaine, and heights and fells some five 10
or sixe foot water.

The King loueth our Generall exceeding well, in so much that hee maketh no sport, but hee commands some one of his Nobles to goe for the *Aranjaka* *Pattee*, for fo hath hee named him: so that all the Citie through is he called by that name, and all our men by the common people very kindly entertayned, more then euer any strangers heretofore haue bene.

In fleeing North North-west from the little Island, which lyes South-west and by West feuen leagues from *Primas* Island, wee saw a shoal bearing from the said little Island South-east and by South five miles off. We sent our Boat to it, who found it but three fathome Rockes for *Tec*, keepe off, so that the Homocles may beare North, or North-east, and by East, and feare not. The Homocles are two round hills standing vpon the low land close by the Sea-side. At two a 20
clocke we saw the three little round Islands of *Tec*, which Islands you must ride vnder, they beare off, North and by East some foure leagues off, wee steere North, keeping the Islands open on our starboard bow.

Note, that by good looking on you shall perceiue any danger by this: it will show it selfe in white spots. For otherwise the Sea is of his perfect colour, as in the maine Ocean. At night we anchored within two leagues of the two outermost Islands of *Tec* in thirte fathomes, the Islands beare North and by East, and the Homocles North Easterly.

Note, the Homocles doe stand close by the three leagues to the Northward of the Islands of *Tec*, there being in all three of them, but the Northernmost of the three Homocles doth not thew it selfe so perfectly, as the other doe.

The tenth of August in the morning, weighed and plyed in the wind at the North North-east of the land wee saw a shoale, bearing from the two offmost Islands of *Tec* South-west & by South foure or five miles off, right in the faire way. We sent our Boat to it and found it but two fathome & a halfe, being a Rocke of two Cables length long. This is the vnlucky Rocke whereon the *Princely Trade* recieued her destruction, as we vnderstand by those people. About eleuen of the clocke we anchored on the Eastward of the vtermost Island in nine fathome, soft, Ozie, 30
prayed be God. Rising vnder this vtermost Island of the three we saw a breach, bearing South half Easterly, and another South and by East some three or foure leagues off, which breach as you come for this place, you must leane betwixt you and the shoale: wherefore keepe this outer Island North and by East, or North North-east, and feare nothing. But beware when you come within two leagues of this Island. For South-west and by South two leagues or five miles off lyes the Rocke whereon the vnlucky Trade grounded. Wherefore keepe this Island North and by East, and vpon life feare not, your depth as you come neere the Island will bee from thirte to ten, nine and eight fathomes soft, Ozie, you shall haue nine fathomes within your ships length of either side of the Island.

The ninth day, some people came aboard: we find them very bafe and subtilie. The eleuenth day, the *Hollanders* departed for *Primas*, to shew them likewise that wee haue beare the Kings Letter of *Achen*, without the which you cannot trade. Note, that as wee ride neere vpon the Poore, wee see the foure Islands of *Primas* bearing South-east and by South feuen leagues off.

This day at nine of the clocke wee failed into the inner Roade, which is betwixt the Mayne and the innermost Island, halfe a mile from the Mayne, and a Cables length from the Island, your depth foue fathome soft, Ozie, our depth in was twentie two foot being halfe tyde, it highes and fells some five or sixe foot water, the tyde, as I perceiue, runnes twelue houres North North-west, and twelue houres contrary. To the Northward of all the lands in coming in you shall haue foure fathomes and an halfe: but keepe neere the inner Island, for from the Mayne on that side lyes a shoal. The Islands are all of one bignesse, being halfe a mile a piece in circuit, they will beare from the South-west and by South to the North-west: your belt water is on the Island: digge a Well, and pretely water comes. Thus much out of Master *Bonar*; the rest you haue beefore in Captaine *Best*.

The land's
longitude and
variation of
Achen.

Notes for the
Road of *Tec*.

Variation of
Tec is 4 degs.
40' min: a
North-easterly

A ledge of
Rockes.
The Rocke
whereon the
Trades-Increase
was bruis'd.

B. III.

Extratts of a Treatise, written by NICHOLAS WHITTINGTON,
which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine BASTY, a Factor,
his Adventures and Travels therein.

* Captaine Basty said me that some have two reflexes, but choise the safer, and (as the one stoned gallians offered to him) were flukes the others marked with this note of Gouaze.

Pride goeth before the fall.

Fleet of Portugals.
The first sight.

The second.

The third.

The first sight.

Nicholas White, one of Basty's Port, Master Canning sent to Agre.

HEleventh of April, 1612, we crossed the Equinoctiall: foule weather eight daies together, wind and raine. *Soldania* sheepe are hairy: the Bees lifeless, and moile lanes, the people *Negros*, woolly pates, flat nosed, very straight of body: they are hairy but one stone a peece; the other is cut when they are young: apparelled with a skin about their shoulders, which reacheth downe to the waffe; the skin of a Ratte before their pates, and another on their bumme, else naked: some capps of leather close to their pates, and shooles to their feet, much broader and longer then their feet: their armes very small: Lances with heads artificially made: Bowes and Arrows of little or no force: they are very expert in throwing their Darts, wherewith they kill many fish in the Sea: they wear about their neckes gages of sheepe and oxen, smiling, which being hungry they eate; and would kramble for our gage like dogges, and eate it raw and foule.

The six and twentieth of Iuly, they had sight of Saint Lawrence. The thirteenth of August, crossed the Equinoctiall, temperate weather: on the thirtieth, they saw Snakles in the Sea in eightene degrees and a half, one and thirte min. white water at nineteene fathoms. The first of September, they saw land. The second, anchor against *Daman* Towne, inhabited and conquered by *Portugals*. The Fluxe infected them all that remained on land at *Surat*. Master *Adam* was sicke forty daies. Strangers here present any Inhabitants of fashon whom he viisit; and they returne presents. Notwithstanding Sir *Henry Middleton* taking their ships in the Red Sea, yet they promised vs good dealing, considering else they must burne their ships (said *Middleton*, one of the chief Merchants of *Surat*) and give over their trade by Sea. Impossible it was to make any trade at *Surat*, by reason of *Portugall* Frigates in the Rivers mouth. Therefore the General repaired with his ships to *Swally*, whence he might by land goe and come without danger.

The third of October, *Shah Shuffe*, Governor of *Amadan*, chief Critic of *Portugals*, came to *Surat*, and so to *Swally*, and agreed vpon Articles. Master *Canning* had been taken by the *Portugals*, but the Vice-Roy comma'd to let him adioyne at *Surat*, saying, Let him goe helpe his Country-men to fight, and then we will take their ship, and the rest of them altogether. But the *Portugals* made an escape, and so came to vs on land: Master *Canning* was taken on shore at *Surat*, according to promise, and so went aboard. And the same day, being the twentieth ninth of October, the four *Portugall* Gallions, with a whole Fleet of Frigates, came in fight. The General, after words of encouragement, met them, and neuer shot one shot, till hee came betwene their Admirall and Vice-Admirall, gaue each a broad side, and a volley of small shot, which made them come no more neare for that day. The other two ships were not as yet come vp; and the *Hollanders* could not get cleare of her anchors, and shot not one shot that day. The evening all came to an anchor in light of others; and the next morning remoued their fight. The *Hollanders* beate the former *Portugals* dayes doing nothing: the *Dragons* drove three of them on ground, and the *Hollanders* daunted the Hay about them, so that they durst not shew a man vpon the Hatches. In the after-noon they got aloofe with the flood, and fought till night; then anchored, and lay still the next day.

The next day after, the *Dragons* drawing much water, and the Bay shallow, remoued to the other side of the Bay, rode at *Mendafoby*, where all that time *Sarder Cham*, a great Noble-man of the *Mogolls*, with two thousand Horse, was besieging a Castle of the *Rachaboches* (which were before the *Mogolls* Conquest, the Nobles of that countrey; now hung by robbery). He presented our General with a horse and furniture, which he againe gaue to the Governor of *Agre*, a Port Towne to the West of *Surat*. After ten dayes stay here, the *Portugals* laing retched, came thither to our ships. *Sarder Cham* counselled to fight: but the General claied the *Portugals* in four hours, slaying them all of sight: before thousands of the countrey people, *Sarder Cham* relating this to the King (after the Castle razed): to his admirall, w^{ch} I thought need like the *Portugals* at sea. The suen and twentieth of December, we returned to *Swally*, having lost three Sailer, and one mans arme shot off: *Portugals* caught others at hundred and fixtie; we report three hundred and odd.

The thirteenth of January, I was entertained by *F. F.* and bound to the Company in foure hundred pound. The ship departed the eighteenth of January, the Gallions after offering one shot. *Anthony Starkey* was sent for England. Master *Canning* was sent to *Agre* on the sixteenth of January, with many sickles, sent by the countrey, who had him in the belly with an Arrow, and another *English* man to row the arme, and killed and hax many of his Prisons. He was cured before his arrival at *Agre*. Two of his *English* fell out with him and returned, leaving two *Muslimans* only to attend him. The ninth of April he returned, the tenth presented

sent the King with our Kings Letter, and a Present of little value. He asked if our King sent that present: who answered, it was sent by the Merchants. The King graced him with a cup of wine from his owne hands, and referred him to *Morack Chan*. One of the *Muslimans* dyed, and was buried in the *Portugall* Church-yard, whom they spoke vpon a d^{ly} buried in the high-way: but vpon complaint, were compelled by the King to bury him there againe, threatening to turne them all out of his Countrey, and their buried bodies out of their Church-yard.

After this Master *Canning* wrote of the feare he was in to be poisoned by the Iesuits, and therefore desired that I might come vpon a lift him; which amongst vs at *Surat* was concluded. The nine and twentieth of May, 1613, he dyed: and so Master *Kerdge* went the two and twentieth of Iune, I should haue been sent by the way of *Mocha* to England, but the Master of the ship which went, said it was impossible, except I were circumcised, to come neare *Mecca*.

The thirteenth of October, 1613, the ship returned, and our Mellenger came, notwithstanding their late palle at the Baire of *Surat*, by the *Portugall* Armada of Frigates, worth an hundred thousand pound, with teuen hundred persons going to *Gua*. This is like to be their overthrow here, for no *Portugall* might passe without a letre, nor in, nor out. Merchants of *Surat* are by this means impoverished, and our goods left in our hands: with which we went to *Amadabar*, *John Allen* which had rune from Sir *Henry Middleton* to the *Portugals*, came now to vs, told vs of diuers their Townes belged by the *Decans*, and other neighbouring *Moors*: in so much that they were faine to fend away many hundreds of *Banians*, and many others that dwelt amongst them, for want of victuals: three Barks of which came to *Surat*, and diuers others to *Cambaya*. Their weaknes in fight with vs caused all this, *Robert Claxson* of the *Dragons*, fled to *Portugall* for feare of punishment, and came to vs with an *Almayne*, which had been slaine in *Turkie*. *Robert Johnson* came to the *Portugals*, and thence intending to vs, palling thorow the *Decan* Countrey, was periwaded by another *English* man, which was turned *Moore*, and liued there: and was circumcised, and received ten shillings pence a day of the King and his diet at the Kings table: But eight dayes after his Circumcision he died. *Robert Truly*, the *Musliman* in *Agre*, not agreeing with Master *Kerdge*, went to the King of *Decon*, and carrying with him a *German* for interpreter, offered both to turne *Moore*. *Truly* had in his Circumcision a new name given, with great allowance from the King, with whom he continues. But the *German* farmer, who was in *Perfia*, now thought to deceiue the *Decan*, but was not entertained: he returned to *Agre*, and I ferueth a *French* man, and goeth to *Masse* againe. *Robert Claxson* also turned *Moore*, at the *Decan* Court had good allowance: but not content, came to *Surat*, and provoked pique with seeming penitence, but getting some fortie and odd pounds, vnder pretence of buying commodities, gaue them the slip, and returned whence he came. So there are foure *English* with the *Decan*, and diuers *Portugall* *Moors*.

The teuen and twentieth of October, 1613, we received letters from *Mesulaputan* of Master *Gurney*, written by Captaine *Marlo* of the *James*, of their arrival and trade. From *Surat* I went to *Periano* three Courtes to *Cyumbay* a little Village 10 c. *Barecho* 10 c. a prettie Citie on a high hill, compassed with a wall, a great River running by, as broad as Thames; diuers shippes of two hundred tonnes and odder there liding: best Calices in the Kingdom, filds of Cotton, to *Surga* 40 c. to *Carron* 10 c. to *Beldia* a little Citie then *Barecho*, but faire built, a strong wall, and three thousand horie vnder *Musjiff Chan*: to *Wassich* a River 10 c. where *Musjiff* was ready to fight with the *Rachaboches* or *Rudgopats*, that lay on the other side the River: the chiefe of the of the race of the old Kings of *Surat*: to *Nirand* 14 c. a great Towne where they make Indico. To *Amadabar* 10 c. chiefe City of *Guzerat*, neare as great as *London*, walled with a strong wall, situate in the Plain by the River side, store of Merchants *Moors*, *Christians*, *Hethens*: Commodities are Indicoes, Cloath of gold, silver Tuffes, Yllets (not comparable to ours) Taitates, Gum-buck, coloured Buffates, Drugges, &c. *Abdulation* Gouernour, a man of the thousand here: pay. I went from thence to *Cambaya*, teuen Courtes to *Barengos* where every Tuesday the *Citty* of *Cambaya* meets, and so keepe company for feare of theues. Hence fixtene Courtes to *Sopatera*, a fine Towne well manned with soldiers. Departed at midnight, and about eight of the clocke next morning came 10 c. to *Cambaya*.

In November, we rode to *Serkeffe*, three Courtes from *Amadabar*, where are the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Guzerat*, a very delicate Church and faire Tombs, which are kept very comely, much resort to visite them from all parts of the Kingdom: a courte off is a pleasant *Mogoll* Nobilitie built in memoriall of the great victory which he got of the last King of *Guzerat*, whom he took prisoner, and fabricated his Kingdom, the battell being fought in this place. No man dwells in this house, but a few poore men keepe the Orchard. We lodged one night in it, and sent for fix *Father*-men, who in half an hour took vs more shillings then our company could eate.

The eight and twentieth of November, we had news at *Amadabar* of three *English* that arrived at *Lorribander*, the Port Towne of *Guta Neger* *Tatta*, chiefe Citie of *Sindh*. A *Portugall* Iesuit at *Amadabar* made poore, by the *Portugals* misabatement, begged of our Agent, who gaue him ten Rupias. I was sent thither, and the thirteenth of December came to *Cyumbay*, where

M. fr. Canning poisoned by the Iesuits.

Portugall pizilla.

Fugitives and Runnaways.

A description of his journey by Indicoes the Mogoll Countrey, his a d^{ly} for guard against thieves.

A Courtes a mile and half English.

Tatta, M. fr. Canning was a d^{ly}.

A Town of
common wo-
men.

Salt water.

Anarchy with
Tyranny.

Saravah within
145. of Tutta.
Of the things
see in Poyson
Voyage.

Abu of Sir
Rob. Sherif.

Treachorous
robbery.
Wich, whith-
en robbed and
sent by way.

Robbed again.

1614.

Large River.

where I encountered a *Caribola*, travelling to *Radenpore*, six days journey on my way, fourteen to *Callalony*, a faire *Cattle*: thence 7. to *Callalona*, a pretty Village, which *Echar* gave to a company of women, and their posterity: for ever, to bring up their children in dancing, & they did it in our Caravan, every man giving them somewhat; and then they openly asked if any wanted a bed-fellow. The sixteenth 8. to *Carrya*, where is a well manned Fortesse, and the eighteenth (51 which, for fear of thees, we fled for another Caravan) to *Decacuan*, our Camell route, and a man flane. The nineteenth 10. to *Bellala*, a Fort kept by *Nemick Abram Cabrate*, for the *Mogol*, who that day came with an hundred sixtie nine heads of the *Conies* (a robbing people). The twentieth 13. to *Sariandgo*, a Fort. The one and twentieth 10. to *Radenpore*, a bigge Towne with a Fort. Here we stayed to provide vs of water and necessaries for our desert journey: and the three and twentieth travelled 7. and lay in the fields, met a Caravan robbed of all from *Tutta*. The four and twentieth 15. dispatched one of my Pions to *Lombarbour* with a Letter, which promised to doe it in ten dayes; but I thinke was flaine. The five and twentieth 14. lodged by a well of water so faire, that our cattell could not drinke it. The six and twentieth 10. to such another well, there gave our Camells water, not lauing drunke in three dayes.

The seven and twentieth, 14. lodged in fields. The eight and twentieth, 10. to a Village called *Negar Parkar*. In this desert we saw great flocks of wild Ailes, red Deere, Foxes, and other wild beasts. The nine and twentieth, we staid and met with an other Caravan, robbed within two dayes journey of *Tutta*. The thirtieth, we departed from *Parkar*, which payes a yearly tribute to the *Mogol*: all hence till *Juno*, halfe a dayes journey from *Tutta*, acknowledge no King, but rob and spare at pleasure. When any army of the *Mogols* comes against them, they fire their houfles, and flee into the Mountains: their houfles are made of straw and mortarlike Bee-hives, foune rebulid. They take for custome what they please, and guard Passengers, being loath any but themselves should have the robbing of them. We travelled 6. and lay by a Tanke or Pond of fresh water. The thirty one 8. and lay in the fields by a brackish Well.

The first of January, we went 10. to *Burdano*, many were sicke of this water, we provided vs yet of it for four dayes, and travelled more the second 18. all night. The third in the afternoon till midnight 10. the fourth 12. Here I fell sicke, and vomited by reason of the water. The fifth 7. and came to three Wells, two salt, one sweetish. The sixth, to *Nuragimire* a pretty Towne 10. Here our *Radenpore* company left vs. We remained, two Merchants, my selfe, five of their servants, four of mine, with tenne Camels, five Camel-men. This Towne is within three dayes of *Tutta*, and seemed to vs after our Desert a Paradise. We agreed with one of the *Rages* or *Governours* kinned for twenty Laries (twenty shillings) to conduct vs, who departed with vs the eighth, and we travelled 10. to *Gondastan*, where we had bene robbed but for our guard. The ninth, we were twice set on, and forced to give each time five Laries: wee came to *Saravah*, a great Towne of the *Rachbooches*, with a Castle, whence it is 14. to *Tutta*. We visited the *Governour Rages Booma*, eldest sonne to *Sultan Bulbul* (who lately captivated by the *Mogol*, had his eyes pulled out, and two Moneths before this had eked) now living in the Mountains, and caught all his kinned to revenge. This *Rages* was kind to me as a stranger, asking many questions of our Country, made me sup with him, gave me Wine till he was flared. A *Baniar* here told me, how Sir *Robert Sherif* had been much abused by the *Portugals*, and *Governour at Lombarbour*, his house fired, men hurt in the night; and arriving at *Tutta* thirteene dayes journey thence, *Abu of Sir Rob. Sherif* vied him vnikindly. He aduised to get this *Rages* to guide vs, told of the great trade of *Tutta*, the chiefest that he had seene, and that a fluppe of three hundred Tunne might come to *Lombarbour*.

We hired the *Rages* for fortie Laries with fifty horsemen to the gates of *Tutta*: and on the eleventh departed from *Saravah* 5. and lay by a Rivers side. At two in the morning we departed, and he led vs a contrary way, and came about break of day into a Thicket, where he made vs vnloose, then caused vs to be bound, and tooke our weapons from vs, suddenly hanged the Merchants and their five men, with their Camels ropes fastened about their neckes with a Truncheon; and threw them into a hole they made in the earth. He tooke from me my horse, and eightie Rupias, sent me and my men 20. vp the Mountains to his brothers, January the fourteenth, where I continued two and twentie dayes till v. p. February the sixteenth, order came to send me to *Parkar* to the *Governour* of their kinned, to send me to *Radenpore*. But I was robbed by them in the way of all my clothes, and all I had. February the twenty eight, we begged for our victuals, finding the inhabitants charitable: for my horse (which not being worth the taking, they left me) I could get but foure Mamoodies, or foure shillings: but chancing on a *Baniar* of *Amadabar* whom I had knowne, I was releued with my men. We were five dayes between *Parkar* and *Radenpore*, whither I came March nineteenth. I came to *Amadabar*, April the second, being absent one hundred and eluen dayes. Thence I went to *Broda*, *Barenge* thence 16. to *Soputera*, 10. to *Cambaya*: then the large River 7. course broad, yearly swallowing many hundreds to *Sauran*. On the other side the River is a Towne and Castle of the *Rachbooches*. The sixteenth of April, I travelled 25. to *Borocho*: the sixteenth, passed that River, and 16. to *Cassimbar*: the eighteenth, 13. to *Sarat*.

Concerning *Sinda*, no Cite is by generall report of greater trade in the *Indies* then *Tutta*, the chiefest Port *Lombarbour*, three dayes journey from it; a faire roade without the Rivers mouth, cleare of Wormes, which about *Sarat* especially, and in other places of the *Indies*, after three or foure Moneths riding (if it were not for heathing) would hinder retorne. The Ports and Roads of *Sinda* are free. In two Moneths from hence by water they goe to *Lahor*, and retorne in one downe. There are theif Commodities, Baffies, Stuffs, Lawnes, *Indico comfo*, not so good as *Biana*. Goods may be coueied from *Agra* on Camels to *Buckey* twenty dayes, which is on *Sindia* River, thence in fifteene or sixteene dayes aboard the ships. One may goe (some from *Agra* to *Sinda* as *Sarat*, but there is more theueing, which the *Mogols* likees to prevent.

Inhabitants of *Sinda* are most *Rachbooches*, *Baniars*, and *Boloches*: in Cities and all great Townes, the *Governours* are *Mogols*. The Country people are naked, naked from the waist upwards, with Turbants contrary to the *Mogol* fashion. Their Armes, Sword, Buckler, and Lance; their Buckler great, in fashion of a Bee-hive, in which they will give their Camels drinke, and Horses prouender, their hories good, swift, strong, which they ride vnhol, most desperately. They back them at twelve Moneths old. The *Mogols* sayes, the *Rachbooch* knowes as well to die as any in the world. They eat no Beete nor Bullof, but pray to them.

The *Baniars* kill nothing: there are thirte and odder severall Casts of theif: that differ something in Religion, and may not eat with each other, but all burne their dead. When the husband dies, the wife thaus her head, and wears her iewels no more, to continuing till death. When the *Rachbooch* dies, his wife accompanies his bodie going to be burned, in her belt arrey, accompanied with her friends and kinned, and Musique, and the fire being made at the place appointed, compasseth the same twice or thrice, bewailing first her husbands death, and then rejoicing that the shill now live with him againe, after which, embracing her friends, she lassy fits downe on the top of the pile, and dry sticks, taking her husbands hand in her lap, and bids them put fire, which done, her friends throw oile and other sweet perfumes on her, the endur the fire with admirable patience, loose and not bound. I have seene many, the first in *Sarat*, the woman but tenne yeeres old, a Virgin, her a Soule in flame in warr, from whence his clothes and Turbante were brought home. She would needs burne with his clothes; the *Governour* forbade her, which she tooke grievously, bidding them put to fire presently, her husband was a great wealthy before: which they durst not, till her kinned interposed, with a Precinct gium, the *Governours* licence, to her exceeding ioy. The husbands kinned neuer force this, but the womans holding it a disgrace else to their family. They may choofe, (but few doe) but then must haue their haire, and brake their iewels, and thenceforth are not suffered to eat, drinke, sleepe, or company with any body, and to continue till death. If after purpose to burne they leape out of the fire, her father and mother will bind her, and thrower in, and burne her perforce. But this weakende is seldom.

The *Boloches* are of *Mahomet's* Religion. They deale much in Camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the River, murdering such as they rob. When I was in *Sinda*, they tooke a boat with *Kuen Italiano*, one *Portugall* Friar, the rest flane in sight, this was ripped by them for

Gold. There are very honest of them in *Guerat*, and about *Agra*.

Baniar marriages are made at the age of three yeares, and vnder; sometimes they make mutual promise if two pregnant women proue to haue one a male, the other a female. But alwayes one of their owne cast and religion, and of the same trade, as a Barber, &c. When they be three or foure yeeres old, they make a great Feast, set the two thus espoused on horsebacke (a man behind each to hold them) in their best clothes, accompanied with the *Bramens* or Priests, and many others according to their state, and to lead them vp and downe the Cite where they dwell, and then to the Pagod or Church; and after Ceremonies there done, come home, continue certain dayes fasting, as they are able. Being tenne yeeres old they tie together of which they give this reason, not to leaue them wickeless, if their Parents die and leaue them Parentsless. Their *Baniars* must keepe their Pagods, and haue Almes or Tithes, esteemed marvellous holy, married and follow occupations, good workemen, apt to learne any patterne. They eat but once a day, and wash before and after meat all their bodies, as also after vrine or stoule.

John Midcall an *Englishman* had bene employed with three *English* young men, which hee poisoned in *Perfia*, to make him selfe Master of the goods, but he was likewise poisoned, yet by preferencie liued many Moneths after, but swelled exceedingly, and I came to *Agra*, with the death of twenty thousand dollars: thence therefore I went, May the fourth, 1614, from *Sarat* came to *Brampore* where *Sultan Peraz* lies, situate in a plaine, the River of *Sarat* running by in a great breadth, having a large Castle. Hence to *Agra* twenty five dayes, between *Sarat* and *Agra* are fouen hundred comites, to a *English* mile, which I travelled in feuen and thirty dayes in Winter, wherin it is almost continually rained. From *Sarat* to *Brampore* is a pleasant and champaign Country, full of Rivers, Brookes, and Springs. Betwene *Brampore* and *Agra*, very Mountamous, not passable for a Coach, hardly for Camels; by *Mandi* is the nearest way: there are high hills and strong Castles in the way many Townes and Cities every dayes journey, well inhabited, the Country peaceable, and cleare of thees.

Midd.

Jesuites.

Middleall had given all to a Frenchman, to marry his bastard-daughter in Persia, and bring up an other.

The Jesuites have a very faire Church built by the King, and a house: the King allows the chief seven Rupas, and the rest thirty, with licence to convert as many as they can: which they doe, but alas, it is for monies sake. For when by the fist of the *Portugalle*, they were debarred of their pay, their new converts brought them their heads againe, saying, they had bene long without their pay, and therefore would be Christians no longer. The *Portugalle* not delivring the goods taken in *Sarat*, the King caused the Church-doors to be locked up, as they have continued ever since: to the *Pades* make a Church of one of their Chambers, where they lay Maile twice a day, and preach every Sunday in *Persian*, first to the *Armenians* and *Moors*; after in *Portugalle*, for themselves, the *Italians* and *Greeks*. There told me the particulars of *Middleall* goods, who gave all to a French Protestant, himselfe a Papist, which he denying, was put in prison. After four Moneths all were delivered.

The second of March, 1614, tenne Gallions, two Gallies, sixtie Frigates fight.

Between *Agimere* and *Agra* every tenn couste (which is an ordinarie dayes journey) a *Seralia*, or place of lodging for man and horse, and Hostesses to drisse your victuall, if you please, paying a matter of three pence for both horse and meat dressing. Betweene these places (120 c.) at every couste end is a great pillar erected, and at every tenn couste a faire house built by *Eche*, when he went on Pilgrimage from *Agra* to *Agimere* on foot, saying his prayers at every couste end. These houses serve the King and his women, none else. This King lies in *Agimere*, upon occasion of warres with *Kabina* & *Razob*, who hath now done homage, and peace is betweene them.

Pilgrimage.

Ganges.

Agra.

I rode to the River *Ganges*, two dayes from *Agra*. The *Baniams* carry the water of *Ganges* many hundred miles thence, and as they asseme, it will neuer thicke, though kept neerer longer. By *Agra* runnes a large river *Gomatie*. *Agra* is a huge Towne, the wall two couste in compass, highest and highest that ever I saw, well replenished with Ordnance: the rest (except Noble-mens houses, faire seated by the river) minous. The amient royal seat was *Fatipoore* (twelve couste from *Agra*) now decayed. Betweene these two, the Sepulchre of the Kings Father, to which is none that ever I saw to be compared. And yet the Church of *Fatipoore* comes neerer it, builded by Geometry as is the other.

The four and twentieth of May, 1616, we in our returne entered the Bay of *Soldania*, where were divers *Englishe* ships outward bound, the *Charles*, *Viscones*, *James*, *Globe*, *Swan*, the General was *Bentamin Joseph*.

The fifteenth of September, we arrived at *Dowr*.

CHAP. IX.

The eleventh Ruyage to the East-India in the Salomon, begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1611. after the account of the Church of England, and ended in the yeere 1613. Written by RALPH WILSON, one of the Maties in the said ship.

February 1. 1611.



He first of February 1611, we set saile from *Graveend*, being four ships, the *Dragon*, the *James*, the *Salomon*, and the *Hofander*; being counted as three severall Voyages: the *James* the ninth; the *Dragon* and *Hofander* the tenth; and we were in the *Salomon* the eleventh. The reason was, because we were directed to severall parts of the *East-India*.

In our course between the Iles of the *Canaries*, and the Iles of *Capo Verde*, we must steere a more Westerly course, then that which the *Plats* lay downe, without they be *Portugall* *Plats*, which lay it a quarter of a point more then the truth is.

The feuen and twentieth of April, we in *Salomon* desired an Iland in the North Latitude of nineteen degrees, four and thirty minutes, and is bare from vs, South-east one third part South, fifteen leagues off. This Ile is a place, which in my opinion yieldeth water, and fish in great abundance: the Sea-fowle were so many, that our people in the galleries of our ship might strike them downe, they were so tame. To the Eastward of this Ile lie two Ilands more, one about the bigneite of the first, the other a great Ile, By these Iles we found a Current, which setteth to the Northward.

The eight and twentieth of June, we departed from *Soldania*. I would advise them which go forth of *Soldania* Bay, with the wind at East, or South-east, to get off some pretie distance from the land, before they hale vp to the Southward: for if they doe otherwise, the high land will take their wind from them. And if a man should be becalmed, he should very much be troubled: for most commonly thereabout you shall meete a mightie Westerne Sea. Secondly, the streame

Anew Iland discovered in 19. degrees 34. minutes Southerly. *Serra Maria d'Alola*. The Ile of *Martin* Desc.

setteth to the shore-ward, if the wind have been at the North North-west, West or South-west. And thirdly, the shoare is neeld to; so that a man cannot anchor.

The sixt of October, wee met a great Current setteth to the Northwards, when wee were within one degree of the Equinotiall.

The twelfth, wee met with a great deale of rubbish, as Canes, Sties, and many other things, which usually are on the shoare about *Sumatra*.

The sixteenth, drave by our ship rubbish, as Rock-weeds, Canes, branches of trees, the huskes of Coco Nuts, and such like.

The seventeenth at noone, drave by vs a bed of rubbish, which was at least two miles long: it lay North North-west, and South South-east, and drave off West South-west.

The eighteenth in the morning, we desired land, which lyeth by *Celeber* in the Ile of *Sumatra*, which Towne of *Celeber* standeth about three degrees of Southerly latitude.

The leuen and twentieth, wee had a Current setteth to the Southward. The nine and twentieth, the fall hill, or Ile bare East North-east fixteene or eighteen leagues from vs.

The first of November, at six of the clocke at night, we were shot within the fall Ile.

The second at noone, coming betweene the Land of *Iana* and a ragged Ile, which lyeth to the Westward of the point of *Palmham*, we met a great tide running out, so fast, that we could scarce heeme it with a stiffe gale of wind. And afterward the wind slackt, so we chipped to an anchor, and then I found that tide to runne three leagues and an halfe in a watch. Here I have noted, that the tide or streame keepeth no course, but in the day time setteth out, and in the night time in. This day at noone, the point of *Palmham* bare North-east by East three leagues off.

From thence to the Road of *Bantam* is five leagues; South South-east one third part Easterly. So the longitude of *Bantam* is an hundred fortie five degrees, two minutes. The latitude six degrees, ten minutes. The variation three degrees. This Longitude of an hundred fortie five degrees, and two minutes, is somewhat to Easterly for the Road of *Bantam*. But for the first sailing with the land, for an hundred fortie four degrees is the truest longitude for *Bantam* from the Iland of *Flores*.

The eighteenth, nine failes of *Hollander* came into the Road, and the other two, which went our the day before, came with them to *Palo Pasion*: they had refreshed themselves at the Ile of *Majacenebas*, which stand in one and twentie degrees and an halfe of South latitude. Of which place they gave singular commendations for great plenty of refreshing which they found there.

The tenth of March, at five of the clocke in the afternoon, in the latitude of twentie degrees, four and thirtie minutes, we desired land, which bare North-east, halfe a point North-east, nine leagues off: the South-east part is somewhat high, but falleth downe with a low point; the West part is not very high, but flat and smooth towards the end of it, and falleth right downe. This Ile is very full of shoals and broken ground, the Souther and Wester parts: for we discovered neither of the other sides. By all likelihood it seemeth to have good refreshing on it: the longitude of this Ile is an hundred and four degrees from *Flores*, but by my computation an hundred and seven degrees; but in these courses we rely not altogether on our reckonings, using as much diligence for the finding out the true longitude, as possibly wee may, it being a maine point to give vs light to other helpes.

The tenth, we sight of the Land of *Diego Rois*. The fourteenth in the morning, we desired land, which was part of the Ile *Do Ceme*, which the *Hollander* call the Ile of *Mauritius*. There is an Iland that lyeth from the maine Ile four leagues off; and two other small Iles ten leagues off. We found a league and a halfe off, but found no ground at fortie fathoms. When you are thwart of the Road, the hill with three pikes will beare South-east.

The sixteenth, at six of the clocke in the morning, we desired the Ile *Do Majacenebas*. There is a breach which lyeth four miles off, and lyeth three leagues long; and here is very good refreshing. The Ile *Mauritius* hath longitude nineteen nine degrees, latitude twentie degree, fifteen minutes. The Ile *Do Majacenebas* hath longitude nineteen fifteen degrees, and latitude one and twentieth degrees, no minutes.

The second of April, 1613, about seven of the clocke it began to lighten, continuing with which mightie great flashes, as I never saw the like, untill cleare, and then it began to rain, or pounce downe mightily, and on a sudden became flat and calme: and in less then a quarter of an houre, a barigale at South-west, blowing for the time, which was not long, as much as it did before, at North-east. By these two contrary winds the sea grew to exceeding lottie, that our ship strucke into the sea about, as if the galleries would have flowne off. About twelue of the clock the wind went to the South, and on a sudden vp at the North-east againe. Our sailes were split, so as we had little moving.

The twelfth of June, we desired the Ile of *Assensim*. This Ile hath shoals lying on the West part, at five or six miles off.

The one and twentieth, we had a great tripling of the sea, in the feuen and twentieth degrees of North latitude, which came out of the Easter-board like a fresh out of a River, like many fountaines or whalewinds.

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October 6.

They desire *Sumatra*, *Ukutan* or *Celeber*.

November 1.

Excellent refreshing at the Ile *Do Majacenebas*.

March 7.

An Ile discovered in twenty degrees, four and thirtie minutes.

The Iland of *Diego Rois*, 15. Ile of *Ceme*, or *Mauritius*.

The Ile *Do Majacenebas*.

April 1. 1613.

June 10. The Ile of *Assensim*.

The

August 6.

The sixth of August we had great riplings or over-falls of the Sea. The fourteenth day, being in thirte eight degrees fiftie nine minutes North latitude, we had great riplings of the Sea; which made a noyle, as if water had runne out of a fluce: they came out of the North-east.

CHAP. X.

A Iournall of all principall masters passed in the twelfth Voyage to the East-India, observed by me WALTER PAYTON, in the good ship the Expedition: the Captaine whereof was M. CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, being set out, Anno 1612. Written by WALTER PAYTON.

p. I.

Their coming to Saint Augustine, Mohelia, and diuers parts of Arabia.

The seuenth of Ianuarie we set sail from *Gravefend* for the East-India, in the good ship, the Expedition of London, being about the burthen of two hundred and fixtie runnes: which carryeth in her thirte fixe persons, besides the *Portian* Amballadour and his followers, who are in number fifteene, which we had order to receive into our ship, to be transported in to the Kingdome of *Persia*, at the costs and charges of the Worlshipfull Company aforesaid. The names of the Amballadour, and his people, are these, Sir *Robert Sherley*, the Amballadour, *Tersha*, his Ladie, a *Circassian*, Sir *Thomas Powell*, *Tomas* his Ladie, *Leyls*, a *Persian* Woman, *Morgan Powell*, Gentleman, Captaine *Iohn Ward*, *Francis Bulb*, Secretarie, *Iohn Barber*, Apothecarie, *Iohn Herriot*, Multitioner, *Iohn Georgson*, Goldsmith and Hollander, *Gabriel*, an olde *Armenian*, *Naserbege*, *Scanderbege*, *Melher*, all *Persians*.

Comie land.

The sixte and twentieth of April, 1613. in the morning, we fell with a part of the land of *Aethiopia*, whereunto, close adioyning, is an Iland of small compasse, called *Comie land*, being a very low land, and inuironed about with many dangerous Rockes, to Sea-ward: and standeth in the latitude of thirte three degrees, and thirte minutes. The wind taking vs short, we were inforced to come to an anchor betwixt this Iland and the Main: where we had very good ground in nineteen or twentie fathom water: Here we sent our Schiffe a-borde to the Iland, where we found *Penguins*, wild Geese, and other Fowles, & Seale-fishes in great abundance, whereof we tooke for our refreshing, as much as we would. By a canard boord, we perceived the *Hollanders* had beene there, who made great store of the raine Oyle of the Seales, as it should seeme, for their necessary spending, outward bound. They left their Implements wherewith they wrought, and a grea. Copper Caldron, standing vpon a Furnace, full of traine: all which we left as we found, This hauing spent two dayes at an anchor, and the wind fauouring vs to proceed, we left sail from hence for *Cape Bone Spei*.

The Bay of Saldanha.

The thirtieth day, by Gods grace, we arrived at *Saldanha*, where we found riding at an anchor fixe ships, whereof two *English*, namely, the *Helior* and the *Thomas*, and other foure were *Hollanders*: all bound homeward. Here we watered and refreshed our felus very well, with reasonable store of that Countrey sheepe, and Bullockes, which we bought, and fresh fish which we caught with our Sayne.

Cape de Arica.

Variation five degrees.

The tenth of May, 1613. the *Pepper-corne* arrived here at *Saldanha*, also bound homeward. Shee hauing beene long out, was not very well fitted with necessaries, which wee supplied out of our small store, so much as we could spare: who also dispatched and was readie to set sail with the first faire wind, which was, on the fifteenth of May, from whence we set sail all together, out of the Bay, taking our leaue each of other, according to the common fashion of the Sea, directing our course for Saint Augustine. And in our way we had sight of *Cape de Arica*, being part of the mayne land of *Aethiopia*; and findeth in the latitude of thirte three degrees twentie five minutes, the Compasse varying there fixe degrees and nine minutes, which was on the foure and twentieth of this present.

The fifteenth of Iune, we had sight of *Sain: Laurence* Iland, and on the seuenteenth day, we came

came to an anchor, by Port *Augustine* of purpose, to search the founding and way into the Bay, before we entred; because there was none in our ship well acquainted therewith. Which being done, wee entred and came to an anchor, on the eighteenth day in ten fathome water: but our ship rode in fortie fathomes. Here we had wood and water, and great abundance of fresh fish, which we tooke with our Sayne, sufficient to haue satisfied halfe a dozen ships men, if they had beene there. But for flesh, we could get none of the Countrey people, they being as it seemed, fearful of vs, who came to vs once, and promised to bring vs Cattell, the next day in the morning: which I thinke, was rather in malice, to carrie away their Cattell, whereun they employed themselves in the meane time, for they neuer returned to vs againe. We marched vnto into the Woods, with about fortie shot, to see if we would haue met with any of them, to buy some of their Cattell: but wee found none but emptie hoes made of Canes, where wee perceived that people had beene not long before, by the fires which were yet burning, and scales of fish which had beene broyled thereon. Also we perceived the footing, and tracing of many Cattell, which had beene there not long before: so wee returned emptie as we came. This Port *Augustine*, standeth in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirte minutes. The Variation of the Compasse is fifteene degrees fortie minutes.

The entrance into this Port resembleth *Dartmouth*, and to goe in there, you must bring that which is called *Wegmister-Hall*, being new vnlake, North-east by East of you, and so sterre in the East, borrowing a little to the South-side of the Bay, where you shall haue founding thirteene, nine, eight, and seven fathomes water, good ground, till you bee shut within the shoale: and then you haue deepe water, vntill you come to the Road, and then you haue seven, eight, and ten fathomes water. But if you goe in too farre behind the hill on your Starboard side (which resembleth an old Barne) then you shall haue thirte five or fortie fathomes. From hence wee set sail, on the three and twentieth of this present, directing our course for the Iland of *Mohelia*.

The third of Iuly 1613. we had sight of an Iland called *Iuan*, being to the East-ward of *Mohelia* some nine or ten leagues, and bareth from it East and by South. All this day we came to an anchor at *Mohelia*, bewix broken land (which lieth on the South-side) and the Iland. Here we had great store of refreshing and very cheape, for we bought fixe Bullockes in truckes of one *Leuant* Sword: also we bought Goates, Hennes, Pines, Cocker Nuts, Plantanes, Oranges, Limons, and Limes, for Trifles or little Money. One Riail of Plate we paid for a Bullocke, or else ten pieces of foure pence halfe-penie, and so we bought about fortie one head of Cattle, besides other refreshing aforesaid.

The fifth, the Inhabitants of this Iland, are chiefly *Moorees*: but there are *Arabians*, *Turkes* and other Nations amongst them, and are in Warre with the people of *Iuan*, and *Comora* Ilands neere adioyning. They told vs that the King of *Mohelia* dyed the same day, that we came into the Road: and *Phaendomde* his sonne succeeded in his place, being as yet but of tender yeeres, was to raigne vnder protection of his Mother Queene. His Brother-in-law came downe (as a chiefe man accompanied with diuers other men of force) to speake with vs, who had vs very kindly welcome. Both he and many other of the same Iland do speake reasonable good *Portuguese* Language, by reason whereof I had great conference with them, and was resolved in any thing I demanded.

They build Barkes vpon this Iland, and trade with them, amongst the Coast of *Melinde*, and *Arabia*, with slaues and fruits, whereby they furnish themselves with Royals of Plate, and other necessaries. Also I thinke, they haue some Trade with the *Portugals*, but they will not be a knowne thereof, because we should not suspect any treacherous dealings amongst them. They told vs, that we were very welcome, and that the whole Iland was at our command: but if we had bene *Portugals*, they told me, that they would haue put vs all euerie man to the Sword. But howsoever, I hold it not good to repole too much confidence in them. The Kings Brother shewed me a Letter of commendations of the place, left there by an *Hollander*, which was written in *Dutch*: and withall desired vs to leaue another to the same effect, thereby to specifye their honest and kind dealings towards vs, and to shew it vnto others of our Nation, which should come thither after vs: to which we consented, and I made them a Writing accordingly, which was sealed by the Captaine of our ship, expressing therein our good entertainment, and the prices of victuals. But neuerthelesse, with such a Prouill, that our Nation should not trull them any further then in their discretions they should thinke requisite for their owne safeties. They speake a kind of *Aethiopian* Language, which is somewhat difficult to learne, and our enuinnance there short: so that I only tooke notice of these few words following, which are sufficient to call for victuals and fruits, when *Portugals* Language is wanting: and to speale to any of the Countrey people, who vnderstand not the *Portuguese*, &c.

Gimber, a Bull. *cke*, *Buze*, a Goat. *Copo*, an Henne. *Tadde*, Oranges. *Demon*, Limons, *Mage*, Water. *Sorra*, a kind of Drinke. *Queename*, a Pine. *Scasoye*, Cocker Nuts. *Figo*, Plantans. *Cariassa*, Paper. *Suzano*, a Needle. *Arumbo*, Bracelets. *Sowan*, the King.

This Iland standeth in the latitude of twelue degrees ten minutes, and in the Road is good ground

Part of S. Augustine.

Houles made of Canes.

Fifteene deg. 40. minutes variation.

Mohelia Iland neere vnto Comora. Great store of refreshing.

The largeness of the Portugall Tongue.

Mohelia in 12 deg. 10. minutes

ground in forty fathomes water. From hence we set sail on the tenth day (having watered and refreshed our selves very sufficiently, God be thanked) directing our course for the land of *Socatra*.

The lands of
Curia Maria.

The nineteenth, we passed under the Equinoctial line: and on the twentieth fifth day, we had sight of land, which we supposed to have been Cape *Guadafuy*, which lieth at the entrance of the Red Sea: and to thinking to steer for *Socatra*, found it not. Whereupon we were induced to bethinke our selves, where to goe that we might shirke our selves from the cruelty of the Winter in those parts, and also to refresh vs againe. So we determined to saile for the lands of *Curia Maria*, the bodies whereof lie in the latitude of about eightene degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, ouer against the waile of *Arabia Felix*. In our way, we neuer had other weather then fogges, which were so thicke, that we could not discern halfe an *English* mile before vs (being a thing vsuall every yeare in July, August, and part of September.) In all this time, both the Sunne and the Starres were so obscured, that we could not helpe our selves any way by observation: but God being our guide, at length we grasped out the land by our lead, well perceiving the colour of the water to be changed white, and many yellow grassy weeds swimming thereon; we founding still as we sailed, and our first ground was fortie three fathomes. So we neered the land, our founding lessened to twenty two fathomes, where we anchored in very good ground, but could see no land (although we heard the rut of the shore not to be farre off) vntill the next day, which was somewhat cleare weather. And then we sent our Skiffe a shore, to see if they could discover a place of more securitie for our ship to ride in: but by reason of the 20 great Seas which came rowling into the Bay, there went to great a fedge that they could not come neere the shore, and therefore returned at they went: only they had descied a situation of faire houses, built of stone, hard by the Sea side, which seemed to be the City of *Doffar* in *Arabia Felix*. When God had lent vs a little cleare weather, we perceived in high Cape land, on the Wester side of the Bay, the which we discoursed with our Skiffe (at the second time of her going) to be a very good road for all winds, except from East to the South by East (God make vs thankful) for thither we warped in our ship, although with much toyle of our men, being distant fixe or seven leagues from the place where we were.

Doffar a City
on the Coast
of Arabia.

August. 3.
F. At a small
Village.

The third of August, we came to an anchor in the said road, and went ashore with our Skiffe at a little Village, called *Refat*, standing close by the Sea side. The Inhabitants thereof are *Arabians*, and for the most part fishermen, who gave vs very kind intertainment, and told vs all concerning the Countrey, that we desired. Also the chiefe Gouverneur of *Doffar* came down to vs (whose name is *Mohammed Madafar*) and bade vs very kindly welcome, and presented vs with three Bullocks, Sheepe, Goats, Sugarcanes, Hennes, Plantans, and Coco-nuts, and such like. For requittall whereof, we presented him againe, with a fine piece of Damaske doublet, which was greatly by him esteemed: the desiring our friendship as much, as we desired his, and gave vs licence forthwith to come ashore when we would. Also he gave order to have a Market kept at this little Village of *Refat*, purposely for vs to buy any kind of victuals which the Countrey did afford. Their cattell are both deere and leane, and their fresh water is very scarce and bad, and very hard to come by: so that we were enforced to hire people to bring it downe to the sea 40 side in skinner, paying therefore twenty foure shillings sterling, for every five pipes filling. Before our departure from hence, *Mohammed Madafar* desired vs to leave a writing of commendations in his behalf, specifying the good and kind intertainment we had received thereof which was granted: and I made it in parchment, began with great letters, the effect whereof being correspondent to the other writing, before left at *Mohab*, also signed by the Captaine. The Gouverneur sent vs three notes, by him signed, to the end we might send them in several ships, if they should happen to come upon that coast (as we did performe) whereby he might know our ships from others, and to give them intertainment accordingly. This *Cape Refat* standeth in the latitude of sixteen degrees, and thirty eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctiall line, and is good anchorage, in five and an halfe or fixe fathomes water.

Sixteen de-
grees, thir-
tie eight min.

* For Captaine
Hawkins com-
ing away in
distress, and de-
mied trade, the
English wrong-
ed by the Ma-
gin in often
breaking pro-
mise (as before
is shewed) forced
trade at the
Red Sea on his Subjects: which after (least the Sea and Merchantry should be hurt to them) procured the Priviledges
obtained by Captaine *Boyle*, especially being the *English* able to withstand one *Portugall*, whose force held the *Guyana* in *Marina*
subjection, and used their skill at trading with *Englishmen*. The Ile of *Mayra*, in 30 degrees min. variation. Cape *Refat*, at 24
p. 11.

The eight and twentieth, we set sail from hence, directing our course for the coast of *Perlia*, still coasting alongh the *Arabian* shore: for there were our heifard hopes fixed, in setting the Lord Embassador ashore. By reason of the newes, and aduises we heard and received at the Cape *Bona Esperanza*, our expectations were frustrated, both of *Suez*, *Damask*, and all other parts thereabouts.

The second of September, we sailed close by an Island lying alongh the *Arabian* shore called *Mayra*, the body of which standeth in twenty degrees thirte minutes, North latitude, the variation of the Needle being twenty degrees thirte minutes.

The fourth day, we passed the Eastermost part of the *Arabian* land, called *Cape Refat*, standing in the latitude of twenty two degrees, and thirty foure minutes, and nineteen degrees 60 twenty minutes variation.

p. II.

Their coming on the Persian Coast: the treacherie of the Baluches.

The tenth of September, crossing the Gulfe, we had sight of the Coast of *Perlia*, our September. 10.
ship being in the latitude of twenty five degrees and tenne minutes: the variation of the Compasse eighteen degrees thirty minutes: and being some seven leagues off from the shore, we sent our Skiffe with Sir *Thomas Powell*, accompanied with two of the Embassadors *Persians*, together with *Albertus* our Linguist, of purpose to discover the Countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little Village, called *Tafippe*, they spoke with Camell men, and others of the Countrey people, by whom they understood, that that Countrey was called *Gische Maquerona*, and the inhabitants *Baluch*: all living vnder the government of one King, named *Mulick Meirza*, whose chiefe residence was some five or sixe dayes journey from hence, at a Port called *Guader*. And they further told them, that all that Countrey of *Maquerona*, paid yearly Tribute vnto the King of *Perlia*. Also they vnderstanding our intents to land the Embassador, told vs, that by *Mulick Meirza* his conuenance, his Lordship should have safe conduct from *Guader* in nine dayes to *Chirman*, and from thence to *Spahane* in *Perlia*, in eleven dayes. So we layed alongh the Coast, and sent our Skiffe 20 againe a shore on the eleventh of this present, with Sir *Thomas Powell* and others, accompanied as before, both to enquire further of the Countrey, and to see if they could hire a Pilot to direct vs for *Guader*, because we knew not how the Coast did lie. And they lighted on a place called *Tafippe*, about our dayes journey from the other place before we were: where we found the like newes and reports of the people to agree directly with the former, all commending the Port of *Guader* to be our best place of Landing. Whereof we were very glad to heare, promising for the same inter- 30 terminations, with Gods leave, to saile thither with all the speed we might, although we had no Pilot. And in our way, on the thirteenth of this present in the morning, we espied coming from the Eastward, two great Boates called *Toradas*, sayling alongh the shore towards *Ormus*: whereupon, to the end we might have a Pilot out of them, we manned our Skiffe sufficient- 35 ly, of purpose to bring them to our ship (in intreaty did saile): therefore, yet without any intent to hurt or to send them the least discourteise, or to haue sent them away vngriued. But when our Skiffe came vp to them, in stead of answering our mens hailes, they weaved our Skiffe to Lee-ward with a naked Sword, Wherefore our men thinking to feare them, and to make them amaine their files, that of a sudden at randome towards them, for answer whereof, they discharged ano- 40 ther peece at our Skiffe, with halfe an hundred of arrows: to boot: which our men perceiving, they played all their Muskets at them againe: but our Skiffe not able to hold way with them (being so constrained to leave them, and returne to our ship againe, with one man very dangerously hurt with an arrow in his breast, although after recovered. Now we aboard perceiving our Skiffe to be too weak, and returning againe without them, presently hoyle out our long boar, 45 and sent her after them, we following with our ship to enquire to the shore as conveniently we might with safetie. For it importet vs much now to speake with them, whereby we might auoid this fraud of our kindred, and report of vs, in that Countrey; which might haue frustrated our chiefe hopes in landing the Embassador there, being the place whereon we most depended, especially considering how desirte we were of other parts, if this should faile, by reason of our ill. So our long Boar fetching the *Torada* vp, drew them into a Bay, from whence they could not escape, which strooke such a feare into them, that they desperately layd to 50 saile into the Bay, that one of them was cast away vnder the shore; and the other nere vpon follow- ing, had not our men saved her from the breach thereof. All the *Baluch* for the most part leaped aboard, whereof some of them narrowly escaped drowning, and other taken in againe by our men, were brought with the *Torada* aboard our ship, being only nine *Baluch* of about twenty fixe. Who when they came aboard, perceiving them to be of *Guader*, we told them, that we were lay for the losse of their other *Torada*, and that we meant them no harme: but only to speake with them, whereof they were glad to heare (for they thought we had been as mer- 55 ciles as themselves) imputing their losse vnto their own killers. Then we told them, that we were bound to *Guader*, to land a *Persian* Embassador there; and that we would intreat the Master of the Boat, whose name was *Noradam*, to pilot our ship thither, and we would content him for his paynes. To which (knowing himselfe not to be trayd by deual) he yeelded, conditionally that we would let the *Torada* and his men proceede in their Voyage for *Muscat*, which we thought not the lesse of clamour and newes to be spread abroad the Gulfe, of our being there 60 enough the *Portugall* but rather to carry the *Torada* with vs to *Guader*, thereby to make manifest our good dealing towards them. This Pilot perceiving himselfe to be vberged between feare and friendship, vnto him agreed of whom we made very much, and in our way to *Guader* had much conference with him and his men, both concerning the state of the Countrey and King, in touching the passage of the Embassador into *Perlia*, through the same: Their aduise, reports

Septemb. 10.

Tafiquea small
Village.
Baluch.

Tafippe.

Two great
Boates called
Toradas.

One of the
Torada cast
away.

Only nine
Baluch rescued.

and speeches all concurring with the former, in a manner confirmed our hopefull intents, without any dislike.

This *Terrada* was about the burden of fiftene Tunnes, her lading, for the most part, was with all of those parts as Rice, Dates, and Wheat, and such like. They had a *Portugall* path, which they shewed vs, thinking at the first we had beene *Portugals*. The Originall winer of I translated out of the *Portugall* language, because it might be knowne in what subiection the *Portugals* doe keepe all these Country people: without which Paffe, they are not suffered to faile to nor fro, vpon paine both of lode of life, ship, and goods: The Copie whereof followeth, viz.

The Castle of *Mafcat*.

Antonio Pereira de Laferda, Capitaine of the Castle of *Mafcat*, and the Iurisdiction of the same, for his Maestie, &c.

A *Portugall* Palport by Iet, showing how altho' the pictures are owned at sea by them, *Moore*, *Burghers*, and others, *A Baluche*.

All those, to whom these Presents shall be bestowed: Know that I have thought good, to give licence vnto this Terrada, of the burden of fiftie Candies, the Master whereof is Norradim a Moore, and Baluche, and a dweller in Guader, of the age of fiftie yeeres, and carrieth for his defence fower Swords, three Bucklers, five Bows with their Arrows, three Calibres, two Lances, and twelue Oares: That in this manner following declared, five may passe and foyle from this said Port, to Scar, Dobar, Must-macaron, Sinde, Cache, Naguna, Din, Chual, and Cor. In going, he carrieth goods of Candy, as Raisins, Dates, and such like: but not without dispatch first out of the Customs house of this said Port, which shall appeare by a Certificate, written on the back-side hereof. And to performe well the said Voyage, he shall neither carry nor bring any prohibited goods, viz. Steele, Iron, Lead, Tobacco, Ginger, Cloves, of Seilon, and all other things whatsoever prohibited, and not tolerated by the Regiment of his Maestie. And in this manner shall the said Terrada make her Voyage, without let or hinderance of any Generalls, Captaynes, or other of the said Signories Fleete, or Ships whatsoever, which he shall happen to meet withall. And this shall be of force and sufficiency for one whole yeere, in going and coming. If it be expired, then to serue other so long time, as the making hereof.

Gines from the said Castle of Mafcat, this sixteenth of November, Ann. Dom. 1611.

I Antonio de Freitas, Notary of this said Valloria, have written this, &c.

Sealed and Signed,

ANTONIO PEREIRA.

The Certificate written on the backe side hereof is this: viz.

Registered in the booke of Certificates, in Folio xxxij. and so forward.

Signed, ARTH. FREITAS.

September 17.
Juana's Village.

Guader.

The sixteenth of September, we layed by high ragged Cliffe, whereto close adioyning, is a good watering place, at a Village called *Juana*, (as *Norradim* told vs) being about fiftene leagues distant from the Port of *Guader*, to the Westside thereof, which beareth North of you. Also, vpon this day in the evening, we arrived at *Guader*, and anchored at the Ports mouth vntill the next day in the morning; where, about thirty Boates came out of *Guader* to fish. Some of them came to speake with the *Baluches*, which we had aboard; but what they said was spoken in *Baluche* language, and therefore not by vs vnderstood. So betimes this morning, we cleared our *Baluche* Pilot, with his Boat and men; and told him, that when he would come aboard againe, hee should be satisfied for his paines: and so hee departed, being very well contented therewith.

And presently after, the Ambassadour sent one of his *Persians*, named *Naserebeg*, alhoare in our Skiffe, with a message to the chiefe Gouernour concerning his landing, and passing thorow that Countrey into *Persia*: who by the way was met with the Gouernours Boat, coming aboard our ship, into which *Naserebeg* was taken out of our Skiffe, and went with them alhoare to performe his message, according to direction, being accompanied with many people vnto the Gouernours Tent. Where, hee hauing delivered his message to the said Gouernour in the *Persian* language (which is as well vnderstood there, as their owne) was very much made of, and kindly entertained. The answer of which message by the Gouernour, was, that although that Countrey of *Macquerona* was not the King of *Persia's*; yet they did acknowledge a kind of duttill loie vnto his Maieity and that they had been Tributaries vnto him and his Predecessors for many yeeres past, as they were now at present. Also, he further said, that the King of *Macquerona* was the King of *Persia's* Slave, with such like fained and trapping complements, and the Ambassadour should be as welcome, as if he were in the *Persian* Land; only tending by treachery to allure his Lordship alhoare, as by the event it appeared.

This answer being returned by *Naserebeg*, hee had to accompany him aboard (and to confirm the same with addition) about a dozen of the ancientest men there of *Baluches*: who, when they came aboard our ship, saluted the Ambassadour with great Eibimition, both in their Countrey relation, and in their owne: some of them offering to kisse his feete, telling his Lordship, that he was the happiest man alue in coming thither to that place. For, but one day past, the

Vice-Roy

Vice-roy was come downe with a troope of men, to visite a Saint; and therefore his Lordship should be conducted with more life, thorow his Countrey (from the danger of Rebels and Theeves, which were betwene *Guader* and *Persia*) rather to *Charmou* or *Sichon*, and so to *Saghaon*. Also that the Vice-roy would furnish his Lordship with Camels and Horles, and other necessities requisite; and that he would accommodate him with all the meanes he had in his power. And moreover said, that they much reioiced to haue such fit opportunity, to shew their vnfained loie towards the King of *Persia*: and withall, he should be dispatched from *Guader* (if hee would) in two dayes at the furthest: and told vs, for our ship, we should haue both water, and other necessities whatsoever we needed: they bringing then with them three bagges of bruised

Dates, being about three hundred pound weight, with two Goats, and I sent aboard the said ship-boats, that every one of them should find two fishes (vpon the Gouernours account) aboard our ship, who did accordingly. So that, while with their exterior shew of vnfained loie and kindness towards vs, together with all mens speeches (of which enquiry was made, as aforesaid) agreeing so iumpe one with another, wee were thoroughly perswaded, without any kinde of distrust, that they meant vs as well as they said: Especially, the Lord Ambassadour was exceedingly well conceited of them, being ioyfull to arrive in *Persia* in twentie dayes; and wee not fory, in bringing to perfection our long desired hopes. But God, from whose Discreet knowledge the secrets of our hearts can be hidden, knew their contrary meanings towards vs: for had not his Mercy exceeded his Iustice, we had been confirmed, and it neuer could haue been knowne what had become of vs, ship nor goods.

For, hereupon the Ambassadour reloued, and fitted all things in a readinesse, and on the nineteenth of this present, which was the morning following, sent both his money, treasure, and all his baggage alhoare, with the *Baluche* Boats, that came aboard for that purpose. Very truly also they brought a message from the Vice-Roy and Gouernour, that they had provided a Tent for his Lordship, and all his followers, nere adioyning vnto their Tent: and the next day he might come alhoare so loone as he pleased. All things were ready; into which Tent all the Ambassadors goods were caried, and by his order, some of his followers were appointed to remaine with them, vntill his Lordship should come alhoare himselfe, Intending to haue followed the same day in the afternoone, at foure of the clocke, he sent the Vice-Roy word, that hee would then come. And in the meane time our Skiffe went alhoare with emptic caske, to bring fresh water aboard: wherein went the Ambassadors *Persians*, and three or foure others of his followers, to see the landing of the goods, and careful carrying of them into the Tents. And at the landing thereof, the countrey people demanded if the Ambassadour had no more goods then those to bring alhoare? To which answere was made, that there was all, except Jewels, and such like things, which should be brought when him selfe did come. Other *Baluches* standing by, replied to each other amongst themselves, that it was no matter; for there was enough for the soldiers: which *Naserebeg* over-heard, and vnderstood, yet concealed it for that time, although it possibled him with a zealous conceit; and as hee said afterward, that neuertheless he had no power to continue in the same, by reason of such equal correspondence of all matters passed before; but was somewhat more attentive vnto what should be said afterwards amongst them, and could heare no contrary vnto honest dealing: vntill at length meeting with one *Hoge Camal*.

Whom God had made an instrument to disclose their deuilish proiect vnto vs) hee vnderstood the particulars of their bloody intent, by him revealed. At which *Naserebeg* was somewhat amazed, and angry with the man, that he did not tell him of it before the goods were brought alhoare. Also, the houre appointed of the Ambassadors coming alhoare drew nere, which made him feare, lest he should haue come alhoare before hee should get to our ship, to forewarn him: but as God would haue it, our Skiffe was yet a filling of water by the cascade, where, when he came, he told our men, that there was treachery plotted against vs alhoare: and withall wished them to row him aboard our ship with all the speed they could; and so was brought aboard immediately, although not one eighth part of an houre too soone: for both the Ambassadors, and all his followers, together with the Captaine of our shippe, and all the chiefe of vs (who were willing to grace his Lordship all we might, for the honour of our Countrey) stood in the ships waile, ready to go ashore. But *Naserebeg* bringing these newes, wee were not halie to hasty in our proceedings, hee telling vs what had passed: the chiefe chief whereof was this, That the Vice-Roy, and Gouernour, did enuie so many of vs as they could alhoare, and to haue made tyrannic of all. And further, that they were all Rebels to the King of *Persia*; being pudent death for any once to name the King of *Persia* in that place. Also, that they had made enquiry of every particular man in our ship, both of our places, profession and estates: for they had consulted and concluded vpon the Malfice of vs all (except the Chirurgions, Multians, Women and Boyes) with determination to haue put all the rest to death without mercy. Now, God be thankd although we vnderstood of their intended plots so sufficiently, whereby we were forewarned to prevention thereof, by arming our flukes, (we knew, vnder Gods protection, we were not to be defiled vs from receiving any injury aboard, notwithstanding their great store of Boats and men,

September 18.

Baluches persians.

Hoge Camal.

The Countrey of *Macquerona*, is so called: King of *Persia*.

September 19.
The great treason of the people of *Guader* revealed.

also what Commodities that country did afford: who answered these, viz.

Broad cloath of diuers prices, and light colours, as Stammers, Reds, Greens, and Sky-colours, and Amles, Blevies, and Azures, &c. Elephants teeth, Iron, Tinne, Lead, Steele, Spices, Momy. These Commodities are to be carried for *Sinde*.

Commodities to be had there.

Indigo of Labor. Indigo of *Chergies*. Callicoes all of sorts. *Gajerat* and *Camboy*. Commodities of all sorts, with many sorts of Drugges.

Then wee took our leaues of him and parted, returning to the Ambassadours house againe, where I framed a Letter, and sent him a cooling to our promise, signed by M. *Saltanck*, and my selfe, and recieued another from him likewise, which was in the *Perfian* language, much like the *Hibrene* Letter backward: the *English* whereof was interpreted to vs by the Ambassadour, as followeth, viz.

Whereas here arrived at this Port of Diul, in the Kingdoms of Mogore, one English ship called the Expedition, wherof the Capitaine Christopher Newport, and Merchants, Ioseph Saltanck and Walter Peyton, to land Don Robert Sherley, the King of Perfians Ambassadour, who desired grant of trade in this Port (being under my government) which willingly I would have granted, but one for preiudiciall incommenities arising: for they brought not merchandise fitting in quantity to begin such trade: neither the Portugals by whose trade as perfians I reape benefit, would consent thereto, threatening to bee gone if I did receive the English Nation. So that thereby, I should have bene left without all trade, wherof this Summer of Money doe arise yearly, which I am bound to pay unto the King. Moreover, in default therof, I should put in hazard his Highnesse displeasure, to my utter overthrow and undoing. Yet notwithstanding, for the love I owe unto the King of Persia, by whose Ambassadour I am requested, and the desire I bear unto the English Nation, together with the faithful performance of their writings, left with me under their hands and seales, of the two Merchants aforesaid, (which is not to molest or meddle with any of the said Kings Peoples, goods nor subiects, in the time of this their Voyage, in the ships aforesaid) I have given them this writing under mine owne hand, and seale: hereby promising the English Nation (that if they will come thither themselves, I will that I may advantage my selfe more by them, then by the Portugals) reasonable assistance in entertainment to trade, with such reasonable grants of Priviledges as we shall agree upon. Dated in Diul the third day of October, Anno 1613.

Signed, Arak Manewardus.

Scaled with lince.

The fourth of October, we received the writing from the Gouverneur, together with order to his Officers for our watering and refreshing: and then wee hastened to returne aboard our ship againe. And a little before our departure, the Ambassadour fell into discourse with vs, about the procuring of a *Firma* from the King of *Mogore*: and withall, wished Master Saltanck to go along with him for *Agra* (which is the chiefe place where the great *Mogoll* keepeth his Court) and he would warrant vs, that he would procure the same in very short time: especially now, at this so fit an opportunity offered, both in regard of his businesse with the *Mogoll*, as also the willingness of *Arak Manewardus*, to entertaine vs at this Port: which opportunity being let slip, we should neuer obtaine the like; in his Lordship protesting and vowing to doe his best endeavour therein, and then himselfe a true hearted *English* man towards his Country, howsoever the Company of Merchants (he said) did conceale him. And further, that Master Saltanck should be an eye-witnesse of his constant and faithfull proceeding therein, to doe the Merchants good, in obtaining the said *Firma*: not only for *Diul*, but also for any other part in the *Mogoll* Dominions: and also should bring it for *England* over-land himselfe. All which being grounded vpon some reason, and Master Saltanck, having been in those parts before, hee was willing to undertake: Prouided, he might haue the consent of the Capitaine, my selfe, and others in the ship. To which purpose, the Ambassadour writ a letter to the Capitaine, perswading his consent thereto, and sent it aboard by vs.

So we parted from *Diul* this day in the after-noonne, and when we came to the Riuer side to take Boat, there thracked about vs many of the Country people: also there came downe to vs about a dozen of the envious *Portugals*, who began to talke with vs in *Dutch*, as before, demanding of vs many troublous questions: which, when I had answered, I spake in their owne language, (because the *Baniens* which were there present, might vnderstand) and told them that they were a shamelesse and lying people, spreading of so many deuised scandals, and slanderous reports of our Nation: vnto whom they knew themselves much inferior in many respects; and that they did it only in malicious policie, because they would not haue vs to trade in the *Indies*, as well as they. Also I told them, that if they did not containe themselves within the compasse of better peace, reforming themselves hereafter, both in their sayings and doings, they should be all rooted out of the *Indies*, and a more honest and Royall Nation placed in their roomes. Then one of the chiefe of them singled out himselfe, and answered thus: That they had enemies too many already, and therefore they desired no more. And as for scandalous speeches they did not deny

deny, being urged thereunto: for not long past, off from *Swat*, they had a ship taken by *English* men, as they supposed: to which I answered them, that it might bee rather the *Hollanders*. So they concluded, in the end very pliant and sociable, willing that we might trade in all parts of the *Indies* with them, and they with vs, like neighbours and friends; and that there were some agreement made betwixt our King and theirs, for the bringing to passe thereof. Thus they taking their leaues of vs in very kind manner, we parted.

The sixth, we arrived aboard our ship againe, where it was agreed upon, that Master Saltanck should goe, as aforesaid, with the Ambassadour for *Agra*. Wherefore he fitted himselfe, thinking to haue gone aforesaid the next day: and in the meane time, the Capitaine sent the Purfir and his men to buy fresh victuals, and provision for the Sea: who, when they came to the Citie, were by the Gouverneur presently turned backe againe as they went; and expresse command by proclamation, vpon paine of death, the Country people should bring no more *English* men ashore. These sudden and strange alterations made vs much to maruell; for wee could neuer know the certaintie whereupon it grew, or what should bee the cause.

All the time of our being here at *Sinde*, we could neuer vnderstand of any trade sealed at *Swat*. For: for if we had, we might haue taken other courtes. The Ambassadour had about fouen moneths journey, (from *Sinde* to *Spahau* in *Persia*) by Carauan; or if he procured to trauell otherwise, then it is one month lesse.

The ninth, we set saile from hence, directing our course, with Gods leue, for *Sumatra*.

The twentieth of Nouember, we came to an anchor in the Roade of *Prismam*, where we went in towne the two Northernmost little Ilands, and anchored close by the Northernmost of them, both in five fathome water. And in the meane time wee beat the price of Pepper at *Prismam*, and brought it from two and twentie Rials, to teuentee Rials a Bahar, first peny: at which price we bought two Bihars, which were brought aboard our ship. But the Gouverneur, although we had presented him with a piece, would not suffer vs to take an house, nor to buy any Pepper ashore, vnlesse wee would bestow lome twentie Profits from the Officers and Mercians there.

The two and twentieth, we received a letter from Capitaine *Christen*, out of the *Hoflander* at *Teco*, earnestly willing vs to come to *Teco* with our ship, so fowne as we could, and wee should not faile to haue for much Pepper as we determined, and that in short time. And because we were not well acquainted with this place; Capitaine *Christen* sent one of his Masters Mares, named *Richard Hall*, to Pilot vs into the Roade, by reason of many dangerous shoals that lye about *Teco*.

The eight and twentieth, we came to an anchor in *Teco* Road, in foure fathom water, where *Richard Hall* returned aboard the *Hoflander*, and being troubled with the Flaxe, dyed the same night. Now we being come to *Teco*, found all things contrary to our expectation. For, whereas before our coming thither, the Country people offered their Pepper to Capitaine *Christen* after twelue and threene Rials a Bahar, in trucke of *Swat* commodities; they now demanded two and twentie Rials ree a mally, refusing to trucke with him at all for commodities. Also, heere they demanded as many presents, as they of *Prismam*, besides teuentee two Rials of plate for anchorage. So that we were now worke to puffe then before and time not permitting vs to make delay, we grew into short termes with them: and told them, that although wee did not buy a Cattee of Pepper there, we would not agree, nor yield vnto their vnreasonable demands. And withall, I framed a letter, as from the Capitaine, by him firmed and con gned to the chiefe Gouverneur, shewing him that they did not vie our Nation so well, as we did expect at their hands, both in regard of their vnjust demanding of presents; (which we did not viously giue by compulsion, but either for affection or deservings) and also their vnreasonable delaying the performance of their promises, falling out to be so vnconstant, that wee could not account them to bee *Richard*-like dealings. For our ships haue stayed there diuers times, three, foure, or fise months, only depending vpon their positing promises, to haue their full loading: which might haue bene as well dispatched in one month, with that small quantitie of Pepper which they had. This letter was *Englished* by the *Hoflanders* Linguist (named *Iohn an Indian*, who spake the language very well) vnto the chiefe Gouverneur: who hereupon gaue present order, that wee might buy Pepper of any man that would sell. And withall sent a messenger aboard our ship, to wish one of vs to come ashore, and it should be weighed there. But we doubting their delays, accepted not thereof; and therefore sent him word againe, that we could not stay so long, as to weigh it ashore: if they would bring it aboard and weigh it, we would giue them eighene Rials a Bahar for their Pepper, and two Rials vpon each Bahar, for the custome and Gouverneur, being iust twentie Rials, conditionally they would bring it aboard: otherwise we would not stay. So they lingering somewhat long before they came, we set saile, making them to depart: which the Gouverneur perceiving, first sent another messenger (who spake the *Portugall* language, inferrently well) to entreate vs to come to an anchor againe, and wee should haue as much Pepper brought aboard immediately as we would laide: which we did, and they came as fast with *Praxet* lading of Pepper, as conveniently we could weigh it: and so continued for the space of three or foure

December 3;
1613.

- four days, till they had brought about some two hundred Bahars, and then began to slack their bringing. Which we perceiving, and fearing to spend our much time here (lest we should lose the favour of the Monfons) we departed for *Bantam*.
- December 8. The eight of December, we set sail from *Tessa*, where we left three of our men in the *Hesperander*, their necessity requiring. In our course to *Bantam*, for that part, we sailed within sight of *Sumatra*.
- The sixteenth, at our entrance into the Straights of *Sunda*, being the sixteenth of this present, we met with the *Dragon* bound homeward, by whom we write home.
- The seventeenth, we brought our ship to an anchor in *Bantam Road*: where we were presently well aloft, to provide her lading. On the nine and twentieth, we made an end of lading our whole complement.
- January 2. The second of January, we set sail from *Bantam* for *England*, not having lost one man by sickness in all our Voyage hitherto; for which, God make vs thankful. Also this day, as we were going out by *Pulo Pas Jan*, we met with General *Saris* in the *Cloane*, come from *Japan*: for whole letters, and the delivery of four chests, the Captaine call anchor againe. Also we spared him two of our men, namely, *Martimer Prutts* Yonker, and *Thomas Velous*, one of our Carpenters. Mates whereof they stood much in need; for they had not one Carpenter left alive. Thus having also dispatched these business with the *Cloane*, we set sail once againe for *England*, on the fourth of this present.
- The one and twentieth, we came to an anchor in *Saldanha Bay*: where we had sheepe and Bullocks reasonable store, besides great abundance of fresh fish, which we caught with our Sayce in the River.
- On the ninth of April, we departed, and then we had prosperous winds, which continued untill we came in the latitude of about three degrees to the Northward of the Equinotial Line, which we passed under on the eleventh of May, finding our ship then to be in two and twenty minutes North Latitude. Hereabouts many of our men began to fall sick, some of the Scumme and swelling in their legges. The tenth of July, we came to an anchor in the *Dowries* in *Isafete*, God be ever praised.
- After this twelfth Voyage, the order of that reckoning is altered, because the Voyages ensuing were set forth by a joynt stocke, and not by particular and proper ships, stockes, Factories, (as before) but promiscuous and generally accountable to the whole societie. Of which, all are not come to our hands: such as I have (that which thence is meete for the publike view) give I thee.

CHAP. XI.

Extracts of the Journall of Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON, who was employed chiefe Commander in the second Voyage set forth for the joynt Stockes in the East-Indies, by the Gouverneur, Deputie, and Committes of that Societie. Wherein is related their happy successe against the Vice-Roy, and all the Indian sea forces of the Portugalls, by force and cunning attempting their destruction.

§. I.

Their coming to Saldania, Socotora, Swally: Disagreements betweene the Mogoll and Portugalls, and the Nabob and vs.



He Shippes employed were the *New-yeeres-gift*, Admirall, of burthen six hundred and fiftie tonnes: The *Helios*, Vice-Admirall, of five hundred tonnes: The *Merchants Hope*, of three hundred tonnes, and the *Salomon*, of two hundred tonnes. Master *William Edwards* was Lieutenant and Cape Merchant, and Commander of the *Helios*: Master *Nicholas Ensworth* Cape Merchant and Commander of the *Merchants Hope*: Master *Thomas Elkington* Cape Merchant, and Master *Peter Rogers* Minister, *Marin Pring*, *Arthur Spacke*, *Matthew Melneux* and *Hugh Bennet*, Masters of the foure Shippes, assisted with divers others.

The first of March 1613, we set sail: On Wednesday the fiftenth of June 1614, we anchored in the Road of *Saldania*, and were welcomed with a great storm. *John Barter* by along Feuer beared of his understanding, was suddenly missing, and by former speeches of his it seemed that he made himselfe away, whiles every one was buie in mooring the ship, and none looking after him. The sixteenth, we got all in readinesse for erecting our Tents, which was that day effected, and a Guard placed for their reliefe.

On the seventeenth, we landed our Caske to be trimmed and seasoned. *Chorres* the *Saldanian* presented me with a young Strete.

The eighteenth, we landed more of our Beere Caske to be washed, trimmed and seasoned, and supplied the wants of our men labouring about our Boates: also this day (*Chorres*) the *Saldanian* departed from vs, carrying with him his Copper Armour and Iaulin, with all things belonging to him, promising to come againe to vs the third day after, but he never came againe.

The nine and twentieth, I sent *George Downton* on land to obtaine both the latitude and variation of this place, in regard of the great difference in our variations we had found betweene my former Voyage in the *Pepper-Corne*, and this present Voyage: the latitude he found was thirtie five degrees, and no odd minutes, and the variation one degree and fortie five minutes by an Azimuth, being Westerly variations, whereas for the most part all formerly have made Easterly variation. This night we disliked our Tents and brought all our things aboard, and made ready our ship against the next day to depart, which we did accordingly.

The first of August, we came to an anchor in the Bay of *Saint Augustine*, in *Saint Lawrence* Island. But on sight of our coming the Inhabitants abandoned the place, that we could have no speech with them: we cut straight Timber for diuers vices. And afterwards we got some refreshing of them. On the twelfth, we set sail.

The ninth of September, we anchored in the Bay of *Delfa* in *Socotora*. The next day we went on shore to salute the King, who was ready with his troupe to give me entertainment, and told me of the Warres at present in *India*, the *Mogoll* and Kings of *Decanie* ioyning to roote the *Portugalls* out of the Countrey. The reason whereof was, their taking of a shippe which came from *Isafete* in the Red Sea, wherein was three millions of Treasure. He also informed me of *Captaine Bault* two great fights with the *Portugalls*, with other newes of those parts. Here I procured what refreshing we could get, and bought of the King Allices, two thousand seven hundred twentie two pounds, and on the fourteenth departed.

The second of October, we had fight of land being on the Coast of *Decanie* nere *Dahel*. We found great hinderance, till by observation we were taught to stay the ebbs and ply the floods. The twelfth, we againe weighed and plyed the floods, and anchored the ebbs till the fourteenth day in the evening, and then anchored two miles and an halfe short of the Barre, where presently came a fleet of Frigats being fourteen faine and anchored nere vs, discouraging themselves by their lights being darke: but seeing our readinesse by the lights out of our Ports, dust came no nearer unto vs, so we ended quietly all night.

The fifteenth, early in the morning we weighed with the land-turre, and approaching somewhat nere them, they also weighed and stood to the South-ward, and we held on our course by the Barre towards South Swally, where sooner after we arrived after much striving against contrary winds. Atfoons as I anchored I sent Master *Malneux* in his Pinnasse, and Master *Spencer*, and *Sammell Squire* in my *Gellymatte* to sound the depths within the sands. Master *Malneux* took a Channel in which in our former Voyage we had but five foot at low water, but now found three fathomes water, and Master *Spencer* found that where our Boats could not passe formerly by reason of shoals, he had now seven and eight foot water. In the after-noon, seeing people alhoare sent my Pinnasse to them, supposing some of our Merchants had beene come from *Surat*: but found otherwise to be some people of *Cogonacan* sent downe to discover what Nation we were; two of which came aboard to me, by whom I understood further of their Warres with the *Portugalls*: they besieged *Daman* and *Diu*, and that *Moorish Can* was General of the *Mogoll* forces against *Daman*, and also to my griefe, I understood that he was Gouverneur, and as Vice-roy not onely over *Surat*, but also over all the Countrey nere about it; I esteeming him to be the greatest Adversary to our Nation, and one that most favoured the *Portugalls*. This was my letted conceit by former experience. I understood of the health of Master *Alidworth* and the rest, to whom I writ to luffen his presence, and sent it away by *Baly Ball*, together with the other Semants of *Cogonacan*.

The sixteenth, in the morning early I sent my Purser and Pinnasse on land to buy such Commodities as I supposed might be brought, who about ten a clocke without buying any thing for our turne, returned with Master *Alidworth* our chiefe Merchant at *Surat*, and in his company one *Richard Steele* who came by land from *Alipato* to *Surat*. Master *Alidworth* flouted to perfwade me that *Moorish Can* the Nabob was our friend, and that now was the best time by reason of their warres (with the *Portugalls*) for vs to obtaine good trade and all Priviledges that in reason we could demand; and for that both he and all the Countrey people did so much reioyce at our coming, therefore of necessity could not but give vs Royall entertainment, liking all their hopefull

chore and his Copper Armour.

Nore for the variation at this Bay.

This ship was the *Helios*.

Portugall Frigates.

South Swally.

Cogonacan.

M. Alidworth and Steele.

borne some stroke in the ordering of our business at *Surat*, and the rather considering the turbulent head-firong and haughtie spirit of () ever striving to sway all things according to his owne will, and distastfull to others which without private respect aimed at the common good, whose better discretion hath bene injured to more humilitie. But the estate of our business to vncertaine, partly by the vncertainty of the *Nabob* and people here, and partly in regard of the *Portugals* (which we daily doe heare are arming vs) besides I vnderstand the *Nabob* makes question of restitution of the goods taken by Sir *Henrie Middleton* in the Red Sea, at vnier rates as they say, though I know they had goods for a halfe pennie: yet not knowing what might come of it, I thought best to keepe my selfe nereff my charge, and referred all things aliover to the care of such Merchants in general as were of my Councell, and in whom for most part I had constant affiance.

The two and twentieth, I finished my Letters for *Perfia*, viz. one for the Company, one for Sir *Robert Sherley*, and another for aduice to *Richard Steele*.

The three and twentieth, *Lacandau* the *Banias* came downe with newes of some discontent or hard speeches that had past betweene the *Nabob* and the Merchants, but now that they were reconciled and friends; the cause was, for that Master *Edwards* would not let him see the Presents, which at last he was druen to yeeld to. All the chiefe Merchants wrote unto me secretly that there was a certaine report that the Vice-Roy was arming against vs. It pleased God to call to his mercie Master *Edwards* and *Timothy Wood*, both in an houre. *John Ormick*, *Robert Towne*, and *Esay Bar* set forwards to prouide such Clothes and Cotton Yarn, as wee firmly agreed on.

The five and twentieth, Master *Edwards* wrote me of the coming of three great men with seven *Firmazes* from the *Mogore*, in whose presence the *Nabob* bestowed on him eight hundred & sixty *Mamudies*: ten fine *Ballas*, thirtie *Topieles*, and thirtie *Allizae*: he further gave to Master *Elkington* and Master *Dodsworth* ten *Topieles*, and a Cloke to Master *Aldworth*, & another to Master *Elkington*, Master *Dodsworth* having had one before: he promised free Trade in all places vnder his command, and good refreshing for our people aboard.

The seven and twentieth, *John Cromber* came from *Surat*, who aduised mee that the chiefe Merchants had chosen him to accompany *Richard Steele* into *Perfia*, and therefore came to take his leave of me, and to fetch his things from aboard. This day Master *Edwards* wrote to mee by *Edmond Apsall* for three Elephants teeth, and indifferently chosen in their size and bignesse, for there was a *Banias* Merchant in price for them all, if they could agree, which Teeth the same day were sent vp to him.

The sixteenth of December, the *Nabob* *Masrich Chan* seemed now to be ashamed, for that he had not since my arrival here shewed me the least taste of courtesie, and therefore being desirous to excuse him selfe, intreated Master *Elkington* to accompany aboard the great *Banias* that brought our Teeth, and *Lacandau* the *Banias* Merchant of the Iuncke of the King of *Culhan*, whom he made choice of, and entertayned (by reason of his former familiaritie with our people) to buy among them such Commodities as they had to sell, viz. Sword Blades, Knives, Looking-glases. By them he sent me a Present of two Corgs of coule *Ballas*, ten fine *Ballas*, ten *Topieles*, ten *Cuttonies* and three *Quits*, certifying mee that the *Nabob* was minded to come downe to see me within two or three days at the most. At their going ashore I gave them five great loafe. They told me that the *Nabob* heard from *Gao*, that for certaine, the Vice-Roy was preparing to come against vs, with all the force hee could make to fight with vs; likewise that the *Nabob* requested me that I would waite a ship or two of his off the Coast for two or three dayes, being bound for the Red Sea. But I answered, that hauing once put off from the Coast, the wind being aduerse, I could not recover it againe: but if he would further our dispatch that we might be ready in convenient time, then would I doe any thing reasonable.

The ninth, the *Nabob* sonne came to the water-side, but would not come aboard; whereupon I went ashore to him, who against my landing sent a Horse to fetch mee, hee willed mee to sit downe vpon the Mount with him, which I did. Then hee commanded part of his Horsemen to shew me some pleasure vpon the lands, by warlike chasing each other, after the manner of *Dianie*, from whence they were: then he desired to heare some Ordinance goe off, and I gave him a Gun shot. Hee at present would drinke no wine, but being departed, hee sent for it, and for a Bowle to drinke his wine.

Military forces on horse-back.

Newes of the Vice-Royes preparation against the English.

Cromber and Steele goe to Persia.

Presents to the Generall.

Rude dealing.

Nabob's gifts.

§. II.

The Portugals Forces, Ships, Attempts, Fight with the English, and disgracefull Repulse.

He sixteenth, Master *Elkington* wrote me that the *Nabob* told him that the *Portugals* Frigats had burnt *Gago* with many Gongs or Villages therabouts, and burnt great ships, one whereof was the *Rebeme*, and one hundred and twentie small Vessels: and that he was displeased at me for not shooting at them when they past by vs; which did renue his suspicion of our friendship with the *Portugals*: to all which Master *Elkington* answered him, yet he could not reft satisfied.

The three and twentieth came two Boates more for Lead. This day wee saw twentie two Frigats, who in the night came to anchor betweene vs and the *Riuers* mouth, where they rode most part of the next day.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we saw foure Boates coming downe the *Riuers* towards vs, who seeing the Frigats returned, two Frigats chasing them vp the *Ruer*: but seeing they could not fetch them vp, went ashore and fired two or three poore houles, and tooke away two or three head of Cattell, and returned backe to their Company, who in the after-noon 20 went vp into the *Ruer* together.

The five and twentieth, in the morning early we saw five or sixe Frigats vnder saile an houre or two after, we perceived a small Boat vnder saile standing towards vs, but was presently chased by two Frigats, the men in the small Boat ranne her aground, and forooke her, so that the Frigats could not hoat where she lay, the tyde ebbing to fast, therefore they departed without doing any further harme vnto her.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning I sent the *Hope* to the Northwards a good way from the rest of the Fleet, to see if the *Portugals* would charge vpon her.

The seven and twentieth, early in the morning, the Frigats came and made a brawle before our ship, and then before the *Salomon*, which was next vnto vs, and from her to the *Hope* which 30 rode a great way from vs, who droue directly vpon her with all their men stowed, not a man to be seene. The Master twice hailed them, but they would not speake, whereupon they let flye at them with their Bow-pieces, hauing no other to ply vpon them, which made them with some losse to depart: the Master doubting, that if hee had not shot, they would haue boorded him, or mischieued him by fire, they coming vpon the advantage both of wind and yde, that none of the rest of the ships could come to the rescue; and in such sort right a head, that hardly can be trauerse any piece of Ordnance at them. In the after-noon I sent the *Salomon* to accompany the *Hope*, who went to the North-wards of her, and made five or sixe shot at the Frigats, who rode at anchor hard by the *Hope*. But we did not perceive any hurt shee did them: wherefore I commanded my Gunner to shoot a Peece to waite them to giue our, whereupon the *Salomon* stood in againe and came to anchor.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning I went in the Pinnace aboard the *Hope* and *Salomon*, to vnderstand the occasions of their shooting: and the *Portugals* seeing our Boates pale to and againe, remoued in the after-noon, and rode a little without vs to cut off all intercoure. In the same time, came the former Boat which was chased a shore aboard the *Gift*, and brought 30 some Letters from Master *Elkington*. The Master sent the Boate with the Letters to mee in the *Hope*, where hauing answered Master *Elkingtons* Letter, I sent him backe againe to the *Gift*, to goe thence in the night to *Surat*: but as the *Gilliwat* returned, the Frigats chased her, which I perceiving caused to weate to the *Gilliwat* to returne, which they not seeing held on her way. But the Frigats held her so close that they were within shot of her, and made one faire shot at 30 her, and had not the *Gift* let slip one Cable, and veered another, and plyed vpon them with her Ordnance, it would haue gone hard with them: which they did commend our the chafe not without some damage: and late in the night vpon the tyde of ebbe, I commanded the *Hope* and *Salomon* to set saile and fall neerer to the other ships, and then I went aboard the *Gift*.

The nine and twentieth, I perceiving that my riding was of no auaile to keepe the Frigats out of the *Ruer*, because they could passe to and froe the lands, where we wanted water for our ships to swimme; and that no Boates durst come to vs to fetch our goods for feare of the Frigats: neither could I heare from our friends ashore how all things past; therefore I let saile for *Swally*: but being but little wind and calme, it was the next day before we arrived there.

The fourteenth of Ianuarie, we heard of the approach of many Frigats, which rode at the A Fleet of 60 Barre till next day within night, and then in the daie came from thence, and rode within shot of vs all night till the morning, when they weighed and went to the South-wards: whom I thought were the *Malabars*, that the *Nabob* promised formerly to send mee: and therefore put forth a Flagge of Truce, and sent Master *Spanner* one of the Masters Mates towards them with the *Gilliwat*, and appointed him to haue an eye backe to our signes that we would make, if

Gago burnt, & diuers ships.

Twentie two Portugall Frigats.

Portugall bea. uado.

Their repulse.

Other no. tempts.

The fight with the Hope.

Portugall's loss by slaughter, sea, and fire.

Amibulance.

Infirmary.

News of Portugall's fall.

mies; but presently I had notice, that three ships with most of the Frigats were before the wind, running them-long aboard the *Hope*, and the Gallions after them, so fast as the sands gave leave. We assayed to weigh our anchor, but time not permitting, wee cut Cable, and let fall for the *Hope* rescue, but the Enemies ships were aboard her, and entered their men before we came sufficiently near them; their men being entered with great view of resolution, but had no quiet abode there, neither could rest in their own ships, nor make them look from the *Hope* for our great and small shot; so that when the principall were kild, the rest in great number, for quietness sake, leapt into the Sea, where their Frigats tooke many of them vp. But hit of purpose to have burnt the *Hope* with them, they made preparation to fire their own ships, which was well performed without harme to the *Hope*, (praised be the Lord of heauen) for so soone as the fire was wel kindled, the ships of fire were set aloft, and droue a ground on the fansls, where they burnt till the flowing water came and quenched them; whilst day light lasted, we continued changing of shot in all our ships with the Gallions, they being on the out-side of a spit of land, and we on the inside; by which they did little harme to our Hulls, but to our ropes and sailes our head. In this conflict besides them which were wounded, we lost five men, by great mischance the *Hope* main top, top-saile, top-mast, and shrouds came a fire, and burnt away, with a great part of the main mast, by the fire-works that were in the said top, the man being flaine that had the charge thereof. This mishap kept vs from going forth into deepe water to try our fortunes with the Vice-roy, but were put to our shifts, not knowing how, or by what means to get the said Mast cured.

The one and twentieth, I sent to weigh the anchor we had cut the day before. The two and twentieth, I vnderstood that many great men, with five or six hundred horse, and a *Portugall* Father came downe to Swally, to lend on the morrow the East we had, three or foure principall *Moor*s, to conclude a peace betwixt them; and the *Nabob* sent me word that he sought no such thing, and was refused to make none, but wherein we should be included. He also granted me what Timber we should want, which we made vse of. Likewise we were promised provisions. The *Portugalls* continued quiet.

The five and twentieth, the *Maccadam* of Swally came to me, and told me that the former Father had sent to intice him to poison the former Well, where hence we had our water, which he would not yeeld vnto, and therefore had put into the Well some liue Tortoises, who would by their death demontstrate the poisoning thereof, if it should by them be performed. At night came part of the hundred and twentie bales of Indico to the water side, which was presently fetched aboard. *Ihu* Bag sent me a Present of the fruits of his owne garden. This day came downe the rest of the Timber for the *Hope* Mast.

The seven and twentieth, I sent all our Boats to sound the Swach at low waterside; to keep the Enemy alwayes ignorant of what I intended: whether was sent by the Enemy to tempt them, one Gally and five Frigats, thinking to cut off our Boats, whereof they failed, as of all other things they attempted.

The eight and twentieth, the *Nabob* sent to the Vice-roy great store of provision, Goats, Bread, Plantans, &c. with a banquet of sweet meates. *Cogezan* sent me a Present of five Bullocks. Diuers of our men died here of Fluxe and diseases.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we received aboard from *Cambaya* fittie bales Indico. In the afternoon came *Cogezan* Allee aboard, who presented me with diuers things, viz. Goats, great store of Bread, Roll-meats, Plantans, and Sugar, &c. With him came an old acquaintance of mine, a *Portugall*, he reported vnto me that there is newes come from *Daman*, that the *Portugalls* carried thither three hundred and fittie men to be buried, and that this newes is most certain and by our estimate, there cannot be less: then an hundred more kild and burnt in their ships, besides those drowned, which the tide did cast vp ashore. They also related to me, that not onely here in *India* they found opposition, but also the *Persians* against *Ormus*, and the *Malays* at *Malacca*, are in armes against the *Portugalls*; and whereas there had been speech of a peace to bee concluded between the Viceroy and *Morib Can*, he wist me to assure my selfe it was broken off, and would none be. I found his loue, and tooke great content in his long staying with mee, whose presence I thirsted to see, and till now he could neuer get leave of the *Nabob* to come to see mee (which without man dare, or will be forsoke) who proceeds by the great charge he hath from the King, that all things of worth, should be procured by the Kings vice; which holds him in such doubt and jealousy, least any thing should passe by any other means to his disgrace, whereby he is enforced to vse strange and seuerer courses to restraints the same. The day being fare spent, I returned him with a Present, gave money to all his people, let him see the cut of the Bullets of some of our Great Ordnance; they tooke their leave and departed.

§. III.

Portugall supplies, Fire-boats frustrated, peace and refused, their departure: Interview of the Nabob and General: departure of the English.

The third of Februarie, there came to the water side twentie foure Bales Indico, Ieuen February; packs white Balfas, Ieuen packs blacke Balfas, fixe packs Cotton-yarne, foure packs blue Balfas, three packs Caudkens, one pack Creanall which were plentifully fetched aboard: this day also the Vice-royes supply came in fight, which were two ships of burthen, two Iunkes, and eight or tenne of the Countrey Boates. The *Nabob* sent *Lacandus* to informe me, that these supplies were not for warre, but full of combustible matter to fire, and so to be let drue with the tyde vpon our ships in the night; which aduise I was glad to vnderstand, and addressed my selfe also to prevent that, and all other attempts with smaller ships. The Spring now neere the highest, and tressest for their assaults, which euery tide I expected: and so thew that I was in a readinesse to entertaine them, as also how little I cared for them (having all the time formerly ridden without the lile) I purposed and performed the setting and clearing our watch, Morning and Evening, with a Volley of shot from euery ship, and the best Peere in my ships directed to the Prow of the Vice-roy, which I did to daunt the courage of them: hee must employ, and to try his temper, whether it would make him angry or no: and I will thinke it proceed to good end. It pleased God this day at night, when I had fast leisure to mourne, to call to his mercie my onely Son *George Downton*, who early the next morning was buried ashore, and the Volleys aforesaid, appointed to try the temper of the Vice-roy, served also to honour his burial.

This morning also came to me on *Monsia Arata* a *Malabar* Captaine, (with his troope attending to visit me, expecting some business this day by the *Portugalls* to be attempted; whom I entertained with all kind respect, and by conference made the best vse of his company that I might; by drawing from him the description of the principall Ports and Harbours in his Countrey, and manifesting the desire I had to be acquainted with him, and to intertaine loue, league, and familiarity between the *English* and them, with a mutuall trade and traffique one with another: the which with great desire he seemed to embrace, willing me to giue him some Letters of my hand, for their ships to cary to shew to my Countrey-men, whereof they should meet them: which I deliuered, as also a Letter for him to moue their King for the kind vse of our Nation, whensoever any of our ships should arrive in any of his Harbours, and so after leave taken, he departed. I presenting him with a Sword blade, and three or foure knives. The Master of the *Hope* complained, that besides those presently kild, he had many hurt, bruised, and disabled for service: wherefore I sent him for supply, three men from the *Giff*, foure from the *Hettor*, and foure from the *Solomon*.

The fifth, I received letters from *M. Aldworth* from *Baroch*, who writes of their arriual there, and that the day before, nine Courses from *Baroch*, they were let vpon by two hundred cheues, *Rajaposters*, with Pikes, small shot, and Bowes and Arrows: and skirmishing a little while with them, they fled, three of them being killed, and more wounded: they hauing shot *Humfrey Elkington* thorow the thigh, and killed one of the horses that *Sunder Canne* lent to guard our men; and Master *Aldworth* horse likewise received a hurt. The *Nabob* sent me word that the Vice-roy would assault this day, and therefore sent *Gogemazan* to guard the Land: who came to the water-side and sent his sonne *Mamad Isha* aboard to see mee, with a Cauteler, called *Kemeger*, the sonne of *Lecklar*, *Rajapost* of *Gogemazan*, or *Casselluto* (who maintained warre with the *Mogore* and *Portugall* together a long time) they entreated leave to see and partake in the fight: who seeing no attempt that day giuen, stayed aboard all night; and the *Rajapost* losing the backwardness of the enemy, went the next day ashore: but the other desired to see the lile thereof, stayed two or three dayes longer aboard; and then seeing nothing would bee done by the enemy, he departed.

The eight in the fore-noone, we received more Indico aboard. In the after-noon all the Frigates, with the two Iunkes and two Gallies, came druing vp with the flood, making shew of some attempt at the instant, either by fire, (which I much doubted) or otherwise: whereupon we all weighed to goe nearer to them, who no sooner perceived it, but they altogether made away as fast as they might, and we came to an anchor not farre from our former place. This deuice was nothing but to make vs thinke that those Fire-boats should come from the Northwards; that we might not mislitt their coming from the Northwards: and therefore the next day against night, they assembled both Iunkes, Frigates, and Gallies all together, a lile without the lands, to take away all suspicion of the North from vs: which I well perceived, and did alwayes refuse, that that way was the place of most danger for vs: And therefore gave a special charge of good looking out both wayes, but chiefly that way: which accordingly fell out; for that a lile

Five Frigates prevented.

little within sight we did discern them (between us and a great light to the Westward, upon the Island of *Gige*) creeping to the Northwards upon the flood, and then upon the last quarter of the clock, about ten of the clock in the dark of the night, before the rising of the Moon, there came driving down two Fire-boats, being towed by Frigates, whom we discerned before they came near us, and y^e led at them both with our Ordnance and small shot, whereby we lost off the Frigates that towed them, who durst adventure no further with them, but turned them off, who came driving with the tide a pretty distance from the other. The first drouc cleere of the *Gif*, *Heitor* and *Salomon*, and came thwart the *Hope* Hauke, and presently blew up, and with the blow much of their vengitious stuffe; but (blessed be God) to no harme to the *Hope*, for that by cutting her Cable, she cleared her selfe. The latter came likewise upon the quarter of the *Hope*, and then flamed up, but did no harme, driving downe the ebbe, and came foule of vs againe on the flood, the abundance of firewell continually burning, which our people in our Boats towed afloat, and the former flunked downe care by day-light. This day I received a letter from Master *Aldworth*, who writes of the receipt of a letter from *Thomas Kerridge*, specifying that *Nicholas Whittington* is distressed, and out of his right senses, and that he writeth somewhat doubtfully of *Richard Steele*.

Two Fire-boats more.

Other Fire-boats.

Vice-Roy seeks peace and is refused.

The Letters of the Vice-Roy to the Merchants of the East-Indies.

Other Fire-boats.

Craft and subtilties of devils and men, vnder the appearance of friendship.

Vice-Roy departs.

The tenth at night, near about the same time as before, there came two Fire-boats together, towed by four or five Frigates, which bore directly upon the *Heitor*: but as soon as we discerned them, the *Gif* and the *Heitor* let drive at them, both with great and small shot, that the Frigates which towed them, forsooke them, and forced the actors thereof to give fire sooner then they would, and so turned them adrift: who coming burning directly towards her (but the wind being still, drove them to leeward of her) within halfe an hour: after we perceived a great many Boats driving right with the *Heitor*, at whom they and we discharged, which againe made the Frigates forsake them, and also those appointed for to set it on fire, sooner then they expected, whereby they gave fire twice vnto two of them, being one of them chained together: but the *Heitor* eluding to windward (and it pleased God to lend a stiffe gale of wind at present, which drove them to leeward off her) our Gunner made a shot at one of the Boats vntoed, and struck her, whereupon she took fire, and the vehemencie of the flames reached vnto the fourth, and set her a fire alio, and so they drove ahoare hard by our landing place. My Pinnitt took three of the actors in a small Canow, wherein they thought, the exploit being done, to have escaped. Two of them were brought aboard me, and the third was left aboard the *Heitor*: and the Galliwat returning aboard, found another which she brought with her; one of them had his shoulder shot thorow. Thus it pleased God to disappoint all the malicious practices of our enemies against vs.

The eleventh, the Vice-Roy seeing God crossing him in all his iniurious attempts, set saile and fell downe into the Barre, where he anchored. The cause of his anchoring there, I was desirous to vnderstand: I doubting it was for no other purpose, then to attempt the spoile of *Surat*: but I concluded, if he should do so, to put out with my ships, and so to let upon his Fleet (which would make his enterprise against *Surat* to be given over) being desirous to alitt the place where we had so great a stocke, and so many of our Merchants. But the Vice-Roy would not trust mee so much, as to vnturn his ships, lest I should come against him; and therefore sent all the Frigates at night into the River, with some to capitulate about a peace, whereof he had flat answer to the contrary, as afore said.

The twelfth, *Lacandama* came downe, informing me from the *Nabob* (he being so assured by the Isults, with whom he alwayes kept fair weather for his better securitie, if wee should be put to the worke) that there were fixe or eight Frigates gone to the Northwards, with four or five Fire-boats to be let drive among vs in the night: and therefore wished carefully to looke out for that it should be when we should least suspect. I allowed of his kindeffe, was glad of his careful regard, although needing no such admonition, suspecting such practices as well when they were out of sight, and further from vs, as when they rode hard by vs.

The thirteenth, for as much as Frigates or other vessels in the offing could not so well discern the place of our ships, in the darke night, for the shadow of the shoare, though very low; therefore in the times of their hellish Gun-powder practices, they had lights for ayme giuen them ahoare, where they felt to come in. Now night by night we saw the like, in the like place as before; therefore discerning some of their creatures againe to giue ayme for their coming to like practices, though no vessels seen by day-light. And being formerly warned, as afore said, to looke out for like attempts, in hope to take hold of this First-man, at night I sent *William Gardin* ahoare with twentie men, shot and pike, to incompe and take the Haler of the Kid fire, supposing it to be some traitor inhabiting these nearest parts: who in his passage coming neare it, would (seem presently on, and againe at an instant at another place contrary to their parit, and alio playing in and out with them so long, that in the end they gaue it over, esteeming it some delusion of the Deuill, not knowing otherwise how to coniecture thereof. This present night the Vice-Roy let saile from the Barre, leaving in the River some twentie of his Frigates, which continued the place, thrusting to cleare each other sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, and kept in the

the *Mallabar* Frigates, which were there in seruice for the defence of the Towne.

The fourteenth, the *Nabob* lent me a great man and a Souldier (whom in amitie he named his brother) to visit me, who declared his opinion, that the Vice-Roy and all his Fleet were gone for *Gow*, but (some Frigates to attend this River, and some to returne to *Diu* and *Ormu*: which opinion of his I see no reason for it, could not allow of; esteeming him rather gone some-whither to reite his people, to strengthen them against our putting forth to sea, when no sands should hinder his greatest ships to encounter me. He also told me that the King had sent downe forces, both to take *Damon*, and all the Country along the Sea-side; in which I gaue him courteous hearing, beleeming as I saw reason: and that they were more willing to giue our Nation entertainment and trade, then euer they did the *Portugals*; the which I thought he might with very good reason speake, because the *Portugals* hath bene iniurious aloyes, and hath exercised many vile things vpon them. And yet while we continue able to mate and withstand the *Portugals* forces, they will vnay that preach againe for their owne ease. After he had seene the ship, and viewed our Ordnance and all our defensible preparations, hee desired leave to depart with his traine, which withall courtesie and our Boats, in best fashion was performed.

Now our daily enuiesour is, and long since hath bene to the clearing and beginning to lade the *Hope* for *England*; which by the oar-topping and threatening forces of the Vice-Roy formerly, with reason I could not refuse to doe, though time and libertie would for present haue allowed the same: but by halte matches, as it came, euer we put it in consciously (some into one ship, and some into another) not thinking it in so callid a time, to hazard all our Cargion in one lode. Besides, it was long before the *Hope* burnt Malt was newly cured: and that I resolved together for that I esteeme it was not altogether for that I esteeme her fittest of burthen for the frowing of our goods presently provided; but withall, by the many impediments and disabilitie in the ship, in and by the Master and Carpenter daily complained of, as that the poile within the Rudder was vnweathered (a strange and dangerous neglect, and oar-light) and therefore fittest soonest to be returned, and the loss of our Quick-fluer in her, which lyeth vpon her Kerle and Billages, another important cause.

The eighteenth, the *Nabob* lent *Cornelius Allen*, the *Sabandar*, and other Merchants of *Surat*, to intreat my thy for fifteen dayes, which in no sort I would grant: then they importuned me for ten dayes, which yet by no means would I yield vnto, shewing how great pretence to my Voyage my stay here so long might be. The cause of their request, was their leave left the Vice-Roy after my departure should come against *Surat* with all his forces. Wherefore I considering the weight of this business, and the prejudice it might be to our felus, and also being vnwilling to send them backe with deniall, seeing them much discontented therat as a disgrace vnto them, and being loath at my departure to giue the *Nabob* any distast therein, that haue done to my vttermost hitherto to giue him all content possible; and knowing what future hindrance it might be to our business ahoare: and last of all, seeing there was fix dayes worke of the ten to be done in the *Hope*, before we could be possibly ready: I at length (when they were altogether out of hope thereof, and vpon departure) condescended to their request, whereto they were exceeding ioyfull, and departed.

The two and twentieth at night, I received a Letter from *Surat*, informing me of the *Nabob* coming to sit me the next day.

The three and twentieth, in the morning, came downe two Elephants and six Camels, bringing his Tents and other provisions.

The four and twentieth, Master *Aldworth* came downe with the rest of the Merchants to finish all business with me.

The five and twentieth in the morning, the *Nabob* came downe with a very great traine, and fixe Elephants more, and had bene two houres ahoare before I knew thereof: which when it was told me, being sorry for my neglect of him, I sent Master *Aldworth*, Master *Ekington*, and *John Daddforth* ahoare vnto him, to hold him in discourse vntill I came vnto him, which was not long after; I purposed to go vnto him (as a soune vnto his father) in my doak and hose, without any times or great traines, according to custome, thereby to shew my trust and confidence that I repaid in him: but my friends perswaded me to the contrary, that I should rather goe well appointed and attended on with a sufficient guard, to continue the custome. Whereunto I consented (though in conclusion, it repented me that I had not taken mine own course) and wente ahoare with about one hundred and forty men, of pike and shot, who at my entrance into the *Nabob* Tent gaue me a Volly of shot. The *Nabob* entertained me very kindly, seeming very ioyfull of my coming ahoare to him: we sitting a while vnder a very true Tent, open on all sides round about, enuironed with many people, as well of mine, as of his attendants. At length he brought me into a more private room neare adioyning, hauing on his side only *Alle Canoe*, a great *Person* Captain, and the *Bonon Henie* for his Interpreter: and on my side, Master *Aldworth*, Master *Ekington*, and Master *Daddforth*: where hee conferred both of the estate of this Country at present, and also of our affaires. At length he demanded of him if he would go aboard with me to see the shippe: whereunto he very willingly consented. Then he presented me with his

Entertainment of the *Nabob* and *Canoe*.

Nabob giueth
his sword.

He goeth a-
board.

Two Antelope:

March 3.

Their depar-
ture.

The enemies
forces defend

his owne sword (accompanied with many good words, telling mee that it was the custome of their Country, to honour Captaines with armes; that had deserved well) which as he told mee was made in his owne house, the hilts thereof being of massie gold, and in lieu thereof I re-
naded him my fure, being Sword, Daggers, Girdle and Hangers, by mee much esteemed of, and which made a great deale better then, though of lesse value. We came both forth of the private Tent, and I walked downe to the water-side, there staying his coming; whither he lent mee a present of ten Cottonne quilts, and twentie Topisells; and not long after came the *Nabob* himselfe, and then we took our boats together and went aboard, where having shewed him the ly-
ing of our Ordnance, and all our war-like preparation for defence, I presented him with a very faire standing gult cup with a cover, and certaine very faire knives, and a Rundle of Muskadine, 18
but I accompanied him to the shoare, and gaue him at his departure eleven great shot. At our par-
ting at the water-side, the *Nabob* gaue me foure baskets of Grapes; he likewise gaue the Gunners and Trumpeters betweene two hundred Mammules, and among the ships company five hun-
dred Mammules, and one hundred books of white Balsam, of two Mammules a peece: and then af-
ter some complements we tooke leave one of the other, and departed. I rowed along the shoare
for my better getting aboard, the tide running so swiftly, and saw *Lacandau* the *Banien* come run-
ning towards the Boat, being sent of the *Nabob* to know of me, if he should erect a Tombe over
my tombe. I returned him many thanks, and willed *Lacandau* to tell him that I had already begun
it: then I returned aboard, and he went to *Surat*; and not long after his Tents were taken downe,
and went after him with the rest of his carriages.

The fix and twentieth, the *Nabob* sonne and sonne in law (a very ingenious young man) came
aboard to take their leaues of me: vpon whom I bestowed some knives and other things which
I had left, which could not be much, having still had one greater man or other to visite me, who sel-
dome or neuer went away without some one present or other: so they viewed the ships and
departed.

The fourteenth, there came aboard vnto me the three sonnes of *Allet Cam*, the two yongest
first, and after them came the eldest, called *Guger Cam*, who as yet had neuer been aboard: He
presented me with two Antelope, male and female, wherest I was glad, since I had lent to en-
quire for some to send home to Sir *Thomas Smith*, but could not procure any. I presented him
with foure Spanish pikes with heads, and some other things of my owne, and shewed him all the
ship, with our warlike preparation for defence, as also all our Ordnance; and a little while after
he took his leave, and at his departure I gaue him eleven shot.

The third of March in the after-noon, vpon the tide of ebbe, and a small gale of vpr Nor-
therly, to give steering way to our ships, we seeing our friends the *Mallabars* (which had desired
to go with vs) not attempting to come forth, we hastened to get vp our anchors, and to let
to proceed on our iourney: yet seeing coming in from the Westward another Fleet of *Portu-
gal* Frigates, I was willing to shew my best, in the view of the Countrey people, to hinder their
coming into the river of *Surat*; which was nothing, for that there was room enough for them
to passe by vs every way out of the reach of our shot; yet for that at the nearest of them, we
our hope to shooe near them, but only to shew our good willes, and for encouragement to our
friends on land, as also for those which went along the Coast (as I esteemed) to give know-
ledge to the Gallions of our coming, that they might report also that we shot at their fellows
going to *Surat*: that they might also expect that we cared the lesse for their greater strength.
In our passage this night, we had diuers flaxes of vnconstant winds, for which we came to an-
chor for a while. Afterwards seeing it blew steeadie, though faint, we set sail, continuing our
course South by East along the shoare. At that time the day-light began to discouer to vs all
things neare vs; we descried betwene vs and the shoare our enemies forces of Gallions, and two
Galleys, all coming to faile presently after they saw vs, and flood after vs with a faint gale;
we standing somewhat without our course with all our sailes, partly to gaine time to make our ships
in perfect readinesse to fight, partly to refresh my people that had taken much paines the night
past; as also the further I draw them off the Coast, the further they will be from fresh supplies
to be sent them. But ere long, the tide of flood being come, and little wind to hold our owne,
we came to an anchor, while the enemy resting his hopes in the wind, kept longer vnder saile to
his greater disadvantage. But I not taking it for an error in them, but of purpose to doe vs more
harme, it brought mee into a new and great doubt, which drew all my powers to deuide how to
prevent. This was, that now we were at sea, they meant to return to *Surat* with all their strength,
and there to worke their wills on our friends and goods, which I had no means to prevent, but
by following them; knowing they durst not vnmere, nor vnarm with their shippes while I was
in sight of them. But the time now grew so late, that I doubted by the most halt that I could make,
I should hardly get off the Coast before the foule weather came; which put me into some hope,
that the Vice-Roy being to fetch a Soulier, and so discreet a Gentleman, would not expelle
himself, his people and ships to such great perils as the halting winter did threaten. While these
things

things flood in my mind, the tide of flood was spent, and time to worke if we make vfe of
the ebbe, we (to my great content) saw the Vice-Roy his Fleet standing towards vs with a fresh
gale of wind. We likewise fell saile, and flood away our owne course before him all that tide,
and so spent the night to the best advantage, partly by sailing, and partly by stopping.

The fifth in the morning, we saw the enemy had gotten but little ground of vs: This day
also we spent, as before, in riding and sailing, as time fauored us to our best advantage: and for
that the *Heitor* went best, and the *Hope* (logdolan) worst, I sent to the *Heitor* to take in her Boat,
and to prepare for the *Hope*. I sent to the *Hope* to give directions to hasten to the *Heitor*, to be
towed, and to the end the shoale should nothing to hinder her, I had her Boat to tow at my helme,
and so spent the night working for the best, the wind fresh we had no cause to anchor. This
night the Vice-royes ships got much ground of vs; by this I was gotten well off from the shoare,
that these forces would not this year annoy *Surat*: and for his working I recooted some assurance to my conceits,
that these forces would not this year annoy *Surat*: and for his working I recooted some assurance to my conceits,
the cases of either, and the difference betwene the Vice-roy and me, I meant in our fearell sa-
tisfactions and contents: My coming hither was by the authoritie of my King, and to follow
the desires of my Employers, which was in Merchants ships fitted for defence, and to endea-
mour by honest commerce, without striving to injury any, which God hath of his tender mercie
and bountifull blessing assisted me, that we have performed before my former conceits, and
in most things hitherto God hath granted me my hearts desire: and am now in a good way vpon
my way with the same; with which without further tempting of God, or presuming of Gods
continuing mercies in further deliverances, if I by this I want from what is due, and before him
to be allowed, whose mercies have been free, and without any cause in mee for his owne Name
fike: therefore I hold it fit to proceed soberly, and attend vpon the Enemies attempt, yet not
in safe manner, but in a warlike sort.

On the other side, the vniappoy Vice-roy a famous valiant man, therefore now sent by his
Majesty the King of *Spain* with Ships (the principall of *India*) with men (all the Gallants and
principall Braggards of those neerer parts of *India*) what to doe? Not only to disturbe or in-
tercept the peaceable and quiet trade of the English with the subiects of the *Mogol*, a great King
in his owne Countrey, but to take or burne them: so little regard is had to the effusion of Chri-
stian blood; neuer looking towards the iudgements of God, nor remembering, that as men doe to
others, they must expect to be done to. This Captaine was furnished with abundance of all
things the Countrey might yeeld, and wanted nothing but an vpright cause, fit for God to fa-
uour. He came to the place where he found what he sought, few poore Merchants ships, a few
men, and many of them sicke and dead; and these Braggards measured our minds by their owne,
thought we would neuer stand out against so powerfull a force, as they esteemed they had; and
the conceit of that, set those Coxcombs a madding to be doing mischief, to encrease their pride,
which they intitle honour. I seeing the difference, and the cause I had to pray to God my onely
refuge, whom it pleased to grant the request of me his poore and unworthy seruant: in consola-
tion whereof, I put forward the buisness, and as it were, baited my hook, and the Fifth pre-
sently ranne thence as aforaid.

They came three Ships, and thirte or fortie Frigates, as I imagined; with a vaze laid the *Hope*
aboard with care the Gallions, where by the hand of God in their amazed care their amazed care
they, they received such a blow, as few (and they by their extraordinary chance) escaped with
safetie, and the three ships burnt. Thus it pleased God to crosse their first attempt, and
neuer after, though they beleaguered vs round about by sea, with all their sorts of shippes for many
dayes together, our people still in action, and halfe tired with continual labour, some receiving
in goods; yet, Blessed be God, they could neuer get the advantage to wiane from vs the wallow
of a louse, unless our Bullets which we lent them, his fire-boats failing and nothing prospering;
and once in foure and twentie hours, I sent him a defiance for many dayes together, to try his
temperall; which must needs lie heauie on the stomacke of a Gentleman of so great courage. I es-
teeme now he will hazard much to recouer some of his honour formerly lost (but cruing par-
don for this my digre: on, I will now returne and proceed with my former buisness.)

Wherefore the fix in the morning betwene, I sent for my Majestie, and let him know that my
purpose was, that when the Vice-roy should come vpon neere with vs, that we would all at once
cast about with him, and charge him first on the sudden, to strike an vnexpected terror in the
hearts of his people, who now are bragg, seeing vs going away before them. And to that end I
now went aboard every ship, to give them all directions; and more, that I would call the *Heitor*,
with her Pinnasse and mine, to take in an hundred fardels of the *Hope* goods to lighten her,
and mend her going: which buisness (by reason of my Pinnasse to helpe) I stayed to see it done;
so that it grew to be mid-day, neere which time, my ship which I left saile after me for my better
coming aboard, shooke saile, wherest (as we imagined) the Vice-roy seeing the Admirall
strike her sailes to fall a sterne, might take it of purpose to flay for him in count, he with his
Consorts bore vp with the shoare, and gaue out the hope of their fortunes by further following
of

Wife and sobe
course.

Thankfull com-
federation of
Gods assisting
our equite,
and punishing
the *Portugall*
pride.

Rt. fighting
is such that
more than ho-
nours.

* See this
was after I
have assigned
M. Elkin-
gton's Jour-
nall, where
you may
proceed
with this
thy Cap-
tain's
and to his
Grace's
History
see also this
humble dis-
cussing the
Generals
place of com-
mand.

of vs: which courtes I like very well, since he is so patient; for there is nothing under his foot that can make amends for the loss of the worst mans finger I have. Besides, I will not occasion to fight: for that which I have already paid for, I am already possid on, and I am so farre from the honour to fight for honour, unless for the Honour of my King or Countrey. That I had rather save the life or lues of one of my poore people, then kill a thousand Enemies. Having now finished with the Vice-roy, I let my life to write Letters for the dispatch of the *Hope*, yet still thinking to have halld into the Bay of *Goa*, to promise if I could have left some Considerations there for the Vice-roy at his returne: this was my great desire that I long promised, yet so long trified in dispatch of the *Hope*, that wee were short farre past it before wee had finished the same.

The rest of this Journall is wanting; for hee is also wanting which should have perfected it. But alas, this is the imperfection of Mans best perfections, Death lying in ambush to intrap, whom by open force (you see) he could not deaure. He dying in this Voyage, and following his sonne, hath left this glorious act, *Memoria Sacrum*, the Memorable Epitaph of his worth, favouring of a true Heroike disposition; Piccie and Valour being in him seasoned with Grauitie and Modestie. We will not with heathen Poets cry out of cruell immature Fates: for Death hath presented vnto him possibillitie of diuinitie euents (which as shadowes follow the bodies in greates light) and leauing his liuing Memory here, hath lifted his liuely part, and vertuous Spirit, to receive the applaus, and praise, and reward of God and with God, to whom begory for euer. Amen.

CHAP. XII.

Relations of Master ELKINGTON and Master DODSWORTH,
touching the former Voyage.

§. I.

Collections taken out of the Journall of Captaine THOMAS ELKINGTON,
Successor to Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON in the Voyage
aforesaid, and written by himselfe.

Soldania.



The first of January 1613, the new ship built at *Desford*, was lanchd and called the *New-Teniers-Gift*. The third of March, we came to an anchor in the *Dome*. The thirteenth of June, we set saile from the Bay of *Soldania*. Here at this time which is their deal of Winter, it was temperate, richer inclining to cold then heat. We had little refreshing but water and fish. The people are wretched, neither fow nor plant, dwell in small Cottages made of Hides, and to ioyne many of them in a round Circle, hanging their Cattle in the middelt. They are browne, but by grating themselves become almost blacke, and in the wind vsuafourey a dozen yards off, flicking, trecherous, vnvorly to good Land, which in likelihood with culture would be very fertile.

Theory of blood.

S. Auguftine.

The sixth of August wee had fight of *Saint Laurence*. This night *Robert Waters* departed, a man long diseased in bodie, disturbed in minde by torment of conscience, for a man by him killed in *Coynia*, (cowardly coming behind him, and knocking him on the head) for which he obtained his pardon in the Court of men, but in the inward and spirittuall was thus punished to his death. Here in the Bay of *Saint Auguftine* we wood.d and watered: Some went vp the river and came to their houses or sheeds, which were small things let vp with Canes, and couered with a thing like a hurdle, made of the leaues of the Palme Tree. The people fled and left all that is, nothing but a little Cotton spumpe, or on the Distaffs, with a few necessities. The eleuenth and twelfth, we bought Cattell in exchange of Silver Chaynes, they taking the value of twentie pence, or two shillings in a Chaine for an Oxe, which in money would cost five or six shillings. They are very good, fed (it seemes) with the land, for we saw nothing but land and wood without any graile at all.

The ninth of September, we had fight of *Sucatora*, and passing by *Tamirind* Bay, came to anchor in *Dithia*.

* Of Occurrences here read the former and next following Discourse.

The one and twentieth of October, we came into the Roal of * *Swally*. After the fight on the twentieth of January, in which three *Portugall* ships were burnt, and two Frigates lunked, and Timber procured for the *Hope* maine Matt, which the *Nabob* could be done to warily, that it seemed he was afraid lest the *Portugals* might know it. On the four and twentieth, came a Iesuite with another fellow from the Vice-roy to intreate of peace with *Magrivoon*, who on the

the feuen and twentieth, sent the Vice-Roy one hundred and fiftie *Mauado* Meale, one hundred sheepe, twentie five *Mauado* Confrats with Hens, &c. In the after-noon the *Sabandar* requested me to read a Letter from the Vice-Roy, which signified that whereas by the *Padre* hee was informed that the *Nabob* desired to make peace with his Masters name, and had appointed for treatie thereof the *Sabandar*, *Iaac Beg*, and *Abduram*, hee also had hearkened thereto and appointed three others to that business binding himselfe to performe their agreements.

On the one and thirtieth, the *Sabandar* came vnto mee and told mee, that no peace could bee with the *Portugals*, they refusing to make any reditution for damages or goods taken, but rather to require money of them: and that the Vice-roy had farr to all parts thereabouts for more forces. After their fire deuices frustrated, they all set saile, both Ships, lunkes, Gallies and Frigates, and made at the Barre of *Suaran*. The *Helior* had taken one of their Frigats which was imploied to row the fire-boats and in her feuen men three flaine, four liuing. Soone after they departed: and we also weighed the second of March.

On the fourth, we decried the *Portugall* Fleet, which presently gave vs chase, and the next day also. On the sixth, the General came aboard vs, to with vs to make rendie, he purpoing to turne and giue the on-set on them: but about noone the *Portugals* bore vp the Helme, and stood in for the shoare, and within three houres after we lost sight of them. The tenth, at night the *Hope* departed from vs: The fiftenth, we flew three Spouts of water not farre from vs, one whereof very bigge continuing halfe an hoare. The nineteenth, we doubled Cape *Comarin*.

The tenth of May, the wind and current against vs, the General went to a greene lland to the North of the Salt-hill, and there came to an anchor in twentie fathome good ground lndie. We fought fresh water but found none: wee faw Piggies and Hogs on the lland, and gathered good here of *Coco Nuts*. About this lland is good going, being twelue fathomes within a shoares throw of the shoare. The Pinnalls fetched water at an lland foure leagues off, which was brackish. We found water in the lland beyond the burning one. The second of Iune, wee came to an anchor in *Bantam* Road.

The third of Iuly, we weighed Mace and received Silke for the furnishing of the *Salomon*, for *Malajapatan*, wherein we concluded to send for Merchants, *George Chance*, *Ralph Preston*, *Humphery Elkington*, *Timothy Mallory*, *George Savage*, and *Robert Sanage*.

The eighth of Iuly, we laded Porcellaine in her: and then came newes by a luncke from the *Moluccas*, of the *Thomafine* being there, and of twelue saile of *Hollanders* at *Ternate*, which hindered all men they could from Trade. The eleuenth, our old house escaped great danger of a fire nere it.

On the twentieth, Master *Jorden* received Letters from Master *Ball* at *Maceassar*, of the violent courtes which the *Flemmings* vld with him, beating him from thence, as also that they purpoied with their whole force to come to take *Bantam*, and to place the King of *Morran* in the Government.

The one and twentieth, Master *Berner* set saile in the *Salomon*. The five and twentieth, the *Admiral* and *Attendant* came into the Roal, having bene out of *England* eight moneths. At the Cape they met with the *Globe* and *Lames*, to whom they spured eighteen men. They departed towards *England*, Iuly the fourteenth, and they hither, the eighteenth, meeting with a shippe nere the Cape, which we were iudged to be *Samaritan* or *Hope* from *England*.

The fifth of August, I was aboard with the Generall then very ill, and the next day had word of his departure, whom followed on the eighth. Master *Evans* the Preacher, and Master *Hambden*, as was supposed, by taking *Ladnam*, they both being well a little before. On the eleuenth, the *Admiral* was dispeeled for *Iapan*, with twentie two persons brought out of *England*, five *Blacks* and *Fernandi* the *Spaniard*.

The fourteenth, returned the *Concord* from *Socodama*, and *Maceassar*. That night was much Raine, Thunder and Lightning, the Church or Meskit of *Bantam* split in two with a Thunder-bolt, and the chiefe Priest almost flaine, which the King and people tooke as an ill presage, and therefore determined to make peace with *Iacarra*.

The sixteenth, the *Thomafine* Boat came into *Bantam*, with twentie two *Englsh*, and five *Blacks*, which told of the casting away of the *Thomafine* on certain Rocks, twentie two leagues from *Maceassar* the night before, *Wilson* the Master being carelesse, and all the company asleepe, fawing he which was at the Helme. The money they fawed and brought with them. Master *Baily* signified also that the wrackel company there enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused them to restore.

The nineteenth, the *Flemmings* put into the *Bilbore* three *Blacks*; that Master *Baily* brought with him from *Celoa*, pretending they tooke them climbing over their pales, also that they were taken to a place which they protected, and therefore would keepe them. We are many wayes most vily abused by them, nor is any way to right vs except wee should goe together by the care, this as we conceive being wrought of purpose, and the *Blacks* intiled by them and willing to it, as being taken by force: which after that I knew, I was offended with Master *Baily*, being a meane that whereas heretofore wee haue bene in all places well intreated, that wee should be

Speuts of
vris
A.D. 1615.

Malajapatan.

Holland abuses
of vs at
Maceassar.

General Downton
his death.
By order in
the M. Elkin-
gton's success-
or's death.
to Iapan.
Tempest.

Thomafine lost.

Hollanders
on vessels
and abuses.

M. de Lering-
radice.

be hated as Men-robbers, which the *Flemmings* to disgrace vs will not let to blaze abroad. The thirteenth of September, the watch clyped a fire in the chatch ouer *Maister Jordan* lodging, which was soone quenched: it was throwne there purpoldy; we found the Cane wherein it was done, for which we suspected *Francisco the Spaniard* turned *Isaiah*. The same night the like happened in two or three places of the Towne, but all prevented.

Delawey.

The second of October, *Sophone Coflick*, Merchant, came in a small Pinnace from *Palmyra*, one of the Ilands of *Banda*, with an *Oranasco*, to confesse of trade.

The two and twentieth, I with *Maister Pring* and *Maister Baile*, went ashore to confesse with the *Flemmish* Generall, touching certaine idle complaints made by them of our Merchants; where the President found very impatient, calling vs insolent * *English*, and with threats, telling vs our pride would have a fall, with many other disgracefull words; this being the entertainment of that borish Generall, *Garrat Reynes*, in his owne house; shewing the like or worse to *Maister B.ill*, coming aboard him at *Banda*, and foure of our men entreating passage with him thence to *Cambello*, upon no cause he carried them thither in the *Bilboes*.

* *Quia talis est
Graciosa de
finitione qua
est: Call whos
fish, Dutch
here last fish
ac. me to le
English?
Letter from
Banda, with of
for Trade,
&c.*

The third of Nouember, I went ashore: *Captaine Jordan* called together the Merchants, and sent for the *Oranasco* of *Banda*, having had his Letter translate d, the effect whereof was, that in regard of the ancient friendship betwene the *English* and them, and especially with *Captaine Keel*, withall being provoked by the cruelty of the *Hollanders*, their earnest desire was to trade only with the *English* for the Spices of *Palmyra*, *Polemos* and *Negra*: conditionally that the *English* would furnish them with Victuals, Munition and Ordnance, and helpe them to recover the Cattle of *Nera*, and that some might bee sent to *Banda*, to confesse hereof with the *Oranasco*. To which was answered, that for helpe to recover *Nera*, we could not doe it without order from *England*, for Ordnance at present we were unprovided: what we could, we would, which was to turne them with Victuals, and what other propositions we could, till further order out of *England*, and to trade to them for Spices, purposing to send a ship, and some to confesse with the *Oranasco*, how we should be secured, and whether they would permit vs a Fort on shore.

The two and twentieth, were five *Hollanders* riding without: foure of which came from *Mauritius* Iland (having come out of *Holland* nineteen months past) where they found *Generall Bute* call away with three ships, two utterly lost, the third men and goods saved, the fourth went home with a Tury Mall, in company of a small Pinnace that came thither by chance. One of these ships that was at the *Mauritius* came away before the rest, whom they found joining to and againe before the Straights mouth, having lost one hundred and sixty men, and left in her but eight.

The five and twentieth, by a letter from *Primasus*, we had newes of the death of *Maister Oxewig* and *Samuel Negus*.

§. II.

A Briefe of Memorials observed and written by M. EDWARD DODSWORTH, 40
Merchant in the former Voyage, which returned in the Hope.

THE sixteenth of October, in the Bay of *Surat*, came aboard vs *Maister Aldworth* and *Maister Steele*: and the next day in consultation it was demanded of *Maister Aldworth* according to the Companies * Commission, concerning *Paul Cammings*, of his carriage and respect with the King: to which he answered, That was well, and this good, till the Iesuits had made knowne that he was a Merchant, and not immediately sent from our Kings after that, neglected, since which he dyed. Also he thought fit that some one of our Nation, of good respect, should remaine at Court, to right vs in those wrongs which might bee offered. To this function *Maister Edwards* was chosen as a man most answerable to the Companies Commission to go for *Agra*, some question being made whether he should proceed in name and protection of a Merchant (according to the strictness of the Commission) which *Maister Aldworth* conceited would procure him disrespect with the King. After much confelting, some way was given to *Maister Edwards*, lest they should seeme contrary to each other in their proceedings, it being before by some given out, that he was the Kings Messenger.

* This Commission had five questions, of which I take this, which is fit for the publicke.
* Of his death with the others in N. H. his reputation, as was thought, from the letters, &c.

All this while we heard not from the Cheefe at *Surat*, nor had any encouragement, or so much as refreshing, whereupon I was sent with a letter to the *Nabob*, and doubting to get into the Citie, was forced to stay by the way, and lye in a poore Cottage, and the next day we courtly entertained: but having *Nicholas Phipps* with me for Interpreter, a man knowen and honestly employed, as *Captaine Harbott* debts and affairs: he depicted discontent, having in *Companys* with others, to receive my letter: I refused to deliver it to them; in the afternoon I was admitted, and he seemed much discontent at our want of refreshments, as not knowing it, promising reformation: and the next day went to talke with the Generall at *Swalby*.

by, who had come into that Road on the one and twentieth. Neuertheless, we had found nothing but delays: and the nine and twentieth, he sent the *Sabandar* to acquaint vs, that we should looke for no trade or kindnesse, except we would assist them against the *Portugals*: Which the Generall refusing, further then his Commission gave leave, he also desired leave by his letter, that his Merchants might come aboard with their goods, so to depart to some other place, where with safety he might deliver his Maisties Letters and Present to the *Mogoll*. *Maister Elkingston* and *Maister Aldworth* went with this Letter. * But *Magro Can* would not so much as looke on vs, butooke it very scornfully, and went his way, and sent the *Sabandar* with answere as before.

* The words following and some other I have better inserted out of *Maister Elkingston*'s Journal.

10 The second of Nouember, we had foure entertainment of him, telling vs, if we would stay, we might; if we would go, we might go, either in Gods, or the Devils name; if we would let demands referring vs to *Isack Beg* and the *Sabandar*, who would yield vs nothing. The common people seemed well affected to vs, the greater to desire our come rather then our company, but so that we thought none of them durst game-stand the Kings *Firme*: whereupon it was concluded that the goods should be landed, which accordingly was done. But in the *Alfandeca* we could find no reasonable rackets on the goods, nor lase to carry away any thing, till the *Nabob* had sente them, and taken what he pleased (is hee had come in opening mens chests, neither Mariner nor Merchant elcaped without trifles taken from them, no reason after given for it) searching to the very pillowes and pockets, not sparing *Maister Edwards* himselfe: Customing the 1000 Cables, Bottles, Apparell, or what we brought for necessary vs, as it they sought by foule viage to weary vs.

Harsh and barbarous dealing.

The fiftenth, *Magro Can* himselfe came to the *Alfandeca* and sealed vp the Kings Presents, which he was deirous to see, although he had promised that they should passe without opening. He desired to haue all the Pictures and Combs-works, which we laid were to go for *Agra*, but the King might haue his choice. Whereupon (notwithstanding he was offered part of them) he sell into great choler, and about d. six. he sent *Sir Henry Middleton* his proceedings in the *Red-Cape*, wishing *Maister Aldworth* to write to the King vs such a letter, which was answered to haue been already effected was (secret and) delay, we being not permitted to carry away the Kings Presents. The 10 Pictures by lying in the Sunne, were broken and warped in vyle manner, we also in danger to lose the Monson, and the Kings Present, with Muskets and Fowling-peeces taken from our men, were carried to his house: and nothing permitted vs, except he might first see the Kings Present, which we at last yielded vnto, and *Magro Can* as much as he could disgraced, boasting of his respect with the King. And thus had we leave to remoue them.

The foure and twentieth, came a *Firme* from the *Mogoll*, which the *Nabob* (according to their custome) met in state two miles out of the Citie, with fixe hundred horse. And the next day we were kindly entertained, and he gave *Maister Edwards* eight hundred and fiftie *Mannas*, thirty peeces of Topficell, ten of fine Calicoes, &c. the money to carry vp the Presents, (the King not willing to charge them that bring them) the Suffis and Calicoes for such as should accompany them. To the Merchants also he gave fiftene peeces of Topficell (five to each) with his chop for our departure, and kind promises: all in the light of him which brought the *Firme*. The thirtieth, *Maister Edwards* and we set forward towards *Amadanar*.

The second of December, we came to *Baroche*: from whence the *Gouernour* sent a guard of Soldiers with vs to *Demydale*, and there had a new convey of fittie horse and too to *Charmouda*: whence we departed on the fteenth, with fixe and twentie footmen, all notorious thieves (as felous, as formerly we were), with our carts: at supper time we had been assaulted with fiftie ried being certainly knowne throw all the Country as well travelled.

10 The eight, we came to *Brodera*, and gave the *Gouernour* a Present, which he accepted kindly, but requested a further kindnesse to see our Maistie dogge, which seemed fertile, and is well watered, a thing not so common in those parts. We departed hence with one hundred horse and foot, which vlltarily offered that service (in regard especially of the Kings Present, employed by the *Gouernour*) not without charge to vs, and came to *Arrat*, a Towne inhabited for the most part with *Bahians*, where their superstition of not killing any thing, caused vs bad entertainment.

On the thirteenth, we came to *Amadanar*. Hence we gave commission to *Richard Steele*, and *John Cromber* for their *Person* journey. And hence the second of Ianuary, *Maister Edwards* departed from vs for *Agra*.

40 All this while finding the Merchants here, in hope of Peace with the *Portugals*, to inhance the prices of their Indico, we relented to go to *Sargues* to make trall with the Countie people, who are the makers of it: which on the fteenth we did, and found good employment in foure dayes packing vp foure hundred fanilles; and *Maister Aldworth* returning to *Amadanar*, found them now more tractable. *Sargues* is thence 36. distant, the Towne not bigge, but counted the best

A Maffie dogge in request.
Arrat a Towne of Bahians, Amadanar, Steele and Cromber his Journal following.

Sargues.

Monuments
& Pilgrimage.

Isle for Ind-co in those parts, the trial thereof chiefly by water, as at *Amudana* *Lamocereb* by fire, all of them ready to put tricks on vs by mingling or otherwise. At *Sargat* are two of the most ancient Monuments in those parts; one of a chiefe Prophet there inrobed, to which many Pilgrims resort from farre; the other of their ancient Kings. To the North of the *Towne* is the place, where *Can Camia* first put the *Guzzerates* (the ancient inhabitants) to flight, the which of the Kingdome being shortly after conquered by *Echar* this Kings Father. This place of the victory is strongly walled with bricke, some mile and halfe in circuit, planted with fruits and watered plentifully, and a costly house called *Vilroy* erected, in which he resided for a time, but now in *Bramport*.

The foure and twentieth, we went to the Gouverneur for his leave to depart, which he granted; but hearing of duers robbed and murdered that night close by the *Cote*, order was given that we should lay till a sufficient guard were made ready for vs. The next morning we had Letters from *M. Elkington* of the arrivall of the *Portugall* Vice-roy, with a strong force to drive vs out of the Country.

The fight be-
tweene the En-
glish and Por-
tugals.
See of more
in my Pilgrimage,
p. 154. out of
the relation of
the English com-
pany at that
time; is also
Captaine
Downes owne
Voyage.
Tempestu-
ous & no-
tunat in illa.

The Generall to procure some weakening of their strength, caused the *Hope* to fall downe to the Southermost land, thinking in eager pursuit some of them would be driven around. Presently three of the smallest ships, and three like Frigats were sent to boord her, hoping to towne her away. Thrice the enemy entred, and was thrice repulled, and forced at last to scape over-board, thinking in their Frigats to save themselves, who received such hot discourse from the other ships, that they could not release them, so that many were swallowed by the Sea, others laine a-board, to the number, as is reported, of three hundred at least. The Ships which had boarded the *Hope*, were now (in despair, and out of all hope) cut out of all hope, and seized lazily by the two desperate, horrid, mercuriall Elements. Five of the Sea, recommending some bones of their burnt Carcases to the ground and shoare.

The fixe and twentieth, we departed with fortie cart-loads of Indico and other goods, and came the seven and twentieth to *Mandana*, where the Gates were shut upon vs by *Sarder* *Can*, whom we put in vs in much doubt, we procured one to speake with the Gouverneur, who told him of Letters that he had received from *Moerib* *Can*, of our Generalls proceedings at *Swally*, and the safetie of *Surat* by the English, wishing him by no means to fall vs to returne without a sufficient guard, which the next day should be ready for our safe departure. The twentieth, we departed. At *Brodera*, *Sarder* *Can* men took up more foulidours to assist them, many robberies and murders being daily committed, and duers companies of *Rajpootes* lying in the way to intercept.

The second of February, about three hundred *Rajpootes* assaulted vs in a narrow lane, inclosed on both sides with thick hedges, where we could not hurt them, as they did our Castles, with their arrowes and Shot. We therefore made what halfe we could for the *Plaine*: meane while, they cut off two of our Couches. But having gotten the *Plaine*, we made a stand, where they betooke them to their hedges againe, and left vs to looke to their prey, least one thiefe might rob another. Many of our company were hurt, whereof *Humphrey Elkington* for one. The next day we got to *Baroche*, and on the fifth to *Surat*, and thanked *Moerib* *Can* for his care; and hearing of an assault the *Portugals* would next day give vs, with his protected loue and leave went the next day to *Swally*, and came aboard: but the *Portugals* decieved our expectation.

The ninth, the poore inhabitants of *Swally* brought vs word of two fire-boats, to be set with the next Ebbe to fire our ships, which endangered most them endangered the *Hope*. The night following they attempted the like with four other chained together, which with the advantage of the Tyde, and attendance of smaller boats came, but frustrate in their successe: first to themselves, foure of their Companie taken, and their Boats burned to the Keele. The Captains confessed this the last of the Sea-royes designs for this year, hee being enforced for want of water and victuals to returne for *Goa*.

The Examination of Domingo Francisco, taken in Swally Roade, aboard the Gift. February 20. 1614.

HE saith, That he was borne in *Lisboa*, being the sonne of a Marriner, and served *Nuno* *d'Almeida* in the fight against *Captaine Boff*, in one of the foure Gallions, and afterwards went for *Macao* upon the borders of *China*, and returned againe to *Goa*, where he hath remained ten Moneths, and was two Moneths since commanded to come in a Gallion called the *S. Antonio*, in this Expedition for the Port of *Swally*, where the eighth of this Moneth hee was taken. The Vice-roy *Don Ieronimo de Saudo*, came (as this Examinee further saith) to the destruction of the English at *Surat* with these forces. His owne ship called the *All-Saints*, of eight hundred Tunnes burthen, had three hundred men, and twenty eight pieces of Ordnance. *Michaels* de *Saudo* Captaine of the *S. Bernes* of foure hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and fiftie men, and twenty Peeces, *Iohn Caputo*, Captaine of the *S. Laurence* of fixe hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and fiftie men, eighteenth Peeces, *Francisco Henriquez* Captaine of the *S. Christopher*, of much

The Vice-roy,
and his forces
and purpose.
Gallions fixe.
Three Cap-
taines, bur-
then, men, and
munition.

much burthen, had one hundred and fiftie nine men, and Ordnance as the former. *Francisco de Alvares*, Captaine of the *S. Ieronimo* of five hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and eightie men, sixteen Peeces, *Gaspard de Meill* Captaine of the *S. Antonio* of foure hundred Tunnes, had an hundred and fortie men, foureteeen Peeces.

The ships were the *S. Peter* of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine *Francisco Cancao*, men one hundred and fiftie, Peeces eight. The *S. Paul* of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine *Don Iohn de Mefcena*, one hundred fiftie men, eight Peeces. The *Pinnalle* one hundred twenty Tunnes, Captaine *Andreas de Quella*, eightie men, foure Peeces. *Louren de Bruto*, Captaine of one *Gaily*, *Diogo de Sore*, of the other, in each fiftie men. Of the Frigats there were fiftie, having twentie fouldours a peece, and eighteene oares on a side. The supply which came: after, was two ships of two hundred Tunnes a peece, two *India* lunkes, and eight small Boates imployed to fire vs. The Admiralls Ordnance were all of Brail; of the other five Gallions, halfe of Brail, halfe of Iron; against all which, the Almighty (blessed be his Name) protected vs.

The five and twentieth, the *Nabib* visited the Generall both ashore and aboard. And the Generall thought fit with consent of the rest, that I should returne with the *Hope* for England. The third of March, we weighed from *Swally* real, the next day had fight of the *Portugall* fleet. The sixth, we expected they would have fought, and prepared our fights; but at noone they tary for *Goa*. On the eleventh, we parted from the Generall, they bound for *Achen* and *Bastam*, we for *England*. On the twelfth, we did not courie by the North end of the *Maldunas*, where by experience we found many shoals and flands, laid in the plats most fallily, as may seeme of purple, that these Seas might seeme more dangerous then they are.

The seventeenth of June, 1615, we arrived at *Saldania Bay*, where we found a fleet of foure false English bound for *Surat*, under the command of Captaine *Keeling*, which after consultation holden, and newes of the state there, departed. On the twentieth, I met with *Crosse* and his Companie, there left to make a discovery, and intreated some of them to acquaint *Crosse* with my coming, which by the way were set upon by the Sauges and wounded, and therupon foure Muskets delivred *Crosse* at his request, who procured Crowe to come downe with his whole family, and after that home *Castell*. He told of the discords amongst the Sauges, whereby the Mountaineers sometimes robbed them. The fixe and twentieth we departed, leaving our long Boat to *Crosse*, with powder, shot, and provision.

In twenty nine degrees North, we met with a *Holland* ship come from the *Mauritius*, set forth thither to cut wood, which seemed a Bassard hony, where contrary to their expectation, they found the lamentable wracke of foure ships come from *Bastam* and the *Moluccas*, broken on the rocks, the goods and men of two of them lost; of the third most of the goods saved, and with part thereof this ship laden; the fourth driven to sea by a storme, returned with a ruy maine mast. The Master promised vs company, but finding vs a hinderance, after tenne dayes lay vs, without to much kindeffe as a fare well, or carriage of a letter, which I imputed to their inbred boonish disposition. Ill weather followed, and we were much weakened, yet I thank God without the loss of any, till my arrivall in *Island*, twenty of the *Rixus* of *Limerick*. The foure and twentieth of October, 1615, there also entered with a storme, till a *Scotch* Barke crossed with contrary winds, was hired to pilot vs into *Harbour*: where also a remanier of Captaine *M. his* vngolly crew, which lately had obtained their pardon, put mee in feare, till Sir *Hermie Feliet* secured vs with a supply of men; and I dispatched Letters to *London*.

CHAP. XIII.

50 A Journal of the Journey of RICHARD STEEL and JOHN CROWTHER, from Azmere in India, the place of the Great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East-Indian Society. Ann. 1615. 1616.

HE leuenteenth of March, 1614. after we had been detained in *Azmere* from February. *M. Edwards* having received a Letter from the *Mogol* vnto our Kingdome, he read a Copy thereof together with his Letters vnto *Richard Steele*, and wrote leave, promising to procure the Kings *Firman* for our safetie and speed, and to send it off vs to *Agra*, where he willed vs to stay for it. We went that night two courtes to *Mawully* we had foure seruants, two horses, and a Camel. The eighteenth, to *Bawer* *Andree* a small *Aldea* twelue courtes. The nineteenth, ten courtes to *Majhades*. The twentieth, to *Pipelo* 13. The one and twentieth, to *Chadpole* a Towne 7. The two and twentieth, to *Lalcoote*, 13. The three and twentieth, to *Mogol Serai*, 13. The foure and twentieth, to *Hendonne*, 14. The five and twentieth, to *Brambad*, 15. The fixe and twentieth, to *Petpore*, 15.

60

A course is
a mile and halfe,
and in some
places two
miles English.

ling by themselves or staying behind, they will kill them about in the Mountaines, and hose them to prevent running away, and put them to grind graine with Hand-mills, and other kinde drudgery.

The City.

The City of *Candahar* is ancient, the Inhabitants anciently *Barians*: there now resideth the Governour of the Countrey, and a Garrison maintained by the *Mogoll*, of twelve or fifteen thousand Herlemen, in regard of the *Persian* neighbors to the North. And West-ward it is enuironed with a m. albie terrace, craggy Rocks; and to the South and to the East with a strong wall. By reason of frequent pillage of Carauans it is much enlarged lately, that the Suburbs are bigger then the City. For within this two years, that the way of *Ormus* is stopped up by the wars betwixt the *Persians* and *Portugalls*, all Carauans which passe betwixt *India* and *Perfia*, must of necessity go by this place. And here they doe hire Camels to go into *India*, and at their returne for *Perfia*. They cannot returne allo without the Governours leave, which causeth them to stay a month, and when least, fixteene or twentie dayes: whereby it is much inhabited with lewd people, as all such places of resort commonly are. Prouision of victuals is there in great abundance for man and beast, yet deare by so great concourse. Trade it yields not of it selfe, but accidentally by the meeting of *Indian*, *Persian* and *Turke* Merchants, which are not willing to trauell further at twentie *per Cento* profit. At this place the Carauans which goe to *India*, do sojourn for greater strength in passing the Mountaines of *Candahar*: and those which come from thence here breake into smaller Companies: for in many places greater would not find prouision.

Barrenness of the borders of the Mogoll and Persia.

For all *Perfia*, especially betwixt this and *Spahan*, is barren, where sometime in two or three dayes trauell, there is no greene thing to be seene; only some water, and that also often brackish, stinking and naught. We layd here foureteeen dayes, partly to refresh our bodies weakened with heate and trauaile (*Iohn Crouther* being so weak that hee should not bee able to trauell further) and partly for company.

The Persian Countreys.

The three and twentieth of July, we departed *Candahar* in company of three *Armenians*, and a dozen *Persian* Merchants, and went 4. to a Village called *Serinde*. The foure and twentieth, 4. to *Dea*, a small Village. The five and twentieth, 8. to *Perfiana*, a small Caste, where the *Mogoll* hath a Garrison in the utmost confines of his Dominions.

Farras (Parasage of 60. Farras)

The fixe and twentieth, 17. c. and lay by a River side in the open fields. The seven and twentieth, 4. to a Caste called *Gree* the first of the King of *Perfia*. Here we deliuered the Embassadors Letter receiued at *Lahore*, to the Governour, and presented him with a Looking-glasse and three Knives. He would take nothing of vs for our Camels, whereas others paid five Abaces vpon a Camell. He promised to safe-conduct vs, and to send a company of Horse to carrie vs to the next Government. But we saw none, neither were we forie for it: for that hee is little better then a Rebbl, and all his people Theues. The eight and twentieth, at night we departed and lodged nere vnto a *Dea* called *Malger*; two farings. Every faring is two *Indian* Courtes and a halfe. The nine and twentieth, ten farings, and lodged in the open fields, where was nothing to be had but water. The thirte 11. five farings to *Gachichah* a small Caste. The one and thirtieth, five farings to an old ruined Fort, where was nothing to be had but water, and that stinking.

Farras Sun dried Buckles.

The first of August, five farings to an old Fort called *De Larum*, where we paid an Abace and halfe on a Camell, and stayed one day to refresh our cattell, which is called making of *Machoe*. The third, to *Bacon*, an old Caste, seven farings. The fourth, in the open fields, nothing but water, four farings. The fifth, four farings. The sixth to *Farra* five farings: This is a little Towne walled with a high wall of bricke about, dried in the Sunne (as are all the Castles) is built moit of the buildings of those parts) four square, a mile about; having a pretty *Bazar* vaulted over-head to keepe from raine, wherein all necessaries are sold. It stands in a good soile, and hath plenty of water, without which in this Countrey nothing is to be had: and it is strange to see, where there is any good spot of ground (which is here but little) with what labour and industry they bring water to it, in some places three or foure miles together by tranches walled round. At this Towne all Merchants which go into *Perfia*, are forced to stay seven, or eight, or ten dayes together, where the Kings Treasurer fetch the weight of all their packes, and esteemes them to so much the Maune, as he thinks fit, and takes three *per Cento* custome.

Water how precious.

At their coming into *Perfia*, they are vied with great fauour: for they feare lest complaints should be made to the King, which will haue Merchants kindly entreated.

But at their going into *India* they vie all extremities, searching them to the skinner for gold, which to transport, many coyne of silver out of *Perfia*, but the King, as deare as the gold, Likewile they seeke narrowly for horses and asses, which the King will not haue transported. Here we stayed two dayes for certaine *Armenians*, with whom we went, leaving our former company. The ninth, one faring to a River. The tenth, in the open fields, seven farings. The eleuenth, four farings to a small Village, where we had store of prouision. The twelfth, four farings, where we digged for water. The thirteenth, eight farings. The fourteenth, to *Dram*, a Village, five farings, where we stayed a day, which is the custome once in foure dayes, for such as trauell with *Indian* Camels, to rest. The sixteenth, three farings. The seventeenth, four farings.

ings. The eighteenth, to *Zandahab*, five farings, where are good store of Carpets to be bought. The nineteenth, to *Mada* a Village, where are also Carpets. The twentieth, to *Birchoe*, five farings, where are store of fine Fels Carpets of Camels haire, made from two to five Abaces the Maune, here we stayed a day. The two and twentieth, to *Deacade*, where they pretend all to be religious, and haue store of Carpets to sell at cheape rates. The three and twentieth, three farings. The foure and twentieth, five farings to *Choe*, an old ruined towne. The five and twentieth, three farings. The six and twentieth, seven farings, the water brackish and stinking. The seven and twentieth, to *Dehage*, where is a prettie streame of hot water, which being put into any vessel, becomes coole and health-ome. The eight and twentieth, seven farings to *Dea* *Toma*. The nine and twentieth, to *Tobas* five farings, we payed halfe an Abace a Camell. At *Toma* all Carauans doe rest at least foure or five dayes, the better to be able to passe the fild Defert alioying, being foure long dayes journey, wherein many milary. We found there a small Caste of Dates, and three thousand Maune yearly of the finest Silke in *Perfia*, which is caried to *Tader*, a faire City, where they haue the like, and is made into *Taffetas*, *Sattens* and *Damaskes*. The King will not suffer it to be transported, especially into *Turkie*, but the *Portugalls* caried it into *Portingall*. *Tader* is about twelue dayes journey from *Spahan*, and twelue farings out of the way of *India*. The thirtieth, we went nine farings over the Desert, lay in the fields, and sent our beasts three miles out of the way for water, it being exceeding hile. The one and thirtieth, ten farings, where the water was not all so brackish.

The first of September, five farings, where we went two miles for water. The second, to 9 small Caste nine farings, little prouision. The third, five farings, lay in the fields, sent farr for water. The fourth, to *Seagan* ten farings. The fifth, four farings. The sixth, to *Irabad*, a Caste, ten farings, where we payed halfe an Abace on a Camell. The seventh, six farings. The eight, to *Ardeem* eight farings, where we layed till the tenth. Then went to *Sieley* four farings. The eleuenth, to *Agua Gaurum*, a small Caste, three farings. The twelfth, to *Spahan* four farings. The thirteenth, to *Beauca* three farings. The fourteenth, to *Gonahad* four farings, from whence *Richard Steele* rode before to *Spahan*. The fiftieth, to *Mores Shavade* five farings. The sixteenth, to *Coopa* five farings. The seventeenth, to *Dea Sahi* five farings. The eighteenth, four farings, and lay in the fields. The nineteenth, three farings, and came to *Spahan*. *Richard Steele* reached thither the fiftieth at Noone, and found Sir *Robert Sherley* dispatched from the *Persian* King, in Embassage to the King of *Spain*, with him his Lady, and for his Chaplaine, a Friar of the Bare-foot Order, with five and fittie *Portugall* prisoners, and his owne followers, both *Persian* and *Armenians*, feeding for *Ormus*, to imbarke for *Lisbon*. The purpose is, that seeing the *Portugalls* are not able to land, the *Spaniards* may be brought in, six Friars remaining in hostage till his returne, at *Spahan*, whom otherwise the King hath vowed to cut in pieces, which he is likely enough to doe, who hath done to death his owne foine, and committed a thousand other feuerities. *Richard Steele* deliuered his Lettices to Sir *Robert*, who durst hardly reade them, but now and then by stealth, fearing the *Portugalls* should know of them. Hee after said it was too late to look after that businesse for our Nation, and seemed discontent with the company, and the Master and Merchants which landed him. But at last said he was an *Englishman*, and promised to effect our desires, and (the Friars being absent) caried both on the nineteenth to the Master of the Ceremonies or *Maimondare*, and took vs with him to the Great *Vicier*, *Sarek*, *Hogea*, who presently called his Seruants, & made draughts of what we desired: viz. three *Firmans*, one which *Iohn Crouther* hath for *Sarat*, one for *Richard Steele*, to carry into *England*, and the third lene to *Ish*, who, to the Governour. All are sealed with the Kings great Seale, and to this effect, That all Governours of Sea-ports within his Maiesties Dominions, shall kindly entertaine the *English* shipping, &c. The fime day that these *Firmans* were ended, departed Sir *Robert Sherley*, being the last of September, toward *Sarat*, with great pompe and much honour, &c.

Your Worship at Command,

RICHARD STEELE.

Your Worships seruient euer to be Comended

JOHN CROWTHER.

The chiefe Commodities of *Perfia* are Raw-silke, of which it yields, according to the Kings Comodities of *Perfia* bookes, yearly seven thousand and seven hundred Batmans. Rubarb grows in *Cheranjan*, where Worme-seed grows also: Carpets of all sorts, Silke and Gold, Silke and Silver, halfe Silke halfe Cotton, &c. Their monies in *Perfia* of Silver, are the Abace, the Mahomedie, Shalhe and Blitice: the rest of Copper, like the Tangas and Pilos of *India*. The Abace weigheth two Their Monies: the Mahomedie is halfe an Abace; the Shalhe halfe a Mahomedie: in the Rubarb weight eight

Of Sir Robert Sherley his landing, reade *Poynt* first Voyage: and at the rest of his Iourneys, see the second.

The measure.

Richard Steele's
journey by
land thence
to Persia and Tur-
key.

eight are thirteen Shahees. In a Shahee are two Bitters and a half, or ten Casbegs. One Bitter is four Casbegs or two Tangs. The weights differ in diuers places: two Malsins of *Tauris* make one of *Spahan*, and likewise the Batman. The measure of Silkes, &c. is the same with the Pike of *Alippo*, which we uidge leuen and twenty inches.

John Crammer returned into *India*. *Richard Steele* to *England* by the way of *Turkey*. From *Spahan* the second of December, five farlings to a *Sarail*. The third, eight farlings to another *Sarail*. The fourth, to a Village five farlings. The fifth, to *Dreag* leuen farlings. The sixth, to a *Sarail* leuen farlings. The seventh, to *Golpagan* eight farlings. The eighth, to *Cummen* leuen farlings. The ninth, to *Shongor* leuen farlings. The tenth, to *Sara* six farlings. The eleventh, to *Dijebad* eight farlings. The twelfth, two Mansils to a fair Towne *Tajikistan*, twelve farlings, and that day, because of the deepe Snow. The thirteenth, to *Kashan* six farlings. The fourteenth, to *Sara* eight farlings. The fifteenth, to *Shar Nuaen*, where I was laye, by me. *Daga*, but shewing Letters from the *Vizier*, hee bade me durpar in the name of God and *Alla*. The sixteenth, passed by a bridge, where all men are to giue account what they are, and pay two *Sahees* a Camell. The nineteenth, to *Kashankhin*, the last of the *Persian* Court-mens, and giue a Present to the Gouverneur for a guard against the *Turke-men*: which hee not only did, but gaue mee licence to feed on his Villages without paying, which yet I would not. The one and twentieth, I began my journey ouer the high mountaynes, which part the two Countries, being dangerous, and the two and twentieth arrived at a Village, eight farlings. The three and twentieth, leuen farlings, lay vnder a rocke. The four and twentieth, to *Mando*, a Towne vnder the *Turkes*, eight farlings. The five and twentieth, to *Emmefter* eight farlings. The six and twentieth, to *Bereh*, passed ouer a Riuer by Boat, and that night came at *Bagdad*, eight farlings, where I was searched and examined for letters, which I had hid vnder my clothes, whether one also was prying, but by a signe which I made, gaue ouer, and followed mee to my lodging for his expected reward. I escaped better then an old *Spaniard*, who a fortnight before was imprisoned and clained in the Castle, his letters read by a *Malice* a Renegade. I met with a *Portingall* which arrived here (from *Gouad* and *Ormus*) two daies before mee. The *Bastia* made vs stay here twenty daies, to stay for a *Sahander* of his.

The sixteenth of January, we passed *Tygris*, and lay on the Desert side. The fourteenth, we went hie *Agaz* (leagues or farlings) the eighteenth, met with *Emphrates* at *Thulugy*, where Merchants discharge for *Bagdad*, or (after hie per *Cento* custome paid) pass the *Tygris* for the *Persian* Gulfe. And after a tedious passage, partly by the Riuer, partly by Deserts, partly by Sea, the fiftenth of April 1616, he arrived at *Marselis*, and the tenth of May at *Domer*, &c.

Your Wayships to command in all obedience,

RICHARD STEELE

The Copie of the King of Persias Firman, Translated out of the Persia.

Frerly a name given to the East to all Western Christians, since the Expedition into the Holy Land: the French being chief therein, and a French Council at Clermont cause thereof

* The Journal had not the Authors name, but I find him thus named by Captain *Pozzo*, as *Teco*, *Soldan* in their ydce drivers, like minutes south.

FORMAN or Command given unto all our Subjects, from the greatest, unto what degree French, to the South-bath or Conitables of our Country, to kindly receive and entertaine the English *Frank* or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arrive at *Isafques*, or any other of the Ports in our Kingdom: to conuall them and their Merchandise to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other *Frank* or *French* whatsoeuer.

Thus I will and command you to do, as you shall answer to the contrary. Given at our Royal Citie, the twelfth of this Mon Ramazan (October) in the years of Our Tazac 1024. A.D. 1615.

CHAP. XIII.

Memorials of a Voyage, wherein were employed three Shippers, the Samaritan, Thomas and Thomasine 1614, written by * JOHN MILDWARD Merchant, who went in the Thomas.



He tenth of May 1614, we anchored at *Gore-end*. The third of October in the Bay of *Saldania*, where we bought one hundred and forty sheep, and ten Oxen, and more might have done. These people are most miserable, destitute of Religion in any kind, so farre as we can perceive, and of all civility; their speech a clattering rather then language; naked, save a short cloake of skinn on their shoulders, and a Fox-skinne before their priuities: haue but one loine, natural ly or ceremoniously I know not, care that which dogges would hardly digest. They demanded

CHAP. 14. Description of the Iland and Commodities of Soldania.

vnreasonably for their Carrell, which we thought proceeded from *Cories*, who had been in *England*, and (as we suppose) acquainted them with our little esteem of Iron and Copper, asking prices as big as their cloakes, and had for their Carrell Skillers, Basons, and Scummers. One seemed to be chiffe, whom the General kindly entertained in his Tent, and were after that bought more freely. Their Sheep like our Goats, with small horns, their Oxen larger then ours, the flesh white like our Muttons, the fat yellow as the yolke of an egge, wilde, and of one those most of them like themselves. October is with them, as April with vs, the weather temperate, but hot and parching at noone, the aire whole some, our men presently recouering, more desperately heile, they of the Scurvy vying a red Berry as big as a Goose-berry.

The twentieth of December, the General called the *Malters* and *Malters-mates* to come aboard, supposing that we were that one hundred and fittie leagues more then reckoning to the East, in eightene degrees forty minutes. The nine and twentieth, we discovered Land, but knew not well in what height we were, relused that it was *Lana*, but knew not what part of it, supposed it the South-side, and that we were fallen on it by keeping too Easterly a course. And though the plats make it to be betwixt eleven and twelue degrees, and our latitude, at that time, was but eight degrees forty minutes; yet it is questionable whether it hath been discovered, but howeouer, or whereto we were, it is certain that we were fallen to Leeward of the Straits of *Sunda*, by two or three degrees, and into the North-west Monions, which blow therabouts from September to the last of March. All the *Malters* were of opinion, to goe backe into thirtene or fourtente degrees South-ward, to fetch the South-east wind, which is a trade wind betweene twenty eight and eleven degrees, and to shapre our course more Northerly. Others were of opinion, to goe round about the Iland, and to fetch *Baniam*, as certaine *Dutch-men* had done heretofore on this occasion, and accomplished it in fewe weekes space. But the first opinion took place. The Land heretofore is very high, and neere the sea full of great Trees, the aire noytome by thinke from the thore, subject to much lightning, thunder, and raine, with sudden gulls. The next day noone, we had a good obstruction in the latitude of eight degrees thirty five minutes. The General was relused to heat vp and downe, to see if we could get any thing to the West: he charged *M. Wilson* for author of the error; betwixt whom also and the Captaine, passed both words and blows, which the General reduced into amitie the eleventh of January. On the eighteenth, we had land in leuen degrees tenne minutes, being by likelihood not farre West from our first land, notwithstanding that we had runne from it by our course neere one hundred leagues to the West, by reason of a violent current to the East.

The Land to the sea is low and leuell, within high mountaynes: we anchored at the entry of the Bay, where we found calmes, the Current setting throug East South-east, that in a calme it would carry a ship foure leagues a watch. There is store of Wood, and Water from the Rocks, but brackish. We found neere to the thore continuall calmes, the wind still blowing two or three leagues off at Sea) be it neuer so great a storme. In this place, which I may well call *Inforced Bay*, we saw no people, the thore very thicke of Wood, Cocos, Palmes, and a hundred or kind of trees, some growing in a number of rootes, which descend from the toppes of the branches, which are fortie or fittie foot high, and take root againe, so that the Tree flourisheth like a Woodstocke. I suppose that neuer Christian had been there, nor will againe, if he can ascende from our anchoring place, from whence we had scant wind enough to bring vs, but there reioice a great gulf of wind and raine, that we were forced to take in all our top-sails, and strike our maine saile.

On the three and twentieth, after much consultation and subscription for the Generalls discharge, we bore in with the land, and anchored in a Bay which I may terme *Voluntary*, where we found a *Dutch-man* at anchor, whom we had formerly met at *Sefas*. The next day we went ashore, and found a Towne and people, not blacke, but tawny, their houses built of Canes, so cloathed from the Waite, other wholly; they respected nothing that we had, nor cared vs any thing to speake off their weapons pikes and crytes. The *Dutch-man* named this place *Middleton Bay*: it is a good Harbour, hath a Riuer and an Iland, and herh some fittie leagues to the East of the North end of *Lana*, as the *Dutch-man* informed vs, who coasted it all along. It is in leuen degrees thirtie five minutes.

The second of February, we were in tenne degrees twelue minutes. We saw the next day a small Iland, fortie leagues to the South of *Lana maior*, in tenne degrees, about five leagues broad, eight long. The fourth at Sun-setting, we had three degrees tenne minutes to the West variation. It is an infallible rule, that from the Cape of *Good Hope* to *Lana*, the variation increaseth to the West, the further East we runne, till it come to about seutenteen degrees, and then as we come to the East decreaseth, till we come to the Straights of *Sunda*, where it is three degrees and a halfe variation, and is holden the best guide for Easting and Westing, though not obseruing exact proportion. On the fifth, we had nine degrees sixteen minutes, and three degrees forty eight minutes variation West. The declination of the Crofers is twenty eight degrees and a halfe. On the thirteenth, we were in the Straights of *Sunda*, having on our Larboard *Sumatra*, and *Lana*

The Copie of this Voyage was forbit with we, that I could not in some places read it, and therefore haue delivered it more imperfectly. They know no where they are. Trade wind.

Wilson accused, as to the fault of the boat, to the misperceptions. Strong Current.

Inforced Bay.

* Indian name or Aborigines, which Country as we could see to be the name of a *Voluntary*. See my J. 1.6.15. 9.2.

Voluntary Bay.

Middleton Bay.

An Iland, Rule of variation.

CHAP. XV.

The second Voyage of Capitaine WALTER PEYTON into the East-Indies, in the Expedition which was set forth by the East-India Company, together with the Dragon, Lyon, and Pepper-Come, in January 1614. gathered out of his large Journal.

§. I.

Occurrences at Soldania, Mohelia, Socotora, Surat, with divers other Intelligences.

Sir T. Roe.

Japanese Cutters, and other small boats.

Anno 1615.
Maps fall in Cape topography, and Map square.

Soldania.
Cory's Saugre, which had his in Bagdad.

Their heaviest, Ten condemned prisoners set on shore.

Nights a medicinal: none much varied in vapour, some what like a Shrike.

In January the four and twentieth, 1614. we set sail from Grandford. The second of February, Sir Thomas Roe Embarked our men in his Maile to the Great Mohel, conveyed about the Lyon with fifteen followers. And Master Humphrey Boughton about the Pepper-come, recommended to the Company by his Maile, to pass into India. We carried with vs in the Fleet eleven Japanese brought into England by the Clow, divided proportionally amongst the ships: likewise fourteen *Gacars* brought by the Dragon: also nineteen condemned persons out of *Nengate*, to be left for discourse of unknown places, the Company having obtained the Kings Pardon for them to this purpose.

On the twentieth, some of the *Dragons* men, the *Nengate*-Birds amongst, attempted to run away with their Pinnals, which then was prevented. But one of those condemned with two of the *Pepper-come* company carried away her Pinnal next night; two of my ships company having conspired to carry away the Boate, but were discovered. The three and twentieth, we set sail out of the *Damos*.

On the six of March, lost sight of the *Lizard*. And on the six and twentieth, had sight of land which we supposed the Westernmost part of *Fortaventura*, and proud part of *Barbara*, one of the land points entering the River *Marpagena*, being misgraduated one whole degree more Northernly than it should be. Likewise Cape *Boydore* is misgraduated one degree as we then found by experience, escaping great danger caused by that error in our plans. The six and twentieth, the General wind be an.

The tenth of May, being by reckoning distant from the Cape of *Good Hope*, bearing East a quarter South, five hundred and twelve leagues, we saw many *Pinnads*, *Mangarudus* and other fowles, whereof I have not heard the like.

The five of June, we anchored in the Bay of *Soldania*, having not buried above three or four in the whole Fleet, about thirty being well sick. We built five Tents. *Cory* came down and welcomed vs after his manner, by which means the people were nothing to fear as at other times, nor to theuthly. They brought vs cattell in great abundance, which we bought for Copper shreds. *Cory* shewed some of our people his house, wife and children, at a Towne thence distant five *English* miles, containing about one hundred houses. Most of them can say Sir Thomas Smith, *English* ships, which they often with great glorie repair. Their wives and children came often down to vs, to whom we gave great content with bugles and the like. And two or three desired to goe for *England*, seeing *Cory* had spied to well, and returned forrich with his Copper Sute, which he yet keepeth in his house very charly. *Cory* also desired to returne, and to carry one of his sonnes when our ships are thence bound home-wards. On the East-side of the Table is another Cottage of ten small houses, built round like Bee-hives, covered with Mats made of Bents woven together.

The sixteenth, we set on shore by consultation tenne condemned persons, to remayne at the Cape, viz. *John's Cross*, *Henry Coker*, *Clarke*, *Brand*, *Bomb*, *Humphrey*, *Brigs*, *Pets*, *Metcalf*, *Shillegill*. We gave each man something for his owne defence against wild beasts and men, weapons and victuals. They contented *Cross* should be their head; The people desire Brasse, and for not so much by Copper; they desire pieces of a foot or more square. Iron hoes they care little for. We caught seven or eight hundred fishes in the River with Saynes.

The Country people brought vs downe of the Root *Ningin*, whereof we bought one hundred fill for a piece of Copper an inch and halfe broad, and two inches and halfe in length. Our men got some, but not so full, nor ripe, this being not the season, which in the full perfection is as tender and sweet as *Amni*-beels. On the twentieth, we set sail. On the five and twentieth,

CHAP. IS. S. I. Commodities at Doman, and at Mohelia.

we had sight of land in thirte four degrees twentie eight minutes. It is the land to the West of Cape de *Arcefe* misgraduated twentie seven minutes in Daniels Plats more Northernly than it should be.

Likewise, on the six of July, we should have seen land of Saint *Lawrence*, by most of our *Falk* Plats, reckonings according to the Plats of *Daniel*, (of *Mercators* projection) which should fall about fourteen leagues in distance of longitude betwix: the land of *Atchopia*, Cape *Bona Speranza*, and the Ile of Saint *Lawrence*, as the time protracted into *Plano* of *Tortens* making doe manifest.

The two and twentieth, all four ships anchored at *Mohelia*. We had water out of Wells we digged a little above the high water, made close by the roots of Trees, eight or nine foorce deep. *Damos* is the chiefe Towne where the *Sulcon* abides, to whom we gave a double locke of piece and a Sword. We had plentifull provision for little Money, Hennes, Goates, Bullockes, Limons, Oranges, Limes, Tamers, Coco-nuts, Pines, Sugar-Canes, with other fruits. There are amongst them *Arabians*, *Turkes*, *Moorres*, many of which speake reasonable *Portuguese*. They told me of a strange courte of the Current which ranne fifteen dayes Westerly, fittent dayes Easterly, and fifteen dayes no way: of which somewhat I observed.

For at our first comming the Current let Westerly: and on the eight and twentieth, it set Easterly, and so continued while we layed (five dayes) but we went away before perfect trial could be made. I learned of them that the King of *Isaums* was here King, and gave the Governour to this *Solima*.

The nine and twentieth, a ship arrived at *Damos* from *Gangamora*, in Saint *Lawrence*, and I was wished by the General to see their Commodities, which were Rice and kind of cloth made of Barkes of Trees whence they make coole garments. I enquired of the Pilot who spake *Portuguese* well, touching Capitaine *Rowler* and the *Englishmen* betrayed in that Iland, of whom they could say nothing, but that two or three yeares past, an *English* Boy was at *Gangamora* in the custodie of *Portugals*, whom they thought now to be dead, neither knew how he came thither. This Towne of *Damos* hath in it one hundred houses of lime and stone strong built, the Inhabitants orderly and civil. They have traffique on the Coast of *Melinde*, *Magadoxo*, *Mombassa*, *Arabia* and Saint *Lawrence*: they carrie Slaves taken in warres, which they sell for nine or ten *Rials* of gold, and are sold againe in *Portugall* for one hundred, and it was concluded to aduise the Honourable Companie thereof touching sending a Pinnal yearly thither. We bought in *Mohelia* two or three Bullockes for a Barre of Iron weighing betwixt twentie and five and twentie pound. We bought there two hundred head of cattell, fortie Goates, Hennes, Fruits, &c.

The second of August, we set sail from *Mohelia*: The fourteenth, we had sight of Cape *Guardafui*, where the Country people were fearful of vs. The twentieth, we anchored in the Road of *Galeucia* in *Socotora*, where the fiercenelle of the wind made the Sea in a breach round about vs, and with the Spire of the Sea, which the winde blew about vs like raine, our ship and tackling were all out white like a hoare Frost or white Sale.

The three and twentieth, we anchored at *Tamene* the Kings Towne, and the four and twentieth at *Delija*. Here, we were demanded thirte *Rials* of silver the Kintall of *Alon Soe*, *estrina*, which was vs buy the Idle: for Capitaine *Downton*, the Faking said, had bought one hundred Kintals it was liquid by reason of the newwilde or heat of the Sunne, and ready to run out of the skinnies. Each Kintall contained by our Beame one hundred, three pounds and a halfe. It is made of the leaves of *Sempervine*, the tops and roots cut away, and the juice of the rest pressed out and boiled to a certain height, after put up in earthen Pots, stopped close, so standing eight monethes, and lastly, put in small skinnies to sell.

The North part of *Socotora* or *Socatra*, lyeth in twelve degrees thirte minutes, and the bodie in one hundred and twentie degrees, twentie five minutes. It is fourteen leagues thence to *Abdelecora*, and as much from thence to Cape *Guardafui*. And I should wish those that sail to *Socatra* to touch at the Cape, thence to sail the next morning a little before break of day, to loife no day-light, which is precious there by reason of the thicke and obscure night, with boylerous winds (and foggies) this moneth and a part of September: from thence to *Abdelecora*, and anchor on the West side thereof in seven or eight fathome water vnder the low land, or if they get no anchorage, to keepe close by a winde to the Southward in the night, lest the winds and Northernly current put them too much to lee-ward before day-light. The winds blow not steadily, notwithstanding the Monsoon, sometimes South by West, and South South-west, but seldom to the East of the South. On the one and thirtieth, we set sail from *Socatra*.

The tenth of September, we had Quales, Hernes and other Land-fowles blowne from land, vnable to returne. On the fourteenth, we had sight of *Diu*, and on the sixteenth of *Damon*, inhabited with *Portugals*, and strongly fortified.

On the eighteenth, we pailed by the Barre of *Serat*, and anchored against *Smally* Barre. The next

X x x 2

carrie them ashore, which they refuse hearing to become a prey to the *Malabars*, a Fleet of whom consisting of fourteen sail they lately had with difficulty escaped. The next day we landed them where they desired and suffered them to depart unharmed for Plate, Jewels, Money and the like. We had three *English* ships, and three prizes.

The fourteenth, we arrived at *Brimion* where we took out of the first prize what we pleased and set her a drift. *Brimion* is in latitude eight degrees thirty minutes, variation fifteen. It hath a small Town in a little round Bay, to be known by a long white beach to the Northward and the South is all high land: and two leagues to the South, a red Cliff neere the Sea. From thence to Cape *Comorin* is sixteen leagues: the coast is South-east by South bold and free Coast. The Inhabitants of *Brimion* are no way subject to the *Portugals*.

The first of April, the bodie of *Zorido* did bear East by South seven leagues off.

The tenth, the *Pike Adam* bare North. I took my leave of the General, the *Dragon* and *Pepper-Corne* they being bound for *Achen*, and I in the *Expedition* for *Priaman*, *Tecoo*, and *Bantam*. It is good to ride till the end of March in *Brimion*, and not to double the Cape by reason of calmes, the Southerly Current letting off to the *Maldivas*: but then the Easterly Monson ends.

I would with all that come from the West to *Priaman* or *Tecoo*, to dispose that they may have day-light enough for the coming in betwixt *Nipman* and the other Islands adjacent. The best is on the North-side. On the thirtieth, I met the *Advance* going for *Tecoo*, but at my request she returned to *Bantam* whence she was sent for *Iapen*.

The first of May, I arrived at *Bantam*, where I found the *Hoflander* newly returned from *Iapen*, and the *Attendant* from *Jamby*, most of the men sick or dead. Here I heard of the death of Captain *Dominion*, and of the arrival of Captain *Samuel Castleton* with the *Claue* and *Defence*, which with the *Thomas* and *Concord* were gone for the *Moluccas*: The *Thomas* appointed to proceed from thence to *Iapen*.

The nineteenth, I set sail for *Tecoo*. The tenth of June, I put into *Priaman*, and the eighteenth arrived at *Tecoo*. The third of July, I bought my ship on Careene to sheath her. The double sheathing of ships which go for *Surat* is of great purpose: for though the outermost sheathing be eaten like a Honey-comb with worms, yet the inner is nothing perished. It were all so requisite that the Raddlers were sheathed with thinn Copper, to prevent the Worms eating out the edges thereof, which causeth great defect in the steering, not easily to be remedied being so deep under water. The Inhabitants here are barbarous, deceitfull, expeting bribes, and sometimes I have beene in danger to be murdered, one hundred of them drawing their Cutts upon vs, because they might not have their will to take our goods upon trust or otherwise at their pleasures. The twentieth, *Thomas Bonner* Master of the *Expedition* dyed, *John Row* succeeded, the third Master in this ship this Voyage.

The sixte and twentieth, arrived the *Dragon* and *Pepper-Corne* from *Achen*. They had bought there Pepper carryed thither from *Tecoo* in great Lunckes and Prawes which failed to and fro, but neuer out of sight of land.

The King of *Achen* comman's those of *Tecoo* to bring thither their Pepper, which none may buy but he, who puts off his *Surat* Commodities in trucke at what rates he pleaseth. Oft times he sends his Commodities to *Priaman* and *Tecoo*, enforcing them to buy them at his rates, none being allowed to buy or sell witholl their he be vented. This makes our *Priaman* but the better.

Jamby is on the East-side of *Sumatra*. Iveydeth like great-grained Pepper as *Priaman* but is not subject to the King of *Achen*, as are *Barny*, *Passaman*, *Tecoo*, *Priaman*, *Cattanga*, and other places on the West-side. *Barny* is to the North of *Passaman*, and yields more of *Bennin*, *Cattanga* Gold, the other places Pepper. The General brought the King of *Achen* Letter to them which the great men received with great submission, each kissing and laying it on his head, promising vs to performe the contents, but failed. And it were fit in these Letters of the King, to procure him to expresse the manner and particulars of our Trade. The eleventh of September, I set sail from *Tecoo* for *Bantam*.

The best Gold and most plenty is had at the great high hill of *Passaman*, where also is greatest quantitie of Pepper, the fairest and best cleape: but the evil constitution of the aire is so pestilent and infectious, that there is no going thither for our Nation without mortalitie of men: neither needs for the Pepper. *Surat* Commodities at *Tecoo* being sufficient attractive. Many of the Natives I have observed full of contagious distates, the limbes of some ready to droppe off with rottenness, others having huge swellings (Wennes) under the throat as bigge as a two penny loafe, which they impute to the bad water. They are very ignorant to cure their distates. The people of *Tecoo* are baly, theuful, subtil, embracing guine at any price by fraud, or (as farre as they dare) by force, mis-reckoning, false weights, yea attempting to poison our meates and drinckes as they are dressing, creeling also our horses. Better order may be hoped by the King of *Achen* procurement. There were but few here in the Factory. Our two *Portugall* prizes we made away at *Achen*, sharing (according to the custome of the sea) one sixt part to the shippes companies, the rest for our employers, &c.

Betwixt *Priaman* and *Tecoo* there lyeth a dangerous shoald North-west by West, from the South-west till of *Priaman*, a mile and quarter in length, and in breadth a quarter, of which care is to be had, lest the Current setting Southerly put you on it. This and other shoalds hereabouts being white Corall, are easily discerned. When the South-west till shoald beate South-east from you, then are you past danger, provided the North-west till of the four by *Priaman* shoald beate East by North, so may you steere in for the Road, East, and East by South, and East South-east, leaving two llands on the Staibord, and two on the Larbord side. Latitude of *Tecoo* is South thirtie minutes, variation West foure degrees, thirtie minutes: Latitude of *Priaman* is also South betwixt eight and forty degrees, fifty minutes.

Many of our men were sick, whereof the cause seemeth their immoderate drinking of Arack and strong drinks. At *Bantam* were at my last being there (October 1616.) foure *English* ships there and at *Lackarra*, and five *Flemish* ships, which raised the price of Pepper, and the rather money, which it is likely they reported to our leave our Nation. The last Fleet of theirs, fixe in number, took two or three *Portugall* ships, whereof they made great braudo's. They tecke by all abules to depreffe our Nation, in vncristian manner through the *Indies*: even in *Bantam* (where they acknowledge our equal right) they threaten to pull our people out of the Factory by the eares; sometime quarrell with them in the streets, other times imprison them; and when themselves have caused an uproare, they complaine to the King of *Bantam* of our vnquietnes, and bribe him to command vs to be quiet, who receiveth their money, and tells vs of their dealing, himselfe taking advantage to pole both parts, by this disagreement.

Allost *Pulaway*, an Island freely given King *Mauetie*, they abused our people, putting halters about their necks, and leading them thorow the Towne with an hoare-glasse before them, publishing that they should be hanged for some of the gallie was runne: and although they did not effect that honorable designe, yet did they imprison them, and kept them three or foure days in irons, afterwards sending them aboard the *Concord* and *Thomastown* upon a counterfeit composition neuer to returne (these things are reported to be very true.) Likewise at the returne of the *Hoflander* from *Iapen*, she brought thirtie tunnes of wood, free of freight and charges, for the *Hollanders*, who notwithstanding reported that she had returned empty but for their wood: which they might have said as well of mybringing one and thirtie Cables of Indico, and a Chitt of Pistolls freight-free for them from *Surat* to *Bantam*.

Captaine *Castleton* went to the *Moluccas* with foure ships, the *Claue*, *Defence*, *Thomas* and *Concord*, to be better able to defend themselves against the *Hollanders*: but being threatened by eleven sail of theirs, they returned without doing any great matter, only a few *Claues* laded in the *Claue*; the Captaine himselfe dying there of the fluxe, to whom the fault is imputed with other things tise to him.

The *Trades-Increase* was fired twice by the *Indians* and by our people quenched: but the third, time fired in so many places at once, that industry could not save her.

The *Darling* (that I may adde such ships as were lost and laid up at my departure from *Bantam*) was laid up at *Patania*, in June 1615, by *Miler Larkine* and the Factory, and could not be repaired: Herrold the Master was reported to have intended to ramme away with her to the *Portugals*, which being prevented, he yet went himselfe.

The *Thomastown* was call away, coming from the *Moluccas*, upon a shoald in the night, in September 1615, they lost their goods, which were not much, but laded their money, two thousand Rials of eight, with their provisions, lying fourteen dayes in a desolate Island, where they fitted their Boat, which brought them and their money to *Bantam*, leaving it self behind: the King of *Macassar* seizing on them, who would not make restitution. This shoald lyeth eight leagues West from *Macassar*.

The *He'lor* failed at *Lackarra* in careening, the upper workes not fitted (as is reported) and the seams opening, and receiving so much water, that shee sinke in three fathome, the keele exceedingly worme-eaten.

The *Concord* is there also laid up, rotten and leake, that they were forced to take out her provisions, and let her sinke close to the shoare.

The *Hoflander* was appointed to set saile for the Coast of *Coromandel*, the fifteenth of October, 1615.

The Factories which I could heare of fitted for the Company in the East-Indies are these: *Bantam* (wherein were *George Barkley* Chief, *John Jordan*, *George Ball*, *Ralph Copendale*, with vnder diuers others both Factors and Attendants) *Iacatra*, *Surat*, *Amboyna*, *Agra* and *Alexandria*, *Bombay*, *Calcutta*, *Ch'falgauin*, *Setapoli*, *Patania*, *Siam*, *Bencarmasse*, *Socodama*, *Macassar*, *Iapen*, *Jamby*, *Tecoo*, *Pe'randu* in *Iapen*, *Iapen*, *Japen*, *Banda*.

The commodity which ariseth from the Factory at *Achen* is to sollicite for our better proceeding at *Priaman* and *Tecoo*, the place is wholesome, especially for such as suffer themselves with hot and fiery drinckes, as Aracke and Aracepe, which bring many vnto vntimely end whence ariseth an imputation to the Voyage. How vnto the common sort are abroad, cannot our the le-

Obsequies for going to *Priaman* Road. Hee men mention many new shoalds no better exprest, but knowne to our Country-men by saye in a sea.

Huge summes ran poured by *Hollanders*. Their pride and avarice of the *English*.

Infolencies at *Pulaway*.

Captaine *Castleton* to the *Moluccas* with four ships.

Decay or loss of *English* ships. *Trades-Increase* Darling.

Thomastown.

He'lor.

Concord.

English Factories.

Aracke a wing distilled out of rice steeped in liqueur taken out of the le-

King of Achens.

be imagine last home, many neuer thinking the adfess well, longer then whiles their brains are a crowing with drinke, The King of *Achens* is said to haue a strange straine of drinking drinke, when the *English* resort to him, thereby to shew his loue; to whom it seemeth dishonour, not to conformance in tugging in the water with him, and other his rites. He is very crall to his subiects, daily cutting off their hands, armes or legges, vpon small or no occasions; causing them to bee throwne before Elephants, himselfe commanding the (vnderstanding) Elephant to toll the paratie to oft and to high, either to bruite or kill him, as he fancieth. He hath prohibited any, which arrive at his Port, without his Chop to come on shore, which a *Dutch* Merchant neglecting, caused a *Dutch* G. n. v. d. there arriving to come on land protesting his great dispar with the King, who coming to the Court-gate, where they must demand another Chop: the King finding the chiefe Leger cause of that presumption, sent for him, and laid him before the Elephas, which tossed him three times (without much bruising) to teach him how to neglect the commands of Kings another time; the *Dutch* General standing by, and fearing his owne share, whom yet the King cleared as ignorant of his Law. The King after sent for the Merchant to prie into his patience, who for feare of worfe, soothed him, and acknowledged it a fatherly chastisement, yet cloely fled at the departure of the ships; the rest following were brought backe, and the King hath placed vs in their house.

Cause of diffultie betwixt the Achens and Hollander.

p. III.

A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cities and Townes, inhabited and traded vnto by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Iapan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry.

Places of Portugall trade, Summe of Commodities, Mozambique, Malacca.

Mozambique is an Island where they trade for Gold, Ambergreese and Slaves, reported to be Gold, Elephants-teeth, Ambergreese and Slaves, for which they trade yearly.

Malacca is an Island where they trade for Gold, Ambergreese and Slaves, reported to be Gold, Elephants-teeth, and Slaves, in truckes of Iron, Lead, Tinne, and Camboja Commodities.

Magadon.

Magadon hath two degrees, five and twenty minutes, store of Elephants-teeth, some Ambergreese, and diuers sorts of Drugges. From these places they drine their annuall trade into *Camboja*, the Red-Sea, and other places, obsuring the Monsoons, which blow West in Aprill, May, Iune, Iulij, August, and part of September, and the East Monsoon the rest of the year, the face betwixt both, being various or calme, but in few dayes hold course, except to the East of *Samarra*, where they keepe five months East, and five West, two variable.

Ormus.

Ormus is in the Gulfe of *Perfia*, whence they trade into *Perfia*, *Arabis*, *Diu*, *India*, &c. they fetch 40 much Pearle from *Balfora*, and with *Perfia* Commodities take a shippe or two for *Diu*, where in the end of Aug^r, or middle of September they arrive; they bring with them also great store of Rials of eight. *Ormus* is their best place, but *Gon*, which they haue in the *Indes*.

Makets.

Makets: they haue small trade here, and a Fort, where they awe the Natives by land and sea, not suffering them to traie but by their licence, what, and how much, vnder paine of confiscation, which they practise thorow all the *Indes*, where they are strong.

Sinde.

Sinde or *Diu*, is in the *Mogell* Dominion, in foure and twenty degrees, eight and thirty minutes: variation West, five degrees, five and forty minutes, *Diu*, where they haue a strong Castle.

Damon.

Damon is a Citie inhabited by them, where they haue a Castle, and by report one hundred Villages.

Serra de Baco.

Serra de Baco, is a little South from *Damon*, and bordereth vpon the *Decans* Countrey, betwixt which and *Chaul* they haue three Ports, *Gaxien*, *Banda* and *Maas*. *Chaul* is a great Citie with a Castle. *Dobut* hath a Factory but no Fort.

Gon.

Gon is their Metropolitane Citie or *Indus*, built on a small Island, the anchoring place of their Carrikes, the Seat of their Vice-Roy.

Ouer Bar.

Ouer Bar hath a small Fort, *Barcor* hath a Castle and Towne, it yeldeth Pepper, Ginger, and many sorts of Drugges.

Zanzibar.

Zanzibar hath a Towne and Castle. *Canamor* is a Citie, and hath a Castle, Merchandize as before. From *Canamor* they are shut out by the *Samarine*, as he looketh also at *Crangulor*, where they haue a Fort.

Cochin.

Cochin hath a strong City and Castle, pleasantly situated by the Sea side in a good ayre, with a faire Riuer for ships to ride.

Coulans.

Coulans, here they haue a Towne and strong Castle. *Saint Lawrence* is a small Village, inhabited by *Friers* and *Iesuits*.

Quilans, is a small Citie with a Castle. *Tackarra*, a Towne with a Castle, the people most part *Christians*.

Maen, is on the Island *Zelon*, betwixt *Cape Comrine* and *Punto de Galle*, a Towne inhabited by *Portugals*. There also they haue *Columbo*, and many other small habitations, hauing almost conquered the Island: it yeldeth *Sinamom* and *Drugges*.

Negapan, is a City of great trade: here they haue only a Factory. *Saint Thomas*, alias *Mahepo*, is a walled City, inhabited with *Portugals*, in thirteenth degrees, twenty minutes. Vp the Riuer *Ganger*, they haue many small habitations, some *Factories*, and a Towne at *Bengala*.

In *Pegu*, they haue a Factory, and likewise in *Aracon*, and in the Riuer of *Martaban*. At *Insulan*, they haue a great Factory, from whence they lade much *Tinne* for the Coast of *Malacca*.

Malacca, is a strong city and castle, the Centre of a great trade in those parts, whence the King of *Achen* lookes to roote them out, hauing burnt and spoiled some of their ships this year.

At *Macao*, an Island vpon the Coast of *China*, they haue a Citie with a Castle, reported to be of great trade with the *Chineses*.

In *Iapan*, they haue a Factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of *China*, in the time of fitting Monsoon to and from *Iapan* and other parts: whereof the *Hollanders* are said to make good pillage, and of all *Heathen* Nations, *Chineses* and others, being all fifth comes to meet.

The first of November, we set saile. The fifth of January, I was not able to weigh the anchor (the wind our-blowing) to follow the *Dragon* to *Penguin* land. My aduise for ships coming about the Cape at this time of the year, is, not to anchor short of *Soldania* Road, but rather to put romer for *Penguin* land, and there to anchor with two at once till the wind cease.

In December, January and February, the South South-east winds are there very furious, from the new Moone to the full. I hold it dangerous neuertheless to neglect this place in hope of *Saint Helena* (a certainty for vncertainty) the Sunnes and Moones often obscure and thicke mists at this time of the year, may frustrate the best Artits to the losse of shippe and men. *Cory* came downe with three sheepe, and promised more: but hasted away to his wife and children, which he said now dwell further. It seemeth that the *Hollanders* haue frighted them, by their going up into the Countrey with one hundred men at a time. Our best refreshing here was fresh-fish.

The ninth of April 1617, we palled much weeds, called the *Straggs*, which lie in long ridges or rankes a pretty distance one from another along with the wind, with which they alter and shift. It hath a leafe like *Samper*, but not so thicke, and a yellow berry very small. It reacheth from two and twenty degrees, three minutes North latitude, vnto two and thirty degrees North latitude. The nine and twentieth of May we anchored in the Downes.

CHAP. XVI.

Observations collected out of the Iournall of Sir THOMAS ROE, Knight, Lord Embassadour from His MAIESTIE of Great Brittain, to the Great Mogol: Of matters occurring worthy memory in the way, and in the Mogols Court. His Customs, Cities, Countreyes, Subiects, and other Indian Affaires.

p. I.

Occurrents and obseruations, in, and touching the Voyage to Surati.

The fifth of Iune, we anchored in the roade of *Soldania*. Though the Variation be an excellent euidence in the whole course of veering land, yet it deludeth no other certainty, but warning to look out; for it lessens not in the same proportion nere land, but by a much lower sort for which I could giue a peripetuous reason, but too large for this place, nor can any iudgement at all be made to twenty leagues thereby (that shall be infallible) the magnetical amplitude becometh so difficult to observe truly by the Ships motion, and the Needles quicknesse, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident, that we should see no land vntill the fifth daye early in the morning.

Soldania, is as I suppose, an Island in the South end whereof is the Cape of Good Hope, diuided from

Coulans, Saint Lawrence.

Quilans, Tackarra, Maen, Columbo.

Negapan, Saint Thomas.

Ganger, Pegu, Aracon, Insulan.

Malacca.

Iapan.

Straggs.

Souldania.

from the maine by a deepe Bay on the South-East side, and due East by a River, which we discerned upon the table. The land is fruitful, bearing short thicke grasse, the maine is diuided with most high and deepe rocky Mountains covered with snow, and vnaccessible, except it be reached by the River of *Dutche*, which doublet is very great, falling into the Bay on the East side: there is on the Island four or five hundred people, the most barbarous in the world, eating Carrion, wearing the guts of sheepe about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads (such like *Negroes*) with dung of beasts and dirt: they have no other clothing then beasts skins wrapt on their shoulders, the skin next the body in heat, in cold the hairy side: their houses are but one mat, concealed like an Ouen, into which they creepe, and turne them about as the wind changes: for they have no doores to keepe it out. They haue left their stealing by trading with vs, and by signes make shew their heart is good: they know no kind of God or Religion. The aire, and water is very good and wholefome, and both of them subtile and leaching. There is on the Island, Bulls, Cowes, Antelopes, Baboones, Moules of great bignesse, Fealants, Partridges, Larks, Wildgeese, Ducks, Pallstrannaggs, and many others. On *Penguin* there is a fowle so called, that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging downe like fleeces faced with white: they fly not, but walke in faines and keep their denions and quarters orderly: they are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature, of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird, confuting that definition of man to be *Animal bipes implume*, which is nearer to a description of this creature. The commodities here are, first realia: I refreshing with Cattell (so that a fason be chosen when they are not leane, a Month after the Sonne is departed from them Northward) Maugin roots, *Arroz*, if our Merchants be not deteined; and I doe strongly suppose, that I found out a Rocke yielding Quick-silver and Vermillion, the stone being spotted all without, with a more pure red colour, except upon a painting, and that will come out upon Paper, or other fit matter: by the description of *John Alosthat* cannot faile to be the same: it is also very heavy, full of Marquise and minnerall appearances. The Table, or high Rocke so called, by a straight line from the water side, is 118¹/₂ foot high: the Bay is full of Whales and Seales. The *Dutche* haue fished on *Penguin* for them: the latitude is, thirte three degrees fortie five minutes: the longitude twentie eight degrees thirte minutes from the Lifard, the variation doublet, whether to the East or West: but my opinion is, that the variation is West thirty minutes: the cause of variation being in the maine, as appears evidently by the many lines, and changes towards the Cape F, and after Westly: if any shipping, having time enough, fall but one hundred leagues more to the North with the maine, which may be done with safety, no winds forbidding it, I assure my selfe they shall haue good trade for Cattell, and other Commodities, and may by leasing some men, discouer the land, and perhaps get knowledge of the people that trade with the *Spaniards* on the East side in one and twenty degrees for Gold, after the manner of the *Moors* in *Zabary* to *Gogo*. The left at the Cape will goe no further, but attend opportunity of passage, and there can doe no great good being among the basest banished people, that know nothing fauouring of man, nor are no other way men, but as they speake and walke like men.

Penguin Island.

The height of the Table.

Molalia.

Angazefia.

Isuany and Mayotta.

The gouernement of Molalia.

Molalia is one of the four Islands of *Comory*, *Angazefia*, *Isuany*, and *Mayotta* being the other three. They lie East and West neere in a parallel one off another, except *Angazefia*, which lieth somewhat more North. *Molalia* is in twelue degrees twentie minutes South latitude, in the same Meridian with Cape *Anguine*, the variation being (ixteen degrees fortie minutes.

Angazefia beares from it by the Compass North by West, seven leagues off, the furthermost end in eleuen degrees fiftie five minutes, extending it selfe North eleven degrees six minutes, as I obserued within five leagues thereof, bearing South from me; it is the highest land I euer saw, inhabited by *Moors* trading with the maine, and the other three Easterne Islands with their Cattell and fruits, for Callicoes, or other linnen to couer them. It is gouerned by tenne petty Kings, and is sufficiently fruitful of Kine, faire Goates, Cocos, Orengees and Limons: they made vs fires as we passed by, being desirous of trade at the first hand which now they fetch by Canoe at *Molalia* where our ships ride. They are held a faine and vnfaithfull people, hauing betraied some of *S. James Laurencers* men long since; but now hauing experience of vs at other Islands, I doubt not they would regaine their credits.

Isuany lies from *Molalia* East, and *Mayotta* in the same course, the coast betweene them is very way bold. These three Islands are very full of very good refreshings, but principally *Mayotta*, as I was informed by the *Arabs* trading in *Molalia*, and the *Dutche* stop there. The next in goodness is *Isuany*, where liues an old Woman *Sultanneffe* of them all, to whom they repair for Iustice, both in Civil and Criminal causes.

Molalia hath in it three *Sub-Sultans*, children of the old woman, two men one daughter, who gouerne severall parts of the land. The *Sultan* in whose quarter we anchored hath such auling (not four boats to his Towne desiring libertie to trade, where they were receiued by a Gouernour, or rather an Admirall or Commander of the port, lying some four leagues to the Eastward of our Road, where hauing obtained leave to come aboard, we landed some fortie men with Captaine *Nemport*: the Gouernour they found sitting upon a Mat of straw, vnder the side of a Junke

Junke which was a building, accompanied with about fiftie men, his apparel was a Mantle of blue and red linnen, wrapt about him to his knees, his legges and feet bare, on his head a close Cap of checke worke, the Interpreters were certaine *Magadassians*, that spake *Arabique* and broken *Portuguese*. Captaine *Nemport* presenting him with a Piece and a Sword blade from Capt. *Keeling*, receiued a welcome, and commanded foure Bulls to be returned in requitall, and with grauitie enough intreated them, giuing free libertie to buy and sell, and signifying to much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to fend them his owne Cattell: but protested he had no power to compell or make price for others, but left the trade open to euery 10 man will. He sent for Coco Nuts to giue the Company, himselfe chewing Bittle, and a mouth of Burnt Oylter-shells with a kernell of a Nut called *Aracca*, like an akorne, it bites in the mouth, auoids rheume, cooles the head, strenghtens the teeth, and is all their Phisick: makes one vnused to it giddie, and makes a mans spittle red, and in time colours the teeth, which is esteemed a beautie: this is vied by all men hourly. From the Gouernour they were led to a Carpenters house, a chiefe man of that towne, the house built of lime and stone, plastered with mortar or white Canes: they are kept cleandly, and their poore house hold stuffe, still neate, their Gardens paled with Canes, inclosing some Tobacco, and Plantan trees. For Dinner a boord was set vpon Tuffets covered with a fine new Mat, benches of stone about it likewise covered, on which the first water was brought to euery man in a Coco-shell poured out into a wooden platter, and instead of a Towell, the rims of Cocos. Then was set boyld Rice, and roasted Plantans vpon the Rice, quarters of Hennes, and pieces of Goat broild. After grace said, they fell to their meat, with bread made of Cufus beaten, and mingled with honey, and so fryed, and Palmert wine, and Coco milke for drinke. I sent a Gentleman and my Chaplin to see the *Sultan* himselfe, who liues three miles vpon in the land from the towne of the Gouernour, but they found him by chance there: he vied them courteously, and made them dine with him, differing little from the former intertainment, only the Gouernour and all other gave him much respect, kissing his hand, his name is *Sultan Amer-Adal*, a kinne to *Mahomet*, not vnlike to be descended of such an impolitious race, his clothes not vnlike the Gouernour, but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, being with less grauitie and State, somewhat a light foole, and very hattie to be drunke with wine caried by the *English*. The other *Dee-Sultan* his brother, in whose quarter we were not, I saw being come downe to our Road with three slaves to trade: he brought a Certificate from Captaine *Soyers*, that he had vied the *English* well in his Dominions, he is as well *Xeriffe* as *Sultan*, which is high Præst: he kept a kind of State in place, but otherwise a poore bare-footed rogue: he offered to trade for Quick-silver, and being asked what quantitie hee would buy, replied to foure or five Rials of eight, when this merchandize failed him, hee fell to begging of shoes. Then I left him.

All the people are strict Mahometans, obsequing much of the old law, and at this time being the preparation to their *Ramadan* or Lent, vnwilling to drinke wine: they are very zealous to let the Women or *Moschees* to be seene, of which we had experience by an alarme of one of our 40 Priests, who espied one of ours coming to a Village, who shut vp all the Women, and cryed out if we came neere them or their Church, they would kill vs; but by the authority of the *Xeriffe*, the Priest was appeased, and I suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and write the *Arabicke* in a faine Character, and some few *Portuguese*, trading to *Mosambique* in Iunkes of three Tunnes made of Cocos framed, in dead of Pines caulked, tackled, and wholly fitted, vntailed, and freighted with that vniuersall tree.

Here our fleet refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, small as two yearlings, but good flesh, with Goats very fat and large, *Arabique* sheepe, Hennes, Cocos, Orengees, Limons, in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, Hollors, or other linnen, Sword-blades, and Rials of eight, and their fruits for Glisses, Knives and trifles: whatsoever is bought for money is bought dearely.

Here was in trade a Junke of *Madagascar* with slaves: the Pilote of the Junke called *Malm Arume* spake *Portuguese*, and told me on the South-side of *S. Laurence*, there was store of Amber-greece, and Cocos of the Sea; the Sea was shif. All in the coast, and in the lying and bearing of lands, both in course and distance. He had a great parchment Card, lined and graduated orderly, which I sent to see: he found fault with many things in my Card as right, which I mended by his direction, and with reason, as the distance from *Socatra* to the maine, and rising quite out certain Islands to the Southward of *Molalia*, althoing there are none such: his country lies from one degree fiftie minutes, to foure degrees, the Port in two degrees: tenne minutes North latitude, gouerned by one King: he assured me of trade enough at his port to load one ship with 60 Marill, Amber, and Tinta Roxa: he promised to bring me his Plot and foundings, and a sample of Tinta Roxa, but some other cause deterred him, that he would come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him in present and in promises. To the South of *Madagaxa*, all the Ports are gouerned by *Moors* petty Kings, euen to *Mosambique*: he perswaded me that wee might in many places trade for Gold and Siluer: that in *Madagaxa* the houses rootes were gilt, that

that they had gold in sand, and mingled with earth, which they esteem not: of the Island he knew little, only naming some places or Regions between *Magadoxia* and *Prester John*, as *Odeli*, *Mabafa*, *Relam*, and *Gala*, of which *Odeli* and *Gala*, are *Chaparrs* which if richest mine leucers; I knew not whether he meanes *Gentiles* or *Christians*, vying the fame promiscuously alied to *Prester John* as to other *Gentils*. Of *Prester John*, he knoweth no more, then that he is a great Prince and a *Capitani* from *Magadoxia* to *Cambaya*, hee was expert, his brother who came with him to me, was in right againt the *Hope* in a *Portugall* ship, pressed from *Dannos*, in which fortie five were thine, more he knew not, but that three ships were burned, and the rest run away; he said the King of *Dahul* rooke courage on this victorie and surpris'd *Chauli*, *Dannos*, & other the *Portugall* Port Townes, was marching to *Goa*, that the *Portugall* was in great distress of victuals. I hoped to have stored my selfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I know not how, prevented: it were too well befellowed to see this Coast, and I I pake to some of it, but it fared the worse for the Father.

The Road of *Molalia* lyes in twelve degrees ten minutes, and for the first fixe dayes the Current sets two leagues a watch South-west, the Moone increasing at the full, we wood vp North-east the other way but very easily, for the moit part riding vpon the Current. The *Magadoxian* made some absurdly beleue, that the Current let fifteen dayes one way, and fifteen another, and fifteen dayes still: which because of the first fixe dayes it let South-west, and after we wood vp North-east, it begot the opinion of a wonder, but the Current lets constantly South-west, and before the full of the Moone, it had such power on the ebbe and floud that we neuer wood, but at the full Moone and Spring-tydes we rode vpon the floud againt the Current it running vnles, and the tyde about, highting fixtene foorthe water, and the tide winning backe wile the Current; so that the turnped chance of the Current, was on the strong tydes, at the full Moone overrunning it aboue: for at Sea when the spring was past, I found the same Current, and though we were let to the Eastward the first day we weighed, vnto the Westward the next, the cause was the Edictes of *Isaany* one day, and *Angaselia* the other, but being cleere of them it let his due course, that I raised little, and did West-ward much.

The fourteenth of August, in the morning we saw the Coast of *Magadoxia* in foure degrees of North latitude foure leagues off sounding, had eightene fathome of low land, white lande banks. Then we flood off East North-east, the difference of longitude between the Maine and *Molalia* in *Mercators* projection, agreeing with our account. And also by counte having found the longitude of Cape Saint *Augustine* and *Molalia* to be one: I conclude that Saint *Lawrence* ought to be laid to the East thirte nine or fortie leagues according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Maine being broader then it is land in the Card, must be also let in proportion to the East-ward, because the distance of longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitudes fall in themselves from *Molalia*, to fill with Cape de *Buffis*, North North-east one quarter East way is the best course, it being necessary to see the Mayne about: the latitude in this course since we lost the Westerly Current at *Angaselia*, I found none or very little contrary to all Iurnals, our Mariners in this course are of as many opinions as points in the Compass, both for Currents, distances and bearings according to Compass or Variation: but I observed the truth in the latter end of this South-west Monition, which, I confesse, may alter in the heart of a contrary Monition, the fetlenesse of the wind causing much change in the Currents, of which no rule can be giuen.

The two and twentieth, at *Abdalacora* and the high lands of *Socatra*, the windes powred downe with such impetuosity, and the ground rooke the I. aduile: all to forbear to anchor vnder them, for if they be put from their anchors in the night, they shall fall so farr to leeward, that they cannot recover the land, but must lose company: but if night or weather force them to anchor, let them chuse to ride where some lower land breaks the violence of the wind from the hills. We rode in the second quarter of the increasing Moone, which rose then about the Horizon about twelue at noone, and set at midnight, at which time these windes began to rage so long as the is vnder the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate, the Moone is a great Lale of weather in these parts and requires much obseruation.

The three and twentieth, we weighed together and came to anchor before *Tamara*, the King Towne, bringing the low point to the East of the high lande hill without it: East by North in ten fathome water a mulberry tree the Towne where the *Sultan* sent vs wood: the windes were from the East where he would meete vs: it is a very good Road delecting the name of delightful for the peterebellentie thereof in respect of others: it is a Valley of much lower hills: between the water and the raggie Mountaines of *Tamara*, you may bring the two little Hamocks that lye on the low point without the high land to the East-ward South-east, and the low land that was East by North in *Tamara* Road North-west by West, and ride in ten fathome within three quarters of a mile of the shore, latitude is thirte degrees five minutes, the variation eightene degrees vnto minutes minuts, the ground is white sand, but keene so that you must catch or buy your Gables.

Socatra

Socatra is an Island in the mouth of the Red Sea, called anciently *Disforia* or *Disforida*, standing in twelve degrees fittie five minutes, gouerned by a *Sultan* called *Amor-Ben-Seid* borne in the Ilam, the Sonne of the King *Fartaque* in *Arabia Felix* called *Sultan-Seid-Ben-Seid*, who was *Sultan* of *Socatra*, in the time of his Grand-father, as this shall be King after his Father of *Fartaque*, and his sonne left at *Socatra* (the Kingdom of *Fartaque* lyes from fittene degrees to eightene degrees along the Coast of *Arabia*, and to the North to the Mountaines, he is at peace with the *Turke*, (who holds all *Arabia* in Tribute, except this Country) on this condition to send five thousand men in ayd of the *Turke*, if he require it to be paid by the *Turke*, without other acknowledgement. There lyes neere the Sea a pettie King about *Dofar*, with whom he dares not meddle, being in the *Grand Seignior*s protection. This is the relation of *Amor-Ben-Seid* of *Socatra*. The *Sultan* of *Socatra* met our Fleet with three hundred or thereabouts, hauing set vp a Tent at *Baia Delicia* he rode vpon a Horse, and three of his chief Seruants on two Horses and one Camell, the people marching before and behind him, shouting after the *Turkish* manner, with two Guards, one of Souldiers, which are his Countreymen, and twelue of priuate Guard, hired *Guzerats*, some with *Turkish* Bowes, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, all with good Swords, he had a few Kettle Drummes, and one Trumpet. When the Generall went afoore, he received him with state and courtesie: he is a subtle man of good vnderstanding, as appeares by his Government and diuers Answers; hee reaignes so absolutely that no man can sell any thing but himselfe, his people fit about him with great respect, his Officers standing by, who take account of Trade, and receive and pay: his clothes are of *Swar* Scarffes, after the *Arabs* manner with a Cuffe of wrough Vellus red and white, and another the ground Gold, a very good Turbant, but bare-footed, every night at Sun-set they stand or kneele all towards the Sunne and pray, the *Sheikh* throwing water on their heads: their Religion is *Mahometan*: the Kings Towne of *Tamara*, is built of lime and stone whitened out, battelled and pinnacled, the houses being flat at the top it shewes faire in the Road, but when one is there is but poore; Master *Bonghom* borrowed the Kings horse, and obtayned leave to see his house, the King sending a *Sheek* with him, he found it not answerable to the appearances, yet such as an ordinary Gentleman might make a shift with in England, his lower rooms were vied at Ware-houses, one as a Wardrobe, where hang a long the walls some clothes of Robes, and twentie five Bookes of their Law, Religion, Science, and Saints lues, of which I could obtayne none, but about no man may come to see his Wares which are three, not other women, but the ordinary are fenne in the Townes, with their eares full of fluer Rings; in the Church the Priest was at seruice, but seeing Master *Bonghom* take out his Watch, hee loone finished and came and wondered. There was provided three Hennes for their dinner with Rice, and for drinke water and *Cebu*, black liquor taken as hot as may be endured: at his returne, the King in complement said, hee had fene a poore place, but desired him to accept it.

There is a Castle foure square on a hill, a mile from *Tamara*, but he could not get licence to see it. The people are of foure sort, *Arabs* his Countrey men, who it seemes are his strength, and such as are not the ancient Inhabitants, but come in with the Conquest of his Ancestors, and those obey him, and dare not speake without licence, as appeared, when one seemed of qualitie to speake, he asked him how hee durst open his mouth in his presence, but approaching kisse his hand. A second sort are of *Slaues*, who when they come to him kisse his foot, and the third doe all his worke and make his Aloes. A third sort, as I suppose, the olde Inhabitants of the Country, but not the eldest, called *Beduines*, the same which other Historians haue called *Iacobites* *Christians*, that haue long dwelt there, with the he hath had a warre, as the *Arabs* report, and dwell in the Mountaines very populous but are now at peace, on condition to lye quietly, and to breed their children *Mahometans*, which I perceiue they doe not, hauing no manner of conuersion with the *Arabs*. The reason why I take them to be the olde *Iacobite* *Christians*, mentioned by *Magnus*, *Purchas* and others, is because Master *Bonghom* saw an old Church of theirs in the way to *Tamara*, left desolate, the doore shut, but only tyed, being desired to enter it, the *Sheek* his guide told him it was full of Spirits, yet hee adventured in and found an Altar with Images, and a croffe vpon it, which hee brought out, then the *Sheek* told him they were a people of another Religion, but very loth to haue them much enquired after, as I suspect, knowing them to be a kind of *Christians*, doubting we would either with them better, or not suffer them to be oppressed. The fourth sort are a fangee people, poore, leane, naked, with long haire, eating nothing but Roots, hiding in bushes, conuering with none, afraid of all, without houes, and almost as fangee as beausts, and by conecture, the true ancient Naturals of this land.

The land is very mountainous and barren: hauing some Bees, Goats and Sheepe, a few Dates and Oranges, a little Rice and nothing else for sustenance, of commoditie they haue Aloes, which is the iuyce of a leafe like *Semperna*, they make a poore cloth of their Woolle for their flaures.

The King had *Senguis Draconis*, and Indico of *Labar*, but held it deare: many small Cuite Cats and Cuite: all is either the Kings, or passes his hands and price. He hath a handiome Galley and lunkes of *Swar*, with Mariners, that ferue him to transport his goods for wages by their flaures.

Y y y

vices

Socatra, or Socotora.

Cadi.

Beduins.

years. The King hath some knowledge of *Prestor John*; confessing him the greatest Prince in the World, above the *Turke* and *Persian*, giving faire reasons for his opinion: he hath among his *diuers Ambassadors*, respecting our *loy-bowes* in the Generals boat, he asked if they were the *Palmer of David?* and being answered yes: hee replied, it was the invention of the Devil, who did invent it: for King *David*, who before prayed God with his lips and heart in devotion, but after it was left to senseless Instruments. They bury their dead all in Tombs, and inue in great reverence the Monuments of their Saints, whereof there haue been many: But of most account *Serdj Hashim*, buried at *Tamara*, who being slaine one hundred years since by the *Portugals* once inhabiting here, appears to them, and warms them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of winds to his walking, and haue him in wonderful reverence. I neuer went afield, nor knowing what entertainment I should find, in respect of the quality I beare, but gleane vp the most probable reports. If I had gone my selfe, and conferred with the King, or could haue spoken with any of his people of vnderstanding, I had enquired further to satisfie the curious: But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had no opportunity.

Advice not to
fly outwards
at *Socatra*.

I giue my aduice that the Fleet stop not at all outwards, bound at *Socatra*: But from *Malasia*, having made Cape *Guardafui*, and there rested a convenient time for refreshing, or attending the latter end of the Monsoon, if it be some in the year, I shap their course right for *Socatra*. If it be objected, that they shall want their vsuall refreshings: I answer, at *Socatra* the victuals is both carion, and as deare as in *England*, goodnesse considered, the water faire to fetch and dangerous: so that euery Fleet hath lost some men in rowling it downe a streame full of deepe holes. At Cape *Guardafui* you shall ride at ease, and without doubt trade plentifully and cheape, and sit at pleasure: and though we made no experience of trade, yet we saw few people in Turbants and cloathed, who assuredly, if we had stayd, might haue been drawne to bring downe cattell: for not farre to the West of that place, Sir *Henry Middleton*, and some other ships had excellent Goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Iournall, and Master *Barret* of his owne experience haue enforced mee.

§. II.

His journey to the Court, and entertainment there, and Customs thereof.

September 26.
Visitation of
Sultan *Parnu*.

He fix and twentieth of September, I landed, accompanied with the Generall and principal Merchants. Captaine *Harrie* was lent to make me a Court of guard, with one hundred foot, and the ships in their best equipage, giuing mee their Ordnance as I passed. (The passages between the *Embarassado* and those of *Surat* I omit: their barbarous customes and actions holding so ill correspondence with his honourable condition, and civil condition, that euen here also it would be burth to the Reader: we will therefore find him removing from them in his way toward the Court.)

The fifteenth of Nouember, I arrived at *Brampore*, being by my coniecture two hundred twenty three miles from *Surat*, and the course wholly East, a mirable and barren Country, the Townes and Villages all built of mudde, so that there is not a house for a man to turne. This day at *Bathopore*, a Village two mile short of *Brampore* is their Store-house of Ordnance. I saw diuers of brass, but generally too thicke, and too wide bored. Betwene that and *Brampore* I was met by the *Cutwall*, well accompanied, and sixteene Colours carried before them: he brought mee to the *Sarada*, where I was appointed to lodge, where at the gate hee tooke his leaue, being a handsome front of stone: but when I entered, I had foure chambers allotted me, like Ouns, no bigger, round at the top, made of bricke in a wall-like; this troubled mee, but my *Tints* were my refuge, and I sent the *Cutwall* word I would depart the Towne, (coming to meane while: they desired mee to be content vntill morning. Heere liues *Sultan Parnu*, the Kings second Sonne, holding the State and custome of his Father; and the *Chenna Channa* being the greatest subiect of the *Mogoll*, Generall of his Armies, whereof fortie thousand horse are with him: The Prince hath the name and state, but the *Chan* gouernes all.)

The twentieth, for many considerations, as well to see the falshions of the Court, as to content the Prince, who desired it, and I was loath to distaste him, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Towne, and I found by experience Sword-blades were well sold in the Arnie: I wente to visite the Prince, and carried him a Present. I was brought in by the *Cutwall*: at the outward Court were about one hundred horsemen armed, being Gentlemen that attend the Princes letting out to salute him, making a lane of each side: in the inner Court hee sat high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy ouer him, and a Carpet before him, in great, but barbarous State. Coming toward him thorow a lane of people, an Officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off: I answered, I came in honour to see the Prince, and I was free from the custome of Seruants. So I passed on, till I came to a place called in, right vnder him, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence,

and he bowed his body; and so went within it, where stood round by the sides all the great men of the Towne, with their hands before them like *Slaues*; the place was couered overhead with a rich Canopy, and vnderneath, all Carpets. To describe in rightly, it was like a great Stage, and the Prince sat above at the Moske-Kings end there. When I was entered, I knew not where to be placed, but went right, and stood before him, where there is an ascent of three steps: vpon which stands his Secretary, to shewer what is said or quere briefly. I told him, being an Embassador from the King of *England* to his father, and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replied I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come vp and stand by him. He answered, If the King of *Persia* or the Great *Turke* were there, it might not be admitted. I replied that I must be excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priuiledge, then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held my selfe equal: he protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chair, but I was answered no man ever sat in that place: but I was desired, as a courtier, to safe my selfe against a pillar, couered about with silke, that held vp his Canopy. Then I moued him for his fauour, for an *Englysh* Factory to be resident in the Towne, which hee willingly granted, and gaue present order to the *Bury*, to draw a *Firma* both for their coming vp, and for their residence. I also desired his authoritie for carriages for the Kings Presents, which he gaue in charge to the *Cutwall*. Then I gaue him my Presents, which hee tooke in good part, and after some other questions, he said to giue me content, although I might not come vp where hee sat, hee would go into another place, where I should come vnto him; but one of my Presents was a Case of *Bottrells*, which tooke him vp by the way, and after I had sayd a while, I heard he was drunke, and one of his Officers came to mee in his name, with an excuse, desiring mee to goe home, and to take some other time to retorne to visite him: this night I tooke my leaue.

The fix of December, we lodged in a wood, not farre from the Kings famous Castle of *Mandao* which stands on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit foureteen Courtes: the Citty is faire, and of wonderful greatnesse.

The two and twentieth, Master *Edwards* met me, accompanied with *Thomas Carpt*, who had passed into *India* on foote the Course to *Cytor* an ancient Citty ruined on a hill, but so that it appears a Tombe of wonderful magnificence: there stands about one hundred Churches, all of carued stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow many pillars, and innumerable houses, but no one Inhabitant: there is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitious, sloping vp, cut out of the Rocks, having four gates in the ascent, before one arrive at the City gate, which is magnificent: the hill is encompassed at the top about eight Courtes, and at the South-west end a goodly old castle: I lodged by a poore Village at the foot of the hill. This Citty stands in the country of one *Ranna*, a Prince newly subdued by this King, or rather bought to contente *Tibute*: The Citty was wonne by *Echerjha*, father to this *Mogoll*, *Ranna* is rightly descended from *Parus*, that valiant *Indian*, overcome by *Alexander*: so that I take this Citty to haue been one of the ancient Seats of *Parus*, though *Dely* much further North be reported to haue been the chiefeit, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar, erected by *Alexander* the Conqueror, with a great inscription. The present *Mogoll* and his Ancestors, descendants of *Tamberlane*, haue brought all the ancient Cities to ruine, haue dispeopled them, and forbidden reparation, I know not out of what reason, while they would haue nothing remembred of greatnesse beyond their beginnings, as if their Family and the world were equal.

The three and twentieth, I arrived at *Sofajmere*, two hundred and nine Courtes from *Brampore*, foure hundred and eightene *Englysh* miles, the Courtes being longer then toward the Sea. I kept my bed.

The tenth of January, I went to Court at foure in the evening to the Darbar, which is the place where the *Mogoll* sits out daily, to entertaine strangers, to receive Petitions and Presents, to giue commands, to see and to be seene. To digresse a litle from my reception, and declare the customes of the Court, will enlighten my future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuques that comes within the lodgings or retiring rooms of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons, they doe notice one vpon another for offences. Hee comes euery morning to a window called the *Larned*, looking out to a *Plaine* before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noon he retournes thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of Elephants and wilde beastes. Vnder him within a mile attend the men of rank: from whence hee retires to sleep among his women. At a certaine time he retournes to the Darbar before mentioned. At eighter supper hee comes vnto the *Guzdan*, a faire Court, wherein in the middelt is a *Tirone* erected of free-stone, wherein hee sits sometimes below in a chair, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few or none without leaue, where hee discourses of all matters with much affability. There is no reason to doe with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of War or peace, but at one of these two last places where it is publickly propounded and refused, and is required, which it is, were worth the curiouse, might be scene for two shillings: but the common haie people knew as much as the Council,

Master Ed.
wards.
Thomas Carpt,
Gyur.

Ranna.

Eunuques: only
and women,
his household
Courtiers.

Necessity of the Kings presence.

and the newes every day, is the Kings new resolutions, trold and censured by every rascall. This court is unchangeable, except fickle or drinke present it, which must be leave me; for as all his Subjects are laies, so is he in a kind of reciprocal bondage, for hee is tyed to observe these hours and customs so precisely, that if he were valence one day, and no sufficient reason rendered, the people would mutinie; two dayes no reason can excuse, but that he must confute to open his doores, and be seene by some, to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Larnoe he sits in Judgement, neuer refusing the poorest mans complaint: where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes fees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his Elephants. *Ib meruer, sed quid tu vis adferre?*

His coming to the Kings.

At the Durbar I was led right before him: at the entrance of an outward ralle, where mee mee two principall Noble Slaues to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leave to vie the cultomes of my Countrey which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first ralle, I made a reuerence; entering in the inward ralle, another; and when I came vnder the King, a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery ouer-head; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the inner-most ralle vnder him, raised from the ground, covered with Canopies of Veluet and Silke; vnder-toore laid with good Carpets: the meane men representing Gentry, within the first ralle: the people without, in a bare Court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a Theatre, the manner of the King in his Gallery; the great men lifted on a Stage, as Actors; the Vulgar below gazing on, that an eadie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King presented my dull Interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the Brother of my Master. I delivered his Maiesties Letter translated; and after, my Communion, whereon he looked curiously; after, my Presents, which were well received. He asked some questions, and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his Physicians, and aduising me to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely tend to him, and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more fauour and outward grace, if by the *Christians* I were not misdeared, then euer was shewen to any Ambassador either of the *Turke* or *Persian*, or other whatsoever.

Salute Ceremonie.

The fourteenth, I went to the Prince *Sultan Coranne*, his third sonne by birth, but first in fauour, that I determined to visite him, not doubting he would vie me with due respect: for I was informed he was enemy to all *Christians*, and therefore feared some affront. Hee answered I should be welcome, and receiue the same content I had from his father. He is Lord of *Surat* our chiefe residence, and his fauour important for vs.

His conditions.

The twelfth and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to dispatch his business, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not refusing to come out, when he heard of my arrival, sent a principall Officer to meete me, who conducted mee into a good roome (neuer before done to any) and entertaine mee with discourse of our owne business halfe an houre, vntill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and vied mee better then his promise. I delivered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Maiestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of *Surat* so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Maiestie would lend to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his fauour and protection. He receiued all in very good part and after opening of some grieuances and injuries suffered at *Surat* by vs from his Governours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuall Iustice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, promising to be appoynt of any thing past, but what he had receiued by *Asaph Chan*, delivered by mee; especially of any command to diffinise vs, which the Governour had fallen coyned, and for which hee should darely answer. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a *Firman* for *Surat* effectually.

His second hearing.

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Durbar to visite the King, who seeing me a faire off, beckned with his hand, giuing signe I should not stay the ceremony of asking leave, but come vp to him, where he appointed me a place aboue all other men, which I after thought fit to maintain: I gaue him a small Present; it being the custom, when any body hath business, to giue somewhat, and those that cannot come near to speake, lend in, or hold vp their gift: which he excepts, be it but a Rapie, and demands their business. The same court he held with mee, having looked curiously, and asked many questions of my Present, he demanded what I required of him: I answered Iustice; that on the assistance of his Maiesties *Firman* sent into *England*, the King my Master had not only giuen leave to many of his Subjects to come a dangerous Voyage with their goods, but had sent me to congratulate the amity so happily begun betweene two so mighty Nations, and to confirme the same: but that I found the *English*, treated as Prisoners, injured by the Governour in their persons and goods, fined, exacted vpon, and kept as adulterers, that at every T owne new Customes were taken of our goods, passing to the Port, contrary to all

Iustice

Two Timant
A house of
pleasure.

Iustice and the former Articles of Trade. To which he answered he was fory, it should be amended, and presently gaue order to two *Firmans*, very effectually, according to my desire to be signed, one to the Governour of *Amadava*, to restore money exacted from Master *Kerridge*, and to vie the *English* with all fauour: the other to releafe all customes required on any pretence on the way: or if any had been taken, to repay it of his owne accord: willing mee, that if hee gaue not speedily remedy, I should make my complaint against the disobeyers, and he should be sent for to answer there: and so he dismissed me.

March 16
A house of
pleasure.

The first of March, I rode to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, giuen him by *Asaph Chan*, two miles from *Admire*, but betweene two mightie Rockes, so domed from the Sunne, that it scarce any way fees it; the foundation cut out of them, and the roofe of free-stone, a handiome little Garden with fine fountains, two great Tankes, one thirty steps aboue another; the way to it is inaccessible, but for one or two in trout, and that very steep and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitie, only being accompanied with wild Peacocks, Turles, fowle, and Munkeyes, that inhabit the Rockes hanging euery way our ir.

The Naresa
solemne Feast,
and Rites
thereof.

The second, the *Naresa* began in the Euening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonie begins the first new Moone after it, which this yeare fell together: it is kept in imitation of the *Persian* feast, and signifies in that language *New dayes*, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure footes from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof, to the place where the King comes out a square of fittie sixe paces long, and forrie three broad was rayled in, and covered ouer with faire Semaines or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke, or Veluet ioyned together, and fastened with Canes so covered: at the vpper end West, were set out the Pictures of the King of *England*, the Queene, the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Countesses of *Somerset* and *Salisbury*, and of a Citizens wife of *London*; below them an other of Sir *Thomas Smith*, Governour of the *East-India* Companie: vnder foot it is laid with good *Persian* Carpets of great largenes, into which place come all the men of quality to attend the Court, except some few that are within a litle as is right before the Throne, to receiue his Commands, within this figure there were set for these many little houses, one of Siluer, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, *Sultan Coranne* had set the left side a Paulion, the supporters whereof were covered with Siluer, as were some of those also neere the Kings Throne: the former thereof was square, the matter wood, inlaid with mother of Pearle, borne vp with foure pillowes, and covered with cloth of Gold: about the edge ouer-head like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle, vpon which hung downe Pomgranates, Apples, Peares, and such fruits of Gold; but hollow; within that the King late on Cushions, very rich in Pearles, in Jewels round about the Court; before the Throne the Principall men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with Veluet, Damaskie, and Talfaste ordinarily, some few with cloth of Gold, wherent they retired, and set to shew all their wealth: for anciently the Kings were vied to goe to euery Tent, and there take what pleased them, but now it is changed, the King sitting to receiue what New-yeeres gifts are brought to him. Hee comes about at the viall houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same here are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equal to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this Feast the King in recompence of the Presents receiued, aduanceth some, and addeh to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The twelfth, I went to visite the King, and was brought right before him, expecting a present which I delivered to his extraordinary content; so he appointed I should be directed within the ralle to stand by him, but I being not suffered to step vp vpon the railing, on which the Throne stood, could not see the ralle being high, and doubled with Carpets, but I had leisure to view the inward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I confesse was rich, but of so diuers pieces, and so vnstable, that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed to frise to shewe all, like a Lady that with her Plate, set on a Cupbord her imbroydedd Slippers. This Euening was the sonne of *Rama* his new Tributary brought before him with much ceremonie, kneeling three times, and knocking his head on the ground: he was sent by his Father with a Present, and was brought within the little ralle, the King embracing him by the head; his gift was an *Indian* vnder full of Siluer, vpon that a canied Siluer dish full of Gold; so he was lead toward the Prince. Some Elephants were shewed, and some Whoores did sing and dance: *Sic transit gloria Mundi*.

Passenger
mable.

The thirteenth at night, I went to the *Guffin Chan*, where is best opportunity to see business, and toke with me the *Indian*, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to prooue the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused, I was sent for in my old Robes, but my Interpreter was kept out: *Asaph Chan* mistrusting I would vter more then hee was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand till before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of *England*, and of the Present I gaue the day before: to some of which I answered; but at last I said, my Interpreter was kept out, I could speak no more, and to waite meane to satisfie his Maiestie, wherat (much against *Asaph Chans* desire) he was admitted. I bid him tell the King, I desired to speake to him, he answered, willing: wherat *Asaph Chan* soane in law, pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged

8 y y 3

the King so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the *Italian* to speak aloud, that I craved audience of the King, whereto the King called me, and they made me way. *Asaph Chan* stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other: To enforce him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I had him say, that I now had been here two Moneths, whereof more then one was passed in sicknesse, the other in Compliments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed me, which was to conclude a firme and constant loue and peace betweene their Maiesties, and to establish a faire and secure Trade and residence for my Country-men. He answered, that was already granted. I replied it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thread, on so weak conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formal and authentic confirmation, then it had by ordinary *Firmans*, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what Presents we would bring him. I answered, the League was yet new, and very weak: that many Curiosities were to be found in our Country of rare price and estimation, which the King would send, and the Merchants take out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable Conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged.

An English
here much
desired.

He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant Jewels and rich fittes. I answered, No: that we did not thinke them fit Presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, wherof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with vs: but that we sought to finde such things for his Maiestie, as were rare here, and vnto vs, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in Brasse, Copper, or Stone, rich embroideries, fluffes of Gold and Silver. He said it was very well: but that he desired an English horse: I answered, it was impossible by Sea, and by Land the *Turke* would not suffer passage. He replied, that hee thought it not impossible by Sea. I told him, the dangers of stormes, and varieties of weather would procure it. He answered, if fixe were put into a ship, one might live; and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a Voyage, but that for his Maiesties satisfaction, I would write to aduise of his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would be pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the League, and for the security of our Nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had bene often wronged, and could not continue on such termes, which I beseege to complaine of, hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this word, *Asaph Chan* offered to pull my Interpreters, but I held him, suffering him onely to wink and make vnprofitable signes.

The King an-
gry with his
Sonne.

The King herat grew suddenly into choller, pressing to know who had wronged vs, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken *Spanish* to my Interpreter, to answer, That with what was past I would not trouble his Maiestie, but would seeke iustice of his Sonne, the Prince, of whole fauour I doubted not. The King not attending my Interpreter, but hearing his Sonnes name, conceived I had accused him, saying, *Alto Filio, Alto Filio*, and called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himselfe: *Asaph Chan* trembled, and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly, and he excused himselfe, but perceiving the Kings error, made him (by means of a *Persian* Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my *Italian* spake better *Turkish* then *Persian*) and the Prince both vnderstand the mistaking, and so appeald him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes put in his Government, appeale to him for iustice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his iustificatiō, told the King he had offered me a *Firman*, and that I had refused it: demanding the reason: I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands, wherein I would containe all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Soueraigne to mutual offices of friendship; and his Subjects to any such conditions, as his Maiestie would reasonably propound, wherof I would make an offer, which being drawne Tripartite, his Maiestie (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King called to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes *Firman*, which I recited, and I went fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. *Morish Chan* entrepoing, said, he was the *Portugall* aduocate; speaking slightly of vs, that the King should neuer signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne iust defences; and I did not take him for such a friend to them; the Iesuite and all the *Portugalls* side fell in, in so much that I explained my selfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditional peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were iust, resolution noble, and bad me propound. *Asaph Chan* that stood mute all this discourse, and desired to end, at least it brake out againe (for we were very warme) entrepoed, that if we talked all night it would come to this issue, the King would firme them; to which the King replied, yes; and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them; to which the King replied, yes; and if I desired his Sonne would doe the like, who answered he would: so the King rose. But I could

Morish Chan
backe friend
the English.

to him, he turned about, and I had my Interpreter say, That I came the day before to see his Maiestie, and his gratefull, and the Ceremonies of this Feast, that I was pleased behind him. I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that therefore I desired his Maiestie to licence me to stand vp by his Throne; whereto he commanded *Asaph Chan* to let mee choise my owne place.

The fourteenth in the morning, I sent a Messenger to *Asaph Chan*, least hee or the Prince might mistake me by the Kings mistakings; that I had complained against them, which as I did not, so it was not yet in my purpose: only I was willing to let them see, I did not so depend on *Asaph Chan*, by whose mouth I vied to doe my business; but that if he continued his manner of neuer deliuering what I said, but what he pleased; I would finde another way. My message was to cleare any such doubt, if it remained; or if not, to entreat him that he would fetten the Prince in my demands concerning *Surat*. He answered, Neither the Prince nor hee had any reason to suspect, my purpose was to complaine of them; that the error was euident enough, for his part he had euer had the loue of the English, and would endeavour to continue it.

The fixe and twentieth of April, I receiued intelligence, that the Prince caused one of his Seruants at the Durbar, to aske the King why he vied to good countenance to the English, that for their cause the *Portugalls* were barred the Port of *Surat*, who brought more profit to the King, as many Ballaces, Pearles, and Jewels, whereas the English came onely to lesse profit, with Cloth, Sworis, and Knives of little estimation. The King answered onely, it was true, but who could mend it. Herby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to bee watchfull, and to study to procure our (clues in the Kings grace, in which onely we were safe: but I resolved to take notice of this, and to make proofe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation.

The two and twentieth of May, I went to the Durbar to vise the King, and to desire his authority to haue one *Iones* a youth, that was runne away from mee to an *Italian*, and protecte himselfe vnder the name of the King to the infamy of our Nation. The King gaue order for his deliuerie, but the Prince who euer waited opportunitie to disgrace our Nation for the cause of his Favourite *Asaph Chan* with whom I was newly broken off from conference, and had sent the Prince word I would no longer beare opening my cause to the King, moued the King in private to fend for the youth first, which at the *Gulst Chan* hee did: and the Prince giuing him countenance, hee raised to my face with most violent malice, desiring the King to take his life, so the King resolved not to deliuer him to me, but to send him Prisoner to *Surat*; but the Prince braue me, begged him for his seruant, the fellow hauing quite renounced his Country, the King gaue him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alledge: so the Prince presently gaue him one hundred and fiftie Rupias, and the pay of two Horses, and forbade mee to meddle with him.

The three and twentieth, at night my man came and fell at my feet, asking pardon for his lying and madnesse, and offered to libmit himselfe in any kind. I told him I would not now keepe him Prisoner: he was the Princes seruant, but that before I could giue him any answer he should make me publike satisfaction as farre as he was able.

The foure and twentieth, *Iones* made meanes to come to the *Gulst Chan*, and there asked pardon of the King for his lies, denying euer word hee had spoken, and to haue been done to protect himselfe from me, whom hee had offended, desiring the King to fend for me that he might there aske my pardon: the King was well pleased. But the Prince fell into a great rage.

The fixe and twentieth, I went to the *Gulst Chan*, where after many pretellations of the King, that he neuer beleueed him, that he was a Villaine, yet that hee could doe no lesse but protect him, hauing cast himselfe into his mercy: the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked mee forgiveness, and on his oath swore to the King that hee had in euery particular belied me, which hee professed to doe voluntarily, for that hee durst neuer returne to his country. The King chid him a little, and told me, hee nor any good man euer beleueed him: but the Prince grew so angry that mouing him with many questions to stand to his first word, which hee refusing was bid be gone; and the Prince publicly calling for him againe, had him most basely returne him the one hundred and fiftie Rupias, deliuered him for that hee gaue it to maintayne him against me, which seeing he went from, hee would haue his money: which the fellow promised but hee should haue it presently, and so sent an vnder Treasurer with him to the house, where hee was lodged, for into mine, I would not suffer him to come.

The seuen and twentieth, thus I was enforced to seeme content, because I had no way to seeke remedie, for Presents I had none, and the King neuer takes any request to heart, except it come accompanied, and well in plaine termes demand it, which aduantage the Prince takes, vrging the *Portugalls* bringing of Jewels, Balletts and Pearles with much disgrace to our English commodities.

The nine and twentieth, the *Portugalls* went before the King with a Present, and a Ballas Rubie, to sell as was reported, weighing thirteene Tole, two Tole and a halfe being an ounce: they demanded fise Leakes of Rupies, but the King offered but one. *Asaph Chan* is also their Solicitor,

tor, to whom they gave a Present of Stones, they had divers Rubies Ballaces, Emeralds and Jewels set to sell, which so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed.

The Prince and the Jesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desired, but it was permitted to *Alph Chen* before concerning the *Portugall* credit, here I ever made my judgement by report, but now experience shewes me the difference made between vs and them, for they were taught after by every bodie, whereas they seeme to buy our commodities for almes, besides their Neighbour-hood and advantage to hinder that Trade into the Red Sea, is ever more ready then ours to doe harme, because they are fetled, so that only for a little feare wee were entertained, but for our trade or anything we being not at all respected.

§. III.

Occurrences happening in June, July, August 1616. and divers passages of speech and action, whence the Nature, Arts, and disposition of the King and his Subjects may be observed.

June 11.
Sultan Coroono,
to be cryed in
the Deras
warres.

He twelfth of June, there is a resolution taken that *Sultan Coroono* shall goe to the *De- can* warres, and the day prefixed having consulted all the *Bramans*. Prince *Parnu* is called home, whom (it is reported) wrote to his father, that if he would send his elder brother, he would obey, but to dishonour him by implying this, hee would first fill on him, and after finish the warre. All the *Captaines*, *Chama Chama*, *Mahobor Chan*, *Chan John*, refuse to play if this Tyrant come to command, so well it is belov'd: it is true, all men awe him more then the King, now that hee is to receive the Armie; the King cannot be remoued from his resolution, so that his sudden departure two and twentie dayes from this present, must haften me to finish this business, and to know a resolution: for after his departure with his *Mission Zulphuckerson*, there is no hope to recover a penny, nor any Justice against him.

Source com-
mand.

The eighteenth, the King commanded one of his brothers sonnes (who was made a *Christian* in policie, to bring him into hatred with the people) to goe strike a Lyon on the head, which was brought before the King; but he being afraid, refused it: so the King bade his youngest sonne to goe touch the Lyon, who did so without any harme, whereas the King tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison, where hee is neuer like to see day-light.

The foure and twentieth, the Prince had a faine borne, and now being preparing for this warre, all mens eyes were on him, either for flattery, gaine, or enmy, none for love. He received twenty Lecks of Ruples towards his charges, (two hundred thousand pound sterling) and began to deale money liberally: but notwithstanding his show of his Fathers affection and gratefulness, a *Chan* perswaded the King that the Voyage would be dangerous, in respect of the Prince *Parnu*, whose honour was so wounded, that he would not returne without revenge. The King replied, let them fight, I am well contented, and he that proues himselfe the better Capitaine shall pursue the warre.

Abdala Nassan.
Exquisite mark-
ing.

Abdala Nassan is Capitaine of all the souldiers, entertained at Court, and Treasurer to all the Armies: hee entertained me courteously, with few complements, but much civility, wee sat to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and peeces, most of them with single bullet did hit the mark, being a hand-breadth in a butt, wee had some discourse of our vie of weapons, and I departed.

July 15.

The thirteenth of July in the morning, I sent *Sultan Carvama* three bottles of Alligant, and a Letter concerning the *Portugall*, the differences betweene our Trade and theirs, and to procure all the customs in and out to farme for the Companies use (the copy is registred.) The Prince caused (as is his barbarous custome in all business palling in publicke) the Letter to be twice read by his Secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him: in the end sent word, that at night when he came downe, he would read it himselfe, and consider it; and that I should receive answer from *Morre*, or *Sennalle*.

The Kings de-
light in Pain-
ting.

At night I went to the Darbar to visite the King. So soone as I came in, he sent *Alph Chen* to me, that he heard I had in my house an excellent Painter, and desired me he might see some of his worke: I replied, according to truth, that there was none, but a young man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanely, farre from the art of Painting. The King replied, that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force, that he would neither doe mee injury, nor suffer any other; and prayed that he might see that man and his worke, howsoever it was. I replied, I had no such doer of his Maestie; and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the *Guzell Chen* with such toys as hee had, which perhaps was an Elephant, or a Deare, or such like in paper. At this answer the King bowed himselfe, and returned, that if I desired an Elephant, or the figure, or any other thing in his Coun-
try,

crey, I should not buy it, nor seeke any other way but to him, that whatsoever I had a mind to, he would give me, and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my friend. I made a Reuerence, and answered that I humbly thanked his Maestie, Elephants were of no such use to mee, neither was it the custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to aske any thing, if his Maestie gave me but the worth of a Ruple. I would receive it, and esteeme it as a mark of his fauour. He replied, he knew not what I desired, that there were some things in his Countrey, rare in mine, and that I should not make dainty to speake to him, for he would give me such things as should be most welcome, and that I should be cheerful, for that he was a friend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect vs from any injury, but desired that I would that night come to the *Guzell Chen*, with the youth that painted, with his Pictures. So *Alph Chen* wished me to find home to fetch him to his house; whether if I would go and stay with him vntill the King came abroad, I should be very welcome; which I promised. I neuer received so much grace and fauour from the King as at this time, which all men tooke notice of, and accordingly altered their fashions towards mee; specially it happened well that the *Lefai* was made Interpreter of all this by the Kings appointment.

This day a Gentle-woman of *Normalle* was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch; another Capon that loved her, killed him: the poor woman was set vpon to the armets in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tood to a flake, to abide three dayes and two nights without any fullenance, her head and armes expoid to the Sunnes violence: if shee dyed not in that time, hee should be pardoned: the Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Damell yielded in Pearle, Jewels, and ready money, sixteen hundred thousand Ruples.

The two and twentieth, I received Letters from *Brampr*: in answer of those to *Mahobor Chan*, who at first granted my desire, making his *Firman* to *Borooh* most effectually, to receive our Nation, and to give them a house neare the Gouverneur, strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble them vnler colour thereof. Finally, what they might buy, sell, and transport their commoditie at their pleasures, without any molestation, concluding, they should expect to hear no other from him, and therefore they should be careful in execution. I received with it a Letter from himselfe (which was more courteous then all the *Indies* yielded me) full of courtesie and humanity, and great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to visit him, hee desired mee to write, and it should be performed. The Copies are worthy the seeing for the rareness of the phrase. The *Firman* I caused to be sent to *Swat*: so that *Borooh* is prouided for a good retreat from the Princes injuries, and the custome given, whereby fifteen hundred pound, *per annum*, will be saved, besides all manner of fatches and extortions. For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confesse, that he neither careth for the Prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being the only belov'd man of the King, and second person in his Dominions; and in all his life so liberal of his purse, and honorable of his word, that hee hath ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning Custome, the King takes none, the Gouverneurs make it their profit, which hee professeth to come that he should abate the liberty of the Kings Ports.

The sixt of August, I was sent for to the Darbar: the business was about a Picture I had lately given to the King, and I was confident that no man in *India* could equall it. So soone as I came, he asked mee what I would give the Painter that had made a copy to like it, that I should not know my owne: I answered, a Painters reward, fifty Ruples. The King replied, his Painter was a Carpenter, and that too small a gift; to which I answered, I gave my Picture with a good heart, esteeming it rare, and meant not to make comparison or wagers: if his servant had done as well, he would not accept of my gift; his Maestie was much fit to reward him. So with many passages of tests, mirth, and bragges concerning the Arts of his Countrey, hee fell to aske me questions, how often I dranke a day, and how much, and what? what in *England*? what *Bere* was? how made? and whether I could make it here? In all which I satisfied his great demands of State. He concluded that I should come to the *Guzell Chen*, and then I should see my Pictures. At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his work-man, and shewed me fixe Pictures, five made by his man, all patted in one table folio, that I was by candle-light troubled to discern which was which, I confesse, beyond all expectation: yet I shewed mine owne, and the differences, which were inarte apparent, but not to be iudged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and ioyfull, and craked like a Northerne man: I gave him way and content, praising his man's art. Now, saith he, what say you? I replied, I saw his Maestie neede no Picture from our Countrey; but farth he, what will you give the Painter? I answered, seeing hee had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would give him one hundred Ruples to buy a Nage, which the King tooke kindly, but answered, hee should accept no money, but some other gift; which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was refferable to my discretion: so hee answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replied, a good Sword, a Pittall, a Picture; whereas the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toys as you
have,

Story of an
Eunuch and
one of the
Kings women.

Mahobor Chan
his grant to
the English
Borooh.

His Chastity
and good parts

August 6.
The Kings cu-
riosity in pain-
ting, and the
Indians work-
man's life for
well, his civi-
lity, and for notice
of the Kings
disposition, it
is here added.

hau, and let him choose one, in requital whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in England. We are not to vniuersall, as you esteeme vs: to be pressed me to choose one, which I did; the King wrapping it up in a paper, and putting it up in a little booke of mine, deliuered it, with much joy and exultation of his mans supposed victory, whereas I shewed him a Picture I had of his Maiesties, farre inferior to the worke I now saw, which caused me to iudge of all other by that which he deliuered me as the best. He asked me where I had it: I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy any such things? I haue not I the best: and haue not I told you, I would give you whatsoever you desired? I thanked his Maiesty, but that I held it not ciuility to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger: he replied, it was no shame to aske of him, and bad me speake at all times freely, promising me to aske me what I wished. I answered, I would not choose my gift, whatsoever came from his Maiesties hands I would receive as a marke of honour: he replied, if you desire my Picture, I will give you one for your selfe, or for your King. I answered, if his Maiesty would lend the King one, I would gladly carry it, and knew his Maiesty would take it friendly, and esteeme it much. But that since his Maiesty had emboldened mee, I would desire one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my Posteritie, as an enuision of his Maiesties fauour. He replied, your King doth not desire one, but you doe, therefore you shall haue it, and so he gaue present order for the making: then he turned to rest, and wee were blind-fold dismissed.

The twelfth of August, *Gemaldin-visin*, a man of twentie yeares, Vice-roy of *Patan*, and Lord of foure Cities in *Bergalia*, one that hath beene often Embassadour, and of more vnderstanding and courtie then all his Countreimen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiver of strangers, not secretly ambitious. He often made me iudges that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was receiued with extraordinary familiarity and kindeesse, offering me a Lecke of Rups, and such other curiosities to great, that they bespake their owne refusal. His fauour with the King, his credit, his counsell, all was offered that could fulfill complements. And this I must confesse, that from a person reuerent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for some Discourse speaking so plainly of his followes in Court, trathes in mine owne experience, I reioiced he was a good natur'd and right hearted old man. He told me much of the Customes of this Countrey, of their seruitude, of their want of Lawes, of the increase of this Empire, wherein hee had serued three Princes in grace and fauour, of which times hee shewed me a Booke or Annall of all memorable Actions which he had daily committed to record, and had compos'd them into a Historie, the Copie whereof he offered me if I could procure it translated. Concerning the Kings routine and the manner of raising it, besides confiscations, gifts, and cuttings vpon great men; that the Government of euer Province did yearly pay a Rups: as for his Government of *Patan* onely, he gaue the King diuen Leckes of Rupas, the Rups sterling is the twenty shillings to pence) all other profits were his, wherein he had Regall authority to take what he list, which was esteemed at five thousand horse, the pay of euerie one at two hundred Rupas by the yeare, whereof he kept fiftene hundred, and was allowed the Surplus as dead pay: besides the King gaue him a Pension of one thousand Rupas a day, and some smaller governments. Yet he assured me there were diuers had double his entertainment, and about twentie equare.

He prayed the good Prophet Iesus and his Lawes, and was full of very delightful and fruitful Discourse. This Visit was past some few dayes, and I thought that his courtie had bene at an end: but this day he had borrowed of the King his house and Garden of pleasure: *Hauas Gemall*, a noble out of his wife to feast me in, and ouernight earnestly inuited me, I promised to come. At midnight he went himselfe and caried his Tent, and all his furniture, and fitted up a place by the Tanke side very handsomely. In the morning I went. At my coming he came to meet me and with extraordinary ciuility caried me into his room prepared where hee had some company and one hundred seruants attending, two of his sonnes, being a father to thirde. He entertained me with shewing me the Kings little closets and retiring rooms which were painted with Antiques, and in some panes Copies of the French Kings and other Christian Princes; wanting no Court-shipp. That he was a poore man, flauo to the King, that he desired I should receive some content, and that therefore he had drawne me to a light Banquet to eate bread and salt together, to feede a friendship which he desired me to accept: that there were many great men to shew me more courtie, but they were proud & false willing me to trust to none, for that I had business to the King of any weight, other concerning the *Peridols* or any other, they would neuer deliuer truth who were my Interpreters, but only what other pleasts themselves or would content in the relation. That therefore I should neuer be rightly vnderstood, nor easily my business without abate, nor neuer clearly know my estate vntill I had an Englishman that could speake *Persian*, and that might direct my minde without passing the tongue of another, which the King would grant me if I could find any: for that hee had conceiued a good opinion of me, and the last night at the *Guyll Chan*, having brought before him the Jewels of *Sheck Ferah*, Governour of *Labar* lately dead, he remembred me of himselfe, and seeing a Picture of his owne that pleased him, he deliuered it to *Asaph Chan*, commanding him to lend it me to wear for his like, with many words of fauour towards me, which would make all the great men respect me.

In

In this time came in Dinner. So sitting on Carpetting, a cloth was layd and diuers banquetting before vs, and the like little a part for the Gentlemen that companied him, to whom hee went to eate, they holding it a kind of vniuersall to mingle with vs. Whereas I told him, hee promised we should eate bread and salt together, that without his company I had little appetite to be so late and late by me, and we fell roundly to our victuals. The substance was made dishes of diuers sorts, Raisins, Almonds, Pistachies and Fruit. Dinner ended, he played at Chess, and I walked, returning after some discourse I offered to take my leave, he answered he had intreated me to come to eate, that what was said was but a collation, that I must not depart till I had tipped, which I easily granted to.

About an hour after came to visit him the Ambassadour of one of the *Deean* Kings whom he presented to me, vying him with ciuility, but in a much inferior manner, in respect of his fashion toward me: he asked me if his Maiesty my Master would not take in some the offer of service from so poore a man, and if hee would vouchsafe, to accept of a Present from a stranger, for that he would lend a Gentleman with me to kisse his Maiesties hands, and to see our Countrey. I answered him as became ciuility and good manners; so hee sent for one presently, and questioned him if he would venture the journey, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said he would prouide some Toyces of the Countrey for his Maiesty, and lend me in my company. By the manner, this seemed to me to be earnest.

While we thus spent time, our Supper came, two clothes being spread, as in the morning and before me and my Chaplaine, and one Merchant were six diuers dishes of Sallets and meate rolt, frye, boyled, and diuers Rices: he desired I should be excused, that it was his manner to eate among himselfe, his Countreimen would take it ill, if he eate not with them, so hee and his gualds, I and my Company dined our dishes with a good reliefe in g. The meate was nor amiss, but the attendance and order much better, his seruants being very diligent and respectful. He gaue mee for a present, as is the manner, when one is invited, five cases of Sugar Canie dressed with Muske, and one Loafe of moist fine Sugar white as Snow about fiftie pound weight, desiring me to accept of one hundred such against my going, which said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poore, but hee tells me nothing, it is made in my Government, and comes gratis to me. I answered, hee had too farre already oblig'd me, that I would not refuse his courtie when I was ready to depart. He replied, he might be then vntimely, and therefore desired I would now speake, that hee might not lose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and his friends, with complements I took my leave.

The sixteenth, I went to visit the King, who as soon as I came in, call'd to his women and reached out a Picture of himselfe set in Gold, hanging at a Wire Gold Chain with one pendant loose Pearle, which he deliuered to *Asaph Chan*, warning him not to demand any reuerence of me, other then such as I would willingly giue; it being the custom whensoever hee bestowes any thing, the receiver kneels downe and puts his head to the ground, which had bene exacted of the Ambassadors of *Persia*. So *Asaph Chan* came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but he made signe to put off my hat, and then put it about my necke, leading me right before the King. I vnderstood not his purpose, but doubted he would require the custome of the Countrey, called *Sinada*. But I was reloued rather to deliuer up my Present: Hee made signe to giue the King thanks, which I did after my owne custome, whereas some Officers called mee to *Sinada*: but the King answered no, no, in *Persian*, so with many gracious words I returned to my place, you may now iudge the Kings liberality; this gift was not worth in all thirte pound, yet it was five times as good as any he giues in that kind, and held for an especial fauour, for that all the great men that wear the Kings Image, which none may doe but to whom it is giuen, receive no other then a medall of Gold as bigge as six pence, with a little Chain of foure inches to fasten it on their heads, which at their owne proper charge, some let with stones, or garnish with pendant Pearles.

The nineteenth, *Gemaldin-visin*, who inuited me to *Hauas Gemall*, being newly made Governour of *Sinada*, came to me to dinner with two sonnes and two other Gentlemen, and about one hundred seruants: hee at some Banquetting shew'd me in my house by a *Morre Cooke*, but would not touch such meate as I had prouided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good, a kind of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired me that foure or five dishes might be sent to his house, such as he would choose, being all baked meates which hee had neuer seen, and that he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done, and so offering vs the Towne of *Sinada* and all other courtesies in his power, hee made haste to fill his belly. I gaue him a small Present according to custome. This day suddenly dyed to my great griefe, and discomfort my Minister *Maiter Hall*, a man of most gentle and milde nature, religious, and of vnperturbed life.

The twentieth day, and the night past full a storme of raine called the Oliphant, vsuall at going out of the raines, but for the gratefull very extraordinary, whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke which had is made of stone, in these extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it brake out in one place, and there came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would giue

The courtship of the King.

The courtship of Gemaldin-visin.

A History written by him. Manner of Mogoll Government. Ricum Leckes for Patan to the King.

Their opinion of Christ.

Entertainment at a house of pleasure.

Confuse of his fellow Nobles.

The Kings wife & to Sir T. Roe.

Rices of Entertainment.

The present of Chess-play.

Purpose to find one into England.

Supper served in.

They giue Presents to their Church.

The Kings fauour.

Superstitions Cause.

Huge raine called the Oliphant.

gine way and downe all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, inasmuch that the Prince and all his women forsooke their houses; my next Neighbour carried away his goods and his wife on his Elephants and Camels to flye to the hills side. All men had their Hories ready at their doores to save their lives, so that we were much frighted and sit vp till mid-night for that we had no help, but to flye our selves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher then the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away being poore muddy buildings, fourteene yeeres past, a terrible experience having shewed the violence, the foot of the Tanke being leuell with our dwelling, and the water extreme great and deepe, so that the top was much higher then my house which flood in the bottome of the court of the water, every ordinary rain making such a Current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London Bridge, and is for some houses impassible by Horie or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy, the King caused a flace to be cut in the night to save the water another way, yet the very same had washed downe a great part of the wals of my house, and so weakened it by diuers breaches, so that I feared the fall more then the flood: and was so moyled with dirt and water, that I could scarce lye day or safe, for that I must be enforced to bee at new charge in reparation. Thus were we every way afflicted, fires, smokes, floods, stormes, heats, dust, flies, and no temperate or quiet season.

Mandao.

The nine and twentieth, the King went to *Hauze Temal* and so to hunting, there was taken a resolution to remove to *Mandao*, a Cattle nere *Brampert* where is no Towne, for that *Sultan Persis* being come from the warre in disgrace, and being with his traine nere *Afgher*, the King commanded him to *Bengala*, exculing himselfe to be seene, and so having dispatched him without such incommodie as was feared would arise if the two brothers met, he intended himselfe to settle *Sultan Carwane* in the warres of *Decan*, to which all the chieft were so contrary, that the King feared to find him downe as was the resolution some monethes past, and therefore dissembled it, vntill the other Prince was withdrawn & he established by his owne countenance, coming to neere as *Mandao*, which remove if it proceed will put vs to extreme trouble and cost, for that we must build a new house both for our felues and goods, the Cattle standing on a hill without any other buildings neere it.

A wild Boare sent by the King.

The thirtieth, the King returned in the night, and about eleuen a clocke sent me a very fat wild Boare, and so great, that he desired the Tunc Lucke, with this message, that he bid it with his owne hand, and that therefore I should eat it merrily, and make good chere. This occasion *Jaddoo* that was sent for to the King to bring it,ooke to tell *Afagh Chan*, that I desired to visit him on the morrow, and hoped to receive from his hands the Priviledges granted by the King. He answered, he could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday be sealed, and that he was loth to see me, vntill he had giuen me content.

§. II. II.

The Kings birth day, and manner of the obseruation, with other accidents in September.

Rites of the Kings Birth-day.

He second of September, was the birth day of the King, and solemnized as a great Feast, wherein the King is weighed against some Jewels, Gold, Silver, fluffes of Gold, Silver, Silke, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other things of every sort a litle, which is giuen to the *Bramini*. To this solemnity the King commanded *Afagh Chan* to send for me, who to doing, appointed me to come to the place where the King sits out at Durbar, and there I should be sent for in; but the Mellenger mistaking, I went not vntill Durbar time, and so missed the sight, but being there before the King came out, as soone as he espied me, hee sent to know the reason why I came not in, hee hauing giuen order? I answered according to the error, but he was extreme angry, and chid *Afagh Chan* publicly. He was so rich in Jewels, that I must confesse I neuer saw together so vnualluable wealth. The time was spent in bringing of his greater Elephants before him, some of which being lord-Elphants, had their chaines, podes, and furniture of Gold and Silver, attended with many gult banners and flags, and eight or tenne Elephants waiting on him, clothed in Gold, Silke, and Silver. Thus passed about twelue Companies most richly furnished, the first hauing all the Plates on his head and breast with Rubies and Emerauls, being a beast of a wonderfull stature, and beautie. They all bowed downe before the King, making a reuerence very handsomely, and was a thew as worthily as euer I saw any of beasts onely. The Keepers of euery chace Elephant gaue a Present. So with foure gracious complements to me, hee rose and went in.

Another curious picture.

At night about tenne of the clocke, he sent for me, I was a bed. The Melage was, hee heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it, & if I would not giue it him, yet that he might see it, and take copies for his Wines. I rose and carreyed it with me: when I came in, I found him sitting cross-legged on a litle Throne, all clad in Diamonds, Pearles,

Pearles, and Rubies, before him a table of Gold, in it about fiftie pieces of Gold plate, set all with stones, some very great and extremely rich, some of lesse value, but all of them almost couered with small stones, his Nobilitie about him in their best equirage whom he commanded to drinke sociouly, I scull wimes thralling by in great flags. When I came neere him, he asked for the Picture: I showed him two; he seemed almost as one of them, and demanded whose it was? I answered, a friends of mine that was dead. He asked me if I would giue it him. I replied, that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the image of one that I loved dearly, and could neuer recouer; but that if his Maiestie would pardon me my fancies, and accept of the other, which was a French Picture, but excellent work, I would most willingly giue it him. He sent me thanks, but that it was that only Picture he desired, and loved as well as I, and that if I would giue it him, he would better esteeme of it, then the richest Jewell in his house. I answered, I was not so in love with any thing, that I would refuse to content his Maiestie; I was extreme glad to doe him service, and if I could giue him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my heart to doe him service, I was ready to preferre it to him. At which he bowed to me, and replied, it was sufficient that I had giuen it, that hee confided hee neuer saw so much Art, so much Beauty; and conured me to tell him truly, whether euer such a woman liued? I answered, there did one liue that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead. He returned me, that he tooke my willingness very kindly; but seeing I had so freely giuen him that that I esteemed so much, he would not rob me of it, only he would shew it his Ladies, and cause his Workemen to make him fine Copies, and if I knew my owne I should haue it. I answered, I had freely and willingly giuen it, and was extremely glad of his Maiesties acceptance. He replied, that he would not take it, that hee loved me the better for loosing the remembrance of my friend, and knew what an injury it was to take it from me, by no means hee would not keep it, but only take Copies, and with his owne hand hee would returne it, and his Wives should weare them: for indeed in that art of limning his Painters work miracles, the other been in oyle hee liked not.

Then he sent me word, it was his birth day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. I answered, whatsoever his Maiestie commanded, I would him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonie might be renewed an hundred yeeres: he asked mee what wine, whether of the Grape, or made whether strong or small? I replied, what he commanded, hoping he would not command too much, nor too strong: so hee called for a Cuppe of Gold of mingled Wine, halfe of the Grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to be filled, and sent by one of his Nobles to me with this Message, I had I should drinke it, twice, thrice, foure or five times off for his sake, and accept of the Cup and appurtenances as a Present. I dranke a litle, but it was more strong then euer I tasted, so that it made me sicke, whereat hee laughed and called for Raisons, Almonds, and sliced Limons, which were brought mee on a Plate of Gold, and hee had me eat and drinke what I would, and no more. So then I made reuerence for my Present after mine owne manner, though *Afagh Chan* would haue caused me to kneele, and knocke my head against the ground, but his Maiestie best accepted what I did. The cup was of Gold, set all over with small Turkeys and Rubies, the Cover of the same set with great Turkeys, Rubies, and Emerauls in workes; and a dishutable to set the Cup vpon: the value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater (which are also many, are not all cleane, but they are in number about two thousand, and in gold about twenty Ounces. Thus hee made frolicke, and sent me word, hee more esteemed me then euer *Franky*, and demanded if I were merry at eating the wild Boare sent me a few daies before, how I liked it, what I dranke, and such complements; That I should want nothing in his land; which his publike, and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitie.

Then hee threw about to those that stood below, two Chargers of new Rubies, and among vs two Chargers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Silver mingled; but I could not scamble as did his great men: for I saw his sonne take vp none, then hee gaue Shalhes of Gold, and Girles to all the Multitans and Waiters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others, his Maiestie; and all his Lords became the finest men I euer saw, of a thousand lumes; but his sonne *Afagh Chan*, and two old men, and the late King of *Candahar*, and my selfe forbore. When hee could not hold vp his head, hee lay downe to sleepe, and we all departed. At going out, I moued *Afagh Chan* for dispatch of my priuiledges, assuring him his Maistie could giue me no Present I accepted; hee pleased not to dispatch me, which I doubted not, if it lay in his power, but that some other hindrance was in my way, I would on the morrow moue the King, he desired mee not to doe so: for the King loved me, and had giuen order for it, that the preparation of this Feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it me, and doe me all seruice.

The fourth of September, I found it easie to iudge what vexation it is to traffique with those faithlesse people. Seven moneths I had promitt from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but finding I had to drawne them, that I should not much need the Prince, and if we divided, we might reuise his government. Hee vterly renounced his word in choller and rage. I desired not yet leave him, nor take notice of his faithlesse. He that first tooke him for our Solicitor, People,

The King gaue Sir Ysaac, for a cup of Gold. Strong Wine.

Franky a name common to Europeans Christians.

Scrambling of the Nobles for Golded Almonds.

engaged vs into this miserie, knowing him to bee the Protector of our enemies, and a Slave to bribes, which they multiply vpon him. But now I had a Wolfe by the eares: I feared onely to apprehend his dislike of the length and pirate, and sent him a Letter to interpret me and a Briefe of the substance of all required on their parts, contained in generall words, touching onely such particulars as he liked, and left our quite all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to put it in forme, and procure the Scale, or to give me leave to receive mine owne deniall from the King, and so to depart the Countrey. These I finished in *Perfian* the same day, and sent them to him, they are recorded in their order.

The eighth, *Asaph Chan* sent me this answer, That absolutely, he would procure nothing feele, that any way concerned the Princes government; that I should onely expect from him what we desired, whose *Ferman* was sufficient. And so revealed that purpose which he had long in practise, to make vs wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had iust cause to looke out, and was blamelesse if I sought new friends when he had forsaken me. I refused to trie the Prince, and so seeme to depend wholly on him, having felt formerly to his Secretary faire clauses, to which I demanded his *Firman* for our present visit at *Swat*, for the Fleet expected, which his Highnesse had agreed to.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, who cast downe to the Secretary his *Firman* by mee desired and promised, so that I hoped I had been at rest. The eleventh, I received it, but when I read it, it was in two of the foure clauses demanded and promised, much different and one I whole branch left out; so I returned it with a round answer, I would not accept it, nor suffer any goods to come thither. Neuer any man had to doe with so much Pride, Covetousnesse, and fallow. At night, I rode to *Merce Socralla*, the Princes Secretary, to expofulate the business, and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the *Ferman* not such as I was informed, but containing all the clauses required by me, though in pirate, to my judgement, somewhat restrained, which he expounded in the best fence, declaring that it was the Princes intent to satisfie my desire fully, and that it was sufficient. I urged the obliquity of some points, desiring him as he had cleared his Highnesse meaning to me, so he would by his Letter to the Gouverneur of *Swat*, which hee granted, principally commanding that the Custom should pay for fittie clothes, which hee had many moneths bought, and now would returne them vnto the Factors, to their extreme lesse. In the ende, he opened the old point of the Princes desire, that I should rely on him, and not creffe him in business of his Government with the King, and I should find him a better friend than I expected: and finally gave me such satisfaction in all points, that I was both pleased, and in some hope of good success, the rather because he is no briber, repured honestly, and did undertake on his credit, to whom the Prince had referred all businesses, that we should not sustaine the losse of one piece, nor any the least injury: so I accepted the *Firman*, which vpon translating I found vnto eff. et all.

The sixteenth, I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, vntill I heard from our ships, and what entertainment they were like to receive this yeare. I found him sad, fearing the coming of *Sultan Parus* to Court, being within eight course, and importuned to kisse his Fathers hands, who had granted him, but by the power of *Narmel*, was after diuulged, and a command sent, that the Prince should kisse his sonne right to *Baga*, yet although the King had fallen downe, and taken his Mother by the feet to cleane her haire, to see his Sonne. The Kings remouce continued, but whether no man could certainly refolde.

§. V.

The broiles about Abdala Chan, and Chan Channa; Sultan Caroones ambition, his policies to subvert his elder Brother: fight with a Portugall Car-ricke: disfaist about the Prince: Persian Embassage, Presents and entertainment.

Obber to Abdala Chan in disgrace.

Manner of his humiliation.

The tenth of October, *Abdala Chan* the great Gouverneur of *Ammanas*, being sent for to Court in disgrace for many infidelities and neglects of the Kings authority, and thought he would stand on his guard, and refuse yet the Prince *Sultan Caroon*, (whose ambition wrought on euery advantage) desirous to oblige to great a man (seeing one of the chief Capitaines in these Kingdomes) presuaded with him on his word to submit it to that coming in Pilgrims Clothes with fortie seruants on foote, about sixtie mile in counterfeite humiliation, finished the rest in his Palace, vntill he arrived nere the Court, but one dayes journey behind he had two thousand horse attending. This day he was brought to the *Larack* (the publicke sitting of the King to see Games, and to heare complaints) chained by the leete, buttoot between two Noble men, he paid his Turbant in his eyes, before hee had the happinid to behold the Kings face. After reuerence made, and some fewe questions, the King forgave him, caused his yrons to be loosed, and clothed in a new Velt of Cloth of Gold. Turbant and Girdle

accon-

according to the custome. The Prince who intended to build his honour on the warres of *Decan*, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great Commander *Chan Channa* did not proper in (which doubtlesse was a prauiuer with the *Decan*, from whom hee received penion:) caused his Father to recall *Chan Channa*, who refusing to come, desired the King not to send *Sultan Caroon* to that warre, but one of his yongest sonnes about fifteene yeares of age. This *Caroon* tooke to heart, but prosecuting his purpose of the warre, promised to *Abdala Chan* the Command of the arme vnder him, by displacing *Chan Channa*.

The King fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the power of *Chan Channa*, was desirous to accommodate all by accepting a peace, and confirming *Chan Channa* in the Government hee held, and doliely to that end wrote a letter of fauour, and purposed to send a Velt, according to the Ceremony of reconciliation, to *Chan Channa*; but before hee dispatched it, hee acquainted a kinwoman of his living in the *Zergilla*, of his purpose. Shee, whether false to her friend (wrought by *Sultan Caroon*) or out of greatness of heart, to see the top of her family to deale with, after so many meris; answered plainly, that shee did not beleue *Chan Channa* would weare any thing from the King, knowing his Majesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poison, which hee putting in his bolome (in feale of his mouth) had made triall of. Therefore shee was confident hee would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his Majesty. The King offered to weare it himselfe before her an house, and that shee should write to tell it: hee replied, hee would it trust neither of them both with his life, but if he might live quietly in his command, would doe his Majesty true seruice. Whereupon the King altered his purpose, and refused to proceed in the finding of *Sultan Caroon*, and to contentance his reception, would follow after with another arme.

Chan Channa that discouered the forme, gratified with the *Decan*, who were at his seruice, to offer termes of peace for his sake, failing no way to dilate this cloud that hung ouer them both, vntill the King and Prince were departed and scled further off. To this end came two Ambassadors this day from the Princes of *Decan*. They brought horses bad, richly furnished for Presents. At first the King refused to heare them and their gift, but turned them ouer to his sonne with this answer: If he would haue peace or warre, it was in his breife. The Prince advanced by this fauour, and swelling with pride, refused (though I was informed the conditions were very honorable, and such as the King would haue accepted) to goe on the journey, answering hee would treat of no peace, vntill hee were in the field with his Arme; *Chan Channa* should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warre.

The ambitions of this yong Prince opened, the common talk of the people, yet his Father suffers all, but intends him not the King home. For *Sultan Caroon*, the eldest brother, is both extremely beloved, and honored of all men (as next eldest) and very iustly for his Noble parts, and this the King knows and loves, but thins hee had better would diminish his owne glory, and fessnet that this life youth doth more darken him by ambitious practices, then the other could by vertuous actions.

Thus hee nourisheth diuision and emulation betweene the brethren, and putteth such power in the hand of the yonger (supposing hee can vnto it at his pleasure) that the wisest force a rending and tearing of these Kingdomes by diuision, when the King shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all parts will be torne and destroyed by a ciuill warre.

The history of this Countrey, for the variety of fashions, and the many praifits in the time of *Edouard*, Father of this King, by the then Prince; and these later troubles, were not vnworthy committing to writing; but because they are of so remote parts, many will despise them: and because the people are deemed barbarous, few will beleue them. Therefore I content my selfe with the contemplation, but I could deliuer as many rare and cunning passages of State, subtilt customs, policies, answers, and adages, as I beleue, for one age would not be easily equalled.

Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to shew wisdom and patience in a father, faith in a seruant, fal hood in a brother, impudent boldnesse in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the highest Majesty giues them liberty, either beyond the law of their owne condition, or the limits of policie and reason.

The Prince *Sultan Caroon*, *Narmel* the deare Queene, Aunt to his wife, *Asaph Chan* his father in law, brother to the Queene, and *Eriman Dowlet*, father to then both (being they that now gouerne all, and dare attempt any thing) refused it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince *Sultan Caroon* lued, whom the Nobility loved, and whose deliery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poison might end him. *Narmel* attempts the King with the false teares of women: hee witching flattery, that *Sultan Caroon* was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts depolled: I know heeares her lay it, but would not vnderstand more then hee deluded plainly.

This failing, they tooke opportunity of the Kings being drunke, the Prince, *Eriman Dowlet* and *Asaph Chan*, moued the King, that for the laity of *Sultan Caroon*, and for his honour, it

Zergilla or *Sa. bala*, the place where the Kings women are kept. The King dwells long with *Chan Channa*.

Decan offers peace.

Fare of fauour broiles.

The parties of the faction.

Drifts to be away *Sultan Caroon*.

were sifter he were in the company of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his sifter more regarded, then in the hands of a *Rafiboute Gentile*, to whom the King had committed him. Therefore they humbly desired his Majesty, that he might be delivered into the hands of his deare brother, which the King grante *i*, and so fell asleep.

* Aprince.

Anna Rab his
Sally.

The Kings an-
swer.

Sultan Cor-
fome, a lover
of Christian.

October 13.
Four ships ar-
rive at
Swally.

Of this fight,
see more in
M.R. (Cade)
Journal fol-
lowing.

After it was
known, that
so nee we lo-
ed with life
and poverty.

Compliments
with the King.

They thought their own greatness such, as bringing the Kings authority no man durst refuse, and being once in their possession, they would dispute the redelivery: so the same night *Asaph Chan* in the name of the King, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand, and receive *Sultan Corfome*, at the hand of *Anna Rab*, a *Rafiboute*, to whom the King had intrusted him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answer, That he was *Sultan Corfome* humble servant, but that he had received the Prince his brother from the hands of the King, and to no other would deliver him, but he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himselfe to his Majesty, and leave it to his pleasure to dispose. This answer cooled all. The morning *Anna Rab* came to the King, and acquainted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusal and answer, and added his Majesty had given him the charge of his sonne, and made him the Commander of four thousand horse, with all which he would dye at the gate, rather then deliver his Prince into the hands of his enemies: If his Majesty required him, he was ready to obey his will, but he would provide for his owne innocency. The King replied, You had done honestly, faithfully, you have answered directly: continue your purpose, and take no knowledge of any commands: I will not seeme to know this, neither do you stirre further; hold your faith, and let vs see how farre they will prosecute it.

The Prince and the Faction, the next day finding the King silent, hoping he might forget what walked in wine, took no notice of the grant, nor of the refusal, but it fell (not without suspicion) on both parts. This inferre to this end, that you may beware flattering your goods in diuers parts, and engaging your stocke and servants farre into the Country: for the time will come, when all in these Kingdomes will be in combustion, and a few years warre will not decide the intricate malice lye up on all parts against a day of vengeance, wherein *Sultan Corfome* prevaile in his right, this Kingdome will be a Sanctuary for *Christians*, whom he loves and honors, favouring learning, valour, the discipline of warre, and abhorring all countenance, and discerning the base culmes of taking, vied by his Ancestors and the Nobility. If the other winne, we shall be lecherous in his most exorbitant in his Superstition, a hate of all *Christians*, proud, filthy, false, and barbarously tyrannous. There is daily expected an Ambassador from the *Shah* King of *Persia*.

The thirteenth of October at night, the King returned and sent me a wilde Pigge. I received aduice of the arrivall of four shippes safe at the Port of *Swally*, with Letters from *England*, that they departed the Coast the ninth of March 1615, with sixe shippes, loosing company of the *Rose* about the North Cape by foule weather.

The twelch of June 1616: the other five came safely to the Bay of *Soldania*, where the *Lyn* homeward bound, was ready for a wind; her Commanders and people in health, staying dayes at the Road, without newes of the small ship. They dispatched the *Swan* to *Bantam*, for seeking the buisness, and set sail for *Surat* the nine and twentieth with foure shippes, and came to anchor to their Port, the foure and twentieth of September 1616. In their pillage the sixe of August, near the Anis of *Comora*, about twelce degrees, fiftie minutes, they had fight of a Carrack burthen fiftene hundred tunne, manned with sixe hundred, being Admirall of the Fleet sent for *Gos*, bearing the Flagg: the *Globe* latched her vp to windward, and after alterations of the Sea, the Carrack commanded her to Lee-ward, and seconded it with fire: then throw her Hull, which shee requested with eighteen, and so fell off. The Admirall and English Fleet coming vp, demanded satisfaction for the injury; which was replied to with force: so began a fresh fight in few flor, the Commander *Benjamin Ieseph* was slaine, and the new established continued it: at the evening fire ranne her selfe aloofe among the rocks of *Angasfel*. The Fleet anchored there of her, to attend the issue, and sent a Boat to offer faire warres: but about midnigh shee fired her selfe, and burned all the next morning. The English sending their Boats could not approach, but beleue that not one man was saved, by circumstances very probable: the new Vice-Roy for *Gos* was in this shippe, whose resolution was the death of all the others.

The next day, I imparted the King, with his Majesties remembered salutations, which were with much courtesy received: but he began with the Presents. I first mentioned our late light and victory, which he seemed to reioyce in, and to applaud the valour of our Nation: but fell off to What hath the King sent me? I answered, Many tokens of his love and affection: That my Master knew he was Lord of the best part of *Asia*, the richest Prince of the East. That to send his Majesty a rich Present, were to call Pearles into the Sea, the mother and store-house of them, that therefore his Majesty thought it unnecessary; but had presented him with his love, with many curious toys, which I hoped would give him content. He begged me to some particulars, which I named: he asked me for *French Muske* or *Velvet*. I answered my letters were not arrived: some other was come, which he desired. He enquired for *Dogges*: I told him, some had

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their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preferred for him, at which hee reioiced, and continued if I could procure him a Horse of our great size, such as I described, being a *Rose* or *Dutch* Horse, he would accept it better then a *Crowne*. I replied, I would do my endeavour for his Majesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not be effected: I answered, if I would procure one, he would give me a Leake of *Rupias*. I desired his Majesties Letter for the coming of these Presents without search, and for the good vidge of our people: he replied, the Port was his Sonnes, but sent for him and publicly gave expresse order for what I would require, and take on me, that it should not be searched, nor pay custome, but be dispensed with expedition safe to my hands, that I might distribute it at my discretion, that he should command the good reception of our people, and finally, that he should give me content in all my desires. This generally extended not to the grant of a Fort, for that clause *Asaph Chan* refused to deliver. This charge was very round and hearty in the King, and a grace to me. The Prince called *Asaph Chan* to me, and there he praised and promised before his Father and all the Court, to give mee all reasonable content. This is the strength of new Presents.

The fiftenth, I received from *Maliputan*, that Captain *Keeling* had taken two *Portugall* Barks and a ship, one on the Coast of *Cochin*, laden with Tinne, the other fraighted from *Bengala*, which he carried to *Bantam*: that Sir *Robert Sherley* was dismit with disgrace from *Gos*, and that he was on his way over land to *Maliputan* to seeke pallage; vnpromisable, and beleue vntrue.

The seuenteenth, the Prince pursuing his purpose of finishing the *Decan* Warres by his owne person, and vnder-taking to give answer to the Ambassadors, gives none; but detains them vntill his approach. But being to depart, hee and his party thought not themselves secure if *Sultan Corfome* returned in the hands of *Amarrath*, that in his absence the King might be reconciled, and by his libertie all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and the injury and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assaile the Kings confidence to deliver vp his sonne into the hands of *Asaph Chan*, as his Guard vnder *Sultan Corfome*. They pretend that it will fright *Chan Channa*, and the *Decan*, when they shall hear that this Prince is so favoured, who now comes to make warre vpon them, that the King hath delivered vp his eldest sonne; in that as it were his whole Kingdome, and hope of succession, and the present power thereof.

This day he was delivered vp, the Souldiers of *Anna Rab* discharged, and the Souldiers of *Asaph Chan* planted about him with assistance of two hundred of the Princes Horse. His Sister and diuers women in the Seraglio mourne, refuse their meate, cry out of the Kings dorage and crudelie, and protest, that if he dye, there will an hundred of his Kindred burne for him in memorie of his bloudshed to his worst shieff sonne. The King gives faire words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the Prince, and promitteth his delivery, and sends *Nornishell* to appease these enraged Ladies: but they curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people all murmur, they say the King hath not delivered his sonnes, but his owne life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction, that *Corfome* cannot perish without scandal to the Father, or revenge from him; therefore hee must goe first, and after him his Sonne, and so through their blouds this youth must mount the Royal seat. New hopes are spread of his redelivery, and soone allaid, every man tells newes according to his feares or desires. But the poore Prince, entrapped in the Tygers pawes, refuseth meate, and requires his Father to take his life, and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his Enemies. The whole Court is in a whisper, the Nobility alie, the multitude like it, full of tumour and noise, without head or foot; onely it rages, but bends it selfe vpon no direct ends. The issue is very dangerous, principally for vs: for among them it matters not who winnes. Though one have right and much more honour, yet he is still a *Moore*, and cannot be a better Prince then his Father, who is of so good disposition that he suffers all men to gouerne, which is worse then to be ill: for wee are better disposed injuries of Princes, then of their Ministers.

The nineteenth, the Persian Ambassador *Mahomet Rofa Beag* about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe, which were partly sent out by the King to meete him with one hundred Elephants and Mique, but no man of greater quality then the ordinary recruits of all strangers: his owne traine were about fiftie Horse well fitted in Coats of cloth of Gold, tier Boyses, Quivers and Targets richly garnished, forty shot, and some two hundred ordinary Peons, and attenders on biggish shee was carried to rest in a roome within the Kings ordinarie Court till evening. When he came to the Durbar before the King (so which Ceremony I sent my Secretary to observe the fashion) when hee approached, hee made at the first three *Teffilms* and one *Siccede*, which is prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the ground: at the entrance in the like, and so presented the *Shah* his Letter: which the King tooke with a little morion of his bodie, asking only, *How dost my Brother?* without any title of Majesty. And after some few words, hee was placed in the eleventh rank, against the raire by the doore, below to many of the Kings Sonnes, on both sides; which in my judgement was amoff inferior place for his Masters Ambassador, but that hee well defended it for doing that reuerence which his Predecessors refused to the dishonour of his Prince, and the murmure of many of his Nation.

His desire of
Dogges and
Horse.

A Horse pri-
z edaboue
10000, pounds.

Anna Rab dis-
charged and
S. Corf. deli-
vered to the
faction to the
Court and
Communitie.

It through
goodwill.

Persian Em-
bassador.

His submission.

Majesty
affiance of the
Persian against
the Turk.
Persian Pre-
sents.

said he had order from the *Sophie* to give content, and thereby it is gathered, his Message is for some aide in money against the *Turke*, in which kind he often finds liberal succour, though it be pretended he comes only to treat a peace for the *Decans*, whose protection the *Shah* takes to heart, enjoining the increase of this Empire. The King according to custom gave him a hand-
some Turbant, a Vest of Gold and a Girdle, for which againe he made three *Teffims*, and one *Sisda* or ground counterfeits he brought for Presents, three times, nine Hories of *Persia*, and one *yalia*, this being a ceremonious number among them. Nine Mules very faire and large, seven Camels laden with Velvet, two Sutes of *Europe Aras*, which I suppose was *Venetian Hangings* of Velvet with Gold, and not *Aras*, two Chells of *Persian Hangings*, one Cabinet rich, four Muskies, three Clockes, one Camell laden with *Persian cloth* of Gold, eight Carpets of Silke, two Rubies apparel, one and twentie Camels of Wine of the *Grapes*, fourteen Camels of distilled Sweet Waters, seven of Rose Waters, seven Daggers set with stones, five Swords set with stones, seven *Venetian Looking Glasses*, but those I to faire, so rich, that I was amazed of the relation. These Presents were not delivered now; only a Bill of them. His owne Furniture was rich, leading nine spare Hories, trapped in Gold and Siluer; about his Turbant was wreathed a chaine of Pearles, Rubies, and Turquesies, and three Pipes of Gold, answerable for three spridges of Feathers. Yet I could dilige obedience to be made of his reception, and compared it with mine owne, and find he had in nothing more grace, in many things not so much, in ranke farre inferior to that allowed me, except onely his meeting without the Towne; which by reason of my sickness was omitted to be demanded; neither did the King receive the *Shah* his Letter with such respect as my Masters, whom he called the King of *England* his Brother, the *Persian* barely Brother without any addition, which was an obtrusion of the lesuite, that understood the Language.

§ VI.

The Princes brauerie; the Persian Ambassadors behaviour, the manner and effects of Drinking, of the King and his Nobles; the Kings remoue, his super-exceeding pompe, wealth, magnificence therein: Portugal fray: relations of Sultan Corfiroone: Persian newes.

* A cerene
clauie in his
Letter to Su-
per ar bigu-
ous like the
old oracles, &c

Feathers in
request.

Atch Present.

Pomous bra-
uerie.

Behaviour of
the Persian

He one and twentith of October, I went to the Prince and opened my desire, to haue a certaine * clauie in his Letter expounded, at which his highnesse (lucke a little, and I perceived his Highnesse to be as hollow as I imagined. Hee demanded then how hee should haue his Presents, or see such toys as came vp, and moued me to goe with him. I replied, I could not doe so vntill I had deliuered my Masters Message, and Tokens to the King, but that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnesse with his Presents, and all such ri-
tue as came to my hands, should be sent after him: he prest me to passe my word, and I obeyed
order for the *Firman* to my content. His Highnesse looking on a white Feather in his Hat, demanded if I would giue it him, I replied, I would not offer that I had worn, but if he please to command it, that or any thing in my power was to serue him. He asked if I had any more, I answered three or four of other colours; hee replied, if I would giue them all, for that he was to
sew his Hories and Seruants to the King within two dayes, and that he wanted some, being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring all I had on the morrow that his Highnesse might take his pleasure.

Alida Chan in a gallant Equipage both of his person and Attendants, in apparrell, strange and antique, but in their parts *Ala Soldado* presented the Prince a white Horie, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamelled, a Beast of delicate shape, life and courage, who returned him a Sword plaine with a belt of Leather. There were brought before him many others, the Hilt of Siluer, Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets covered with Gold Veluets, some painted and bofed with Gold and Siluer, which he gave to his Seruants. Against this Muster, many Saddles and Furniture of Gold, rich set with stones, of his owne, were shewed for spare Hories, his Bootes imbrothered, and all other ingredients of brauerie. I confesse, the expence is wonderfull, and the riches daily seeme inuainable.

This night past, it is reported fixe of the Princes Seruants came to murder *Sultan Corfiroone*, but were refused the Key by the Porter; that the Queene Mother is gone to the King with an ouerture of all the practice, the truth is vnertaine, and it is dangerous to aske.

At evening, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, where I met the *Persian* Ambassador with the first Mulet of his Presents, he appeared, rather lessor or bigger, than a person of any grauitie, running vp and downe and ading all his words like a Mimicke Player (now indeed the *Arab* chigane, was become a right Stage) hee deliuered the Presents with his owne hands, which

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the King with smiles and cheerefull countenance, and many words of contentment received; his tongue was a great aduantage to deliuer his owne businesse, which hee did with so much flattery and obsequiousnesse, that it pleased almost as his gift, euer calling his Maestie King and Commander of the World (forgetting his owne Master had a share in it) and on every little occasion himselfe on the ground, and knoeled with his head, When all was deliuered for that day, hee prostrated in all dishes, many other folding Purles and Knackes of Leather wrought with Needle-worke in coloured Silkes, Shoes imbrodered and ficht, great Glasses inlaid in frames, one faire piece of Velvet, imbrodered high with Gold in grapes, betweene which were *Indian Pictures* wrought in the stuffe, which hee said was the King and Queene of *Venice*, (which, as I suppose, was the Hangings called *Aras*) of these five were giuen, one onely shewed; many other *Tiradados* of small value. After, the three Nines of Hories and Mules, which were faire ones, the Hories either had lost their flesh or beauty, for except one or two I iudged them vnfit for to be sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antike trickes to his place farre inferior to that allowed me, which was alone and about all Subiects which at first *Asaph Chan* would haue put me by, but I maintayned it as my due. This is but the first act of his presenting, the Play will not be finished in ten dayes. At night I sent to the Princes Secretary for my promised writing; but his Highnesse was loth to let the Present passe without railing, and had changed his mind refusing to seale the Letter.

The two and twentith, at my coming, I deliuered him two *Pharises*, and two Birds of Paradise; he accepted them easily, and my businesse being moued, and my resolution made knowne not to content to open, nor to send them vp, but by the hands of my Seruants, at last he yielded and gaue command to the Secretary to dispatch me.

At night I went to the Durbar to obferue the Ambassadors of *Persia*. I found him standing in his ranke, and often removed and set lower as great men came in. The King once spake to him, and he danced to the tune thereof, but gaue no present; only the King commanded that hee should be seated by the Nobles: The time was spent in seeing Saddles and Furniture for the remoue, of which his Maestie gaue some to his Followers, it being daily expected to rise: the Kings Tents were out foure dayes (since I sent to the Secretary for my *Firman*, but hee delayed it with excuses.

The foure and twentith, the King remoued to *Hauaz Gernall*, and called the *Persian* Ambassador, where at night hee ate and dranke before the King with the Nobilities, in the same fashion that I did the Birth-day; the difference onely was, the King gaue him for expence twenty thousand *Rupias*, for which hee made innumerable *Teffims* and *Sisdaes*, not rising from the ground a good space, which extremely pleased the King, and was bate, but profitable Idolatry. The Prince attending his Father, I could get no dispatch in my businesse.

The five and twentith, the King returned at Evening, having beene ouer-night farre gone in Wine: some by chance or malice spake of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his owne demand of who gaue it? It was answered the *Buxie* (for so many dares say it was the King, when he would only doubt.) The Custom is, that when the King drinks (which is alone) sometime hee will command, that the Nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and to every man that takes the Cup of wine of the Officer, his name is written, and he makes *Tefelem*, though perhaps the Kings eyes are mytie. The King not remembering his owne command, called the *Buxie*, and demanded if hee gaue the order? He replied, No, (falsely for hee received it, and by name called such as did drinke with the Ambassador) whereas the King called for the list, and the Persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand *Rupias*, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, hee called to be whipped before him receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, rays like Spirrowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to break their shutes upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would haue excused it on the Ambassador; but the King replied, hee onely bad giue him a Cup or two. Though drunkenness be a common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so deadly forbidden, that no man can enter into the *Gush Chan*, where the King sits, but the Porters (smell his breath; and if hee haue but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; King once take offence, the Father will not speake for the Sonne. So the King made the Company pay the *Persian* Ambassadors reward.

The fixe and twentith, I sent to *Sorocalla* for the *Firman*. He sent me a copy as ambiguous and fraudulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the milked clauie my selfe, which I sent backe, and was promised that on the morrow it should be sealed. The eight and twentith, the Kings day of remouance at hand, I sent to *Asaph Chan* for a war-

Nine, a remarkable number.

The Kings gift to the Persian.

Strange dealing with Nobles.

Terrible whipping.

Drunkenness prevented.

Awe of the King.

rant for carriages: the Merchants having sought all the Towne to remove their goods to *Agra*, could find none, so I received order being enrolled by his Majesty vpon my offer for twenty Camels, four Carts, and two Coaches at the Kings price: whereof I disposed as many as the *Factor*s needed to their use. But it were an extreme error to omit a passage, either of wonderfull benefite in this great Monarch, or a tryall of me. The King had condemned diuers Theeves, among which were some boyes: there was no way to save their lives, but to fill them for slaves: his Majesty commanded *Asaph Chan* to offer two of them for money, which hee appointed the *Cutwall* (that is the Marshall) to doe. My Interpreter made answer without my knowledge, that *Christians* keepe no slaves, that those the King had given I had freed, and that it was in vaine to propound it to me. But after I suspected it might be a tryall of me, whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children: or else I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were no great losse to do a good deed. And to try the benefit or scope of this offer, I commanded my Interpreter to returne to *Asaph Chan*, to tell him that he had acquainted me with the motion and his answer: that I reprehended him for preforming in any case to give my resolution, that my owne reply was, if there were any money to save the life of two Children, to those whom they had robbed, or to redeem them from the Law; both for respect of the Kings command, and for charity I was ready to give it, but I would not buy them as slaves, onely pay their ranfome and free them; that if he pleased to know the Kings pleasure that I might give them libertie without offence, I was very willing to doe it. *Asaph Chan* replied, I might at my owne will dispose them, that it was an extraordinary goodnesse; with many prayes accepted the money, desiring me to find it to the *Cutwall*, and to vife my discretion to the boyes, not once offering to informe the King, which was one end of my liberality. I was both to be commended, and knew not whether this might be the profit of Officers or no, refused to pay the money, but for the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy than he, and that a *Christian* should save the life of a *Moor*: so hee gave me money. So I sent a *Factor* and my Interpreter to the *Cutwall*, to acquaint him with the communication with *Asaph Chan*, and to let him know, if at night he would entorne the King, that I had offered to redeem the Prisoners for charities sake, if after his Majesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money; but to buy them as slaves, though for an hour. I would not, they should never come nor be manumitted by mee, but that I desired his Majesty to pardon them vpon my redemption, so I put them to the test of their bale offer. This money exceeded not ten pound, a poore fomme to impose on a stranger, or to be gained by a King. *Asaph Chan* returned answer, hee would know the Kings pleasure, and accordingly advise mee. Some would perfwade me this is one of the *Mogols* signall favours to choose out such great men, as he will give occasion to doe good and honourable works, to redeem Prisoners, and that the money gives satisfaction to the Plaintiffes, and that those so appointed by the King to ransom others, make *Suzda* as for some benefit received. Yet I find not any honour in a Prince to impose it on a stranger, to whom hee gives neither maintenance nor liberality; I went to the *Durbar* to see if his Majesty would of himselfe speake to me, that I might deliver my owne offer. The *Cutwall* made many motions, brought in the Executioner who requested some comman-
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An old costume.

Six hundred such Elephants and other brazen of the Prince, Rich Swords.

The Kings robe.

The first of November, *Sultan Cerrone* took his leave and went to his Tents. The King at noone sat out at the *Durbar*, where the Prince brought his Elephants about six hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his fellows by estimation ten thousand Horse, many in cloth of gold, with Heame top feathers in their Turbants, all in gallantry; himselve in cloth of Silver and broyded with great Pearle and shining in Diamonds like a Firmament. The King embraced him and kissed him, and showed much affection: at his departure hee gave him a Sword, the Scabbard all of Gold set with stones, valued at an hundred thousand Rupias; a Dagger at forty thousand, an Elephant and two Horses with all the Furniture of Gold set with stones, and for a close one of three Caroches (made in imitation, of that sent by his Majesty my Master) and commanded the *English* Coachman to drive him to his Tents, into which hee ascended and sate in the middle, the sides open, his chieftest Nobles a foot walking by him to his Tents about four mile. All the way hee threw quantities of Rupias being followed with a multitude of people, hee reached his hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about an hundred Rupias.

The second, the King removed to his Tents with his women, and all the Court about three mile. I went to attend him coming to the Pallace, I found him at the *Paradise* window, and went vpon the Scaffold vnder him, which place hee had sate before, I was glad of the occasion. On two Trestles stood two Eumouches with long Poles beaded with Feathers, fanning him; hee gave many favours and received many Presents, what hee bestowed hee let downe by a Silke, round on a turning Instrument; what was given him, a venerable fatte decrepid old Matrone hung with Gymballs like an Image, plucked vpon a hole with such another Clue; at one side in a window were two principal Wives, whose curiosities made them buckle little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, after lying their faces close, now one eye now another sometime I could discern the full proportion, they were indifferently white, blacke hair smooth vpon, but if I had had no other light
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their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed to shew them: when I looked vpon they retired and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose, and went retired to the *Durbar*, and sate on the Carpets attending his coming out: not long after he came and sate about halfe an hour, vntill his Ladies at their doore were attended their Elephants, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with Turrets of Gold, grates of Gold wyre every way to looke out, and Canopies over of cloath of Silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King, as would have out-cryed Cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and thrust to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white fluffe like Starch, into which hee put his finger, and touched the filth, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony vifed presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his sword and buckler, set all over with great Diamonds and Rubies, the belts of gold fustian; another hung on his quarter with thirty arrows, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the *Persian* Ambassador) on his head he wore a rich Turbant, with a Plumbe of horne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a Rubie vntie, as bigge as a Walnut; on the other side a Diamond as great; in the middle an Emerald like a heart, much bigger. His Shafts were wreathed about with a chaine of great Pearle, Rubies and Diamonds drild: about his necke hee caried a chaine of most excellent Pearle thrice double, so great as I neuer saw: at his elbowes armettes set with Diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of Diamonds of severall sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a Ring; his gloves were *English*, thicke vnder his girdle; his coat of cloath of Gold, without sleeves, vpon a fine Sman as thicke as Lawne: on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with Pearle, the toes lapped and turning vpon. I thus armed and accommodated he went to the Coach, which attended him with his new *English* tenant, who was clothed as rich as any Player, and more gawly, and had trained four horses, which were trapped and harnessed in Gold Vduets. This was the first hee ever fate in, and was made by that sent from *England*, so like, that I knew it not but by the coour, which was a Gold *Persian* Vduet. Hee got into the end, on each side went two Eumouches, that caried small Faces of Gold, set all over with Rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-tail to drive away flies before him went Drummes, all Trumpets, and loud musicke, and many Canopies, Quittols and other strange enignes of Majesty of cloath of Gold set in many places with great Rubies: nine faire horses, the furniture some garnished with Rubies, some with Pearles and Emeralds, some finely with studs enamelled.

The *Persian* Ambassador presented him a horse; next behind him came three Palankees, the carriages, and feet of one plated with Gold, set at ends with Pearle, and a fringe of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foot deepe: a border about, set with Rubies and Emeralds. A footman caried a foot-stole of Gold, set with stones, the other two were couered and lined with cloath of Gold. Next followed the *English* Coach, new couered and trimmed rich, which hee had given the Queene *Normahell*, who rode in it: after them a third of this Country fashion, which hee thought was out of countenance: in it sate his younger sonnes: after followed about twenty Elephants Royall, spare for his owne ascending, for that in stones and furniture they braued the Sunne. Every Elephant had diuers flagges of cloath of Silver, gilt Satin and taffata. His Noble-men hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the same, and left him. His wives on their Elephants were caried like *Parakeets* half a mile behind him. When hee came before the doore where his eldest sonne is prisoner, hee layed the Coach, and called for him: hee came and made reuerence with a bow and buckler in his hand, hee heard growne to his milde signe of dis-favour. The King commanded him to ascend one of the spare Elephants, and to ride next to him, to the extreme applausse and joy of all men, who now are filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thousand Rupias to call to the people, his Gacel *Asaph Chan* and all the Monites yet a foot.

I tooke horse to auoyd presse and other inconuenience, and crossed out of the *Leskar* before him, and attended vntill hee came neare his Tents. Hee palled all the way betweene a guard of Elephants, having every one a Turret on his backe; on the four corners four banners of yellow Taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that caried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball the Ginner behind it; in number about three hundred: other Elephants of honor that went before and after about five hundred, all which were couered with Velvet or cloath of Gold, and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way ranne diuers foot-men with skinkes of water that made a continuall howre before him: no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the Coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, that I halted to his Tents, to attend his alighting.

They were walked halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with diuers Coynes and Bul-warkes, with high Cannots of a course stuffe made like Aras, red on the out-side, within which figures in panes with a handsome gate-house. Every post that bare vpon theie, was headed with a top of bulle. The throng was great: I desired to go in, but no man was suffered, the greatest of the Land sate at the doore: but I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the *Persian* Embassador and all the Noble men. Heere first the *Persian* Embassador saluted mee with a silent
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Superfluous

Huge Gowne

Sultan's robe

Brazen of Elephants

Sately Tent

complement only. In the middle of this Court was a throne of mother of Pearl, borne on two pillars raised on earth, covered over with an high Tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold, under it Canopies of Cloth of gold, vnder-foot Carpets. When the King came near the doors, some Noble-men came in, and the *Persian* Embassador: we stood one of the one side, the other of the other, making a little line the King entering call his eye come, and I made a reverence he laid his hand on his breast and bowed, and turning to the other side, nodded to the *Persian*. I followed at his heels till he ascended, and every man cryed glad, joy, and fortune, and I took our places. He called for water, washed his hands, and departed. His women entered some other Port: to their quarter: and his sonne I saw not. Within this whole raile was about thirty divisions with Tents. All the Noble-men retired to theirs, which were in excellent farms, some all white, some green, some mingled, all incomparable as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The whole vale shewed like a beautiful City, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled. I was visited with carriage, and ashamed of my provision, but five yeeres allowance could not have furnished me with one indifferent fare forsooke to others: and I which alides to the greatness, every man hath a double, for that one goes store to the next Remous, and is set a day before the King refresh from thence. So I returned to my poore house.

November 5.

The fift of November, the Prince fate in the first magnificence, order and greatness that I mentioned of the King. His throne being placed over with silver, intail with flowers of gold, and the Canopies over it: he, borne on twelve pillars covered with silver, his arms, sword, bow, arrow, and a lance on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed no he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: the received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his Throne. I near saw to listed a countenance, nor any man kept to coultant a greatness, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreme pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then affaile him, and a kind of brokenness and distraction in his thoughts, unprovidently and amazedly answering questions, or not hearing: if I can judge any thing, he hath left his heart among his Fishers women, with whom he hath liberty of conversation. *Remains* in the *English* Coach the day before visited him and took leave, gave him a cloak all embrodered with Pearle, Diamonds and Rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his items 30 on all other but his.

Frey between the *Persian* and *English*.

The sixt, I received a letter from Master Browne, from *Amadous*, who certified me of a fray begun by the *Portugalls*: five of them setting on an *English* Boy in *Cambaya*, and disarming him, upon rumours whereof *Jobs Browne* and *James Bickford* went to his rescue, and were assailed: by seven of them. One shooting a Pistol, hurt *Jobs Browne* in the hand, but his heart lay not there: they defended themselves honestly, bravely like *Englishmen*, killed one, hurt some others, and chased them up and downe the Towne like beasts: to the great shame of such villains, and reputation of our Nation. To revenge this, the *Portugalls* being arrived in their Frigates, durst come ashore, no more *English* in Towne but the three mentioned. The Governor understood the occasion, and I sent the *Cornwall* with a guard to our house, and shut the water ports, expelling the *Portugalls*: by commanding upon paine of chastisement not to meddle with the *English*: and so delivered them safe out of Towne, who are returned to *Amadous*.

Card-play.

The ninth, I found the Prince earnest at Cards, but he excused himself of forge-finesse, and blamed the Officers formally: but in the wised me with more confidence than ordinary, calling me to see his Cards, and asking many questions. I expected he would speake of my going with him; but finding no such discourse, I told him I was come only to obey him and to take my leave, that I desired his pardon, that I hadt away, for that I was to returne to *Adshere*, being unprompted to stay all night. He answered, I sent for me to see me before his going, that I had not properly be dispatched. Then he sent an Eunuch, and diuers of his Card-tamers came smiling, saying the Prince would give me a great Present, and if I feared to ride late, I should have ten horse to guard me, and made such a business, as if I should have received his first charge of Pearle. By and by came a Clutch of gold Cloake of his owne, once or twice worse, which he could not be put on my backe, and I made reverence very unwillingly. When his Ancestor *Tamerlane* was represented at the Theater, the garment would well have become: but it is here reputed the highest favour to give a garment worn by a Prince, or being new, once laid on his shoulder.

Order to fire the Leskar at *Adshere*.

The sixteenth, the King gave order to fire all the Leskar at *Adshere*: to compel the people to follow, which was daily executed. I was left almost desolate, and the *Persian* Embassador (who had fought, chid, brauld, complained, but could not get remedy) in the same estate. We were become one another, and by his example I began to refuse to buy for many woe I had bid, which at the Kings price could not hire) and I cast it at the belt hand I could, almost to save the hire, though the carts were deere, for in three months the price was extant; new fire enforced me, for the Towne was burnt and desolate. I was in danger of the same, that on the Arabian coast and robbed in the night. I could not find bread to eat, yet I sent anew to Court, and refused to abide all the inconveniences of a hard siege.

The

The fourteenth, I received from *Gos* for truth, that *Don Emanuel de Alencar*, with about three hundred of tiele faul ashore from the Admirall, were armed poore, and and fired against the Inhabitants of *Agassia*, who had flame many, and forced some to Circumcision. On the four and twentieth of October, one of the Fleet sent out from *Lisbon* arrived, to their great wonder. The Gallion of *Alfombrie* was fought with by the *Hollander* that lately departed from *Surat*, who lay off and on before *Gos* as the came in to meet the Ships expectable was rich in Gold and other Commodities, but the ekaped by means of the Port. The Indies the boldness of the *Hollanders*, to attempt with one ship, and to braue the head of the *Onders*. It seemed a promise for *Camels* to remove.

The eighteenth, I could not procure carriages, but was to daily desirous, that I feared to stay. Two Cates I was informed to buy, and *Camels* I was constantly permitted. *Adshere* remained in the Princes Leskar to get money, the King was yet but value could from *Adshere*. The Leskar took his leave of me, being forced to buy carriage, notwithstanding his order for it out of the Kings store, but scarce it punished all men. This emprie time offering no discourse of my owne affairs, I shall digresse conveniently to mention the state of *Sultan Corforoon*, of whose new delivery into the hands of his enemies, every mans heart and mouth was full. The King notwithstanding he had so farre agreed to satisfie his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemed meant not to wrinke at an iniurie offered to the Elder, and partly to secure him in the hands of *Adshere* Chan, partly to satisfie the people that murmured, and feared the practice of some treachery against him, he took occasion to declare him selfe publicly. *Adshere* Chan had visited his new Prisoner, and in his filiall did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but ruled prett upon him against his will, and with no reverence. Some are of opinion, he picks a quarrell, and knowing the brave nature of the Prince, that would not bear indignity, tempted him to draw his Sword, or to use some violence, which the guard should suddenly reuenge; or else it should be declared to the King, as an attempt to kill his Keeper, and to escape: but the Prince was patient, only he got a friend to acquaint the King with the manners of his Loyal. The King called *Adshere* Chan at the Durbar, and asked when he law his charge he answered two dayes past: his Maistie replied, what did you wish him? he sayes, only visit him: but the King pressed to knowe what reverence, and favour he carried toward him? *Adshere* Chan found his Maistie knew what had passed, and confided he went to see him in affection, and offer his friendship: but that the Prince refused him a visitance into his Chamber, which because he had charged of his fidelity, he thought it both necessary for him to doe, and discountenance for the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The King returns quicke, When you were in, what said you, and what did you? what duty shewed you toward my Sonne? He stands blank, and confest he did not any reverence: whereat the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to be his eldest and belovd Heire, his Prince and Lord, and if he once heard of any the least want of reverence, or due toward him, he would command his sonne to set his feet on his necke, and trample on him: that he loved *Sultan Corforoon* well, but he would make the world know he did not intrust his Sonne among them for his ruine.

The three and twentieth, and four and twentieth, I stayed for the Merchants, and received an answer from *Spahan*: that my Letters were shewed for *Alippe*, that our coming into *Persia* was expected, but on conditions to fit the *Shah*, so that it might aluance his desire of directing his Silks from the way of *Turke*: that the General of the *Grand-seignior* lay with a mighty army at *Argonne* sixe dayes march short of *Tamir*, uncertaine, whether to aliaile the City, or to enter *Gorgis* and *Giles* (the Countreys of Silks) to win that by conquest which was prohibited by commerce. To meet both attempts, the *Shah* was incamped at *Salmas*, a Village indifferently seated in the way; but if in two months the armies encounter not, winter approaching, and the waits which attend such multitudes, will dissolve them both, without any honourable action: or if they meete, the *Persian* though by report one hundred and eightie thousand, will not adventure battell, but being light and able to march easily, without Cannon and Baggage, will fall on and off on every side on the *Turke* army, as he will breake, and waite him without hazard.

§. VII.

Sir Thomas Roes following the Court in this Progresse, description of the Kings Leskar, and some places which they passed: the Kings Superstition, drinke, and dealing about the Present.

The first of December, I removed four courts to *Ramfor* where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men, flaine in the fields for robbery, and the Caravan at midnight departed *Adshere*.

The fourth daye came, I overtook in the way a Camel laden with three hundred

December 5.

m. 14

Description of
Godeh.

mens heads, sent from Candahar, by the Gouernour in Prefect to the King, that were out in rebellion.

The sixth, four courfe, where I ouertooke the King at a walled Towne called *Godeh*, in the best Country I saw since my landing being a faire Champion, as every courfe a Village, the foyle fruitful in Corne, Cotton, and Cattell.

The seventh, the King pulled onely from one side of the Towne to the other, which was one of the best built I ever saw in India, for that there were foules two stories high, and most such as a Pedler might not come to keepe shop in, all covered with tile. It had bene the seat of a *Raja Rajpote*, before the Conquest of *Echynia*, and stood at the foot of a great Rocke very strong, had many excellent workes of hewed stone about it, excellently cut, many Tankes attached, vaulted, and defenders made large, and of great depth. By it stood a delicate Grove of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry, with Manges, Tamerins, and other fruit, divided with walkes, and full of little Temples and Altars of Pagods, and Gentilitall Idols, many Fountains, Wells, Tankes, and Summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched, so that I must confesse, a banished *Englishman* might have been content to dwell there, but this oblation is generally, that ruine and destruction eates vp all: for since the proprietie of all is come to the King, no man takes care for particulars; so that in every place appears the vastations and spoiles of warre, without reparation.

The ninth, returning, I viewed the Lefcar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished, and served in four hours, except some of great men that haue a double provision, the circuit beinge little less then twenty *English* miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly, and Tents joynt: there are all sorts of shops, distinguished by rule, that every man knowes really where to seek his wants, every man of qualitie, and every trade being limited how farre from the Kings Tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall vie, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equall almost any Towne in Europe for greatness; only a Musket shot every way no man approacheth the *Atafken* royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the Darbar in the Evening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on Tanks by Boat, in which the King takes wondrous delight, and his Barges are removed on Carts with him, and he sits not on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two out. At the *Tarvace* in the morning he is seene, but busines or speech prohibited: all is concluded at night at the *Gowachan*, when often the time is preented by a crowding which possideth the King from the flames of *Bachou*. There is now a greivous whipter in Court, about a new affinitie of *Sultan Corfiroone* and *Asaph Chan*, and great hope of his libertie. I will finde occasion to discourse it, for that the passages are very worthy, and the wisdom and goodness of the King appears, above the malice of others, and *Noomahal* fulfill the observation, that in all actions of consequence in Court, a woman is not onely alwaies an ingredient, but commonly a principall thing of most vertue, and the shewes that they are not incapable of conducting busines, nor here selfe void of wit and subtiltie. It will discover a Noble Prince, an excellent Wife, a faithfull Counsellour, a craftie Step-mother, an ambitious Sonne, a cunning Favourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not understood by any of all this. But this will require a place alone, and not to be mingled among Kings.

The sixteenth, I visited the King, who having been at his ports, and his quarry of fowle and fily lying before him, he desired me to take my choice, and so distributed the remainder to his Nobilitie. I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Beggar at his feet, a poore filly old man all afe, ragd, and patcht, with a young rogue attending on him. With these kind of professed poore holy men, the Country abounds, and are held in great reuerence, but for workes of disfigurement of their bodies, and voluntary sufferings, they exceed the brags of all heretiques or delators. This miserable wretch clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, his Maestic talked with about an hour, with such familiaritie and shew of kinde, that it must needs argue an humilitie not found easily among Kings. The Begger late, which his home darts nor doe he gape the King a Prefect, a Cake, afe, burnt on the coales, made by himselfe of course graine, which the King accepted most willingly, and brake one bit and cat it, which a distate mouth could scarce have done. After he took the cake, and wrapt it vp, and put in the poore mans boosome, and sent for one hundred Rupias, and with his owne hands bestowed them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides, gathered vp for him; when his collation of languishing and drinke came, what sooner he took to eat, he brake and gave the Begger halfe, an later many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old Wretch not being nimble, he took him vp in his armes, which no cleanly body durst haue touched, embracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, called him father, he left him, and all vs and me in admiration of such a vertue in a heathen Prince.

The sixte and twentieth, we passed through Woods, and over Mountaines, torne with buhles, tired with the incommodiousness of an impatible way, where many Camels perished, many departed for *Agra*, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by making it we met the King

Humilitie and
Charitie super-
stitious, and
therefore
blind.

King rested two dayes, for that the *Lefcar* could not in litle time recouer their order, many of the Kings women, and thousands of Coaches, Carts, and Camels, lying in the woody mountaines, without meat and water, him selfe got by on a small Elephant, which beast will climbe vp rocks, and pass such heights, as no horse nor beast that I know can follow him.

The twenty fourth of Ianuary, newes arrived at Court, that the *Deccan* would not be frightened out of their Dominion, when *Asaph Chan* and *Noomahal* had pretended to procure this Voyage, but that they had sent their impudents into the heart, and attended in the borders, with fifty thousand horse, refused to fight, and that *Sultan Caronne* was yet advanced no further then *Madras*, afraid both of the enimie and *Chan Channa*. These Counsellors changed their advice, and declaring to the King that they conceived the *Deccan* before his passage over the last hills, would have yielded by the terror of his approach, but finding the contrary, perswaded him to conuert it to a hunting journey, and to turne his face toward *Agra*, for that the other was not an enimie worthy his person. He replied this consideration came too late, his honour was ingaged seeing he had to farre past, hee would prosecute their first counsellors and his purpose, and adventure the hazard of both. But hee durst dispensed fresh troopes towards his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest commanded from gouernments, according to reports, thirty thousand horse, but not by muster.

The third of February, departing out out of the Road of the *Lefcar* for ease and shade, and resting under a tree for the same commodities, came upon me *Sultan Corfiroone*, the Kings eldest restrained sonne, riding upon an Elephant, with no great guard nor attendance: his people desired me to give him room, which I did, but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and familiar questions, full of courtesie and affabilitie he departed: his person is good, and countenance cheerful, his beard growne to his girdle; this only I noted, that his question showed ignorance of all passages in Court, in so much hee never heard of any Ambassadors nor *English*.

The sixt at night, we came to a little Towne newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place upon the River of *Septra*, short of *Pzen*, the chief City of *Madra*, one Courte. This place called *Calicada*, was anciently a Seat of the *Gentile* Kings of *Madra*, one whereof was there drowned in his drinke, hauing once before fallen into the River, and was taken vp by the haire of the head, by a slave that dived; and being come to him selfe it was related to him to procure a reward: he called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst put his hands on his Soueraignes head, caused them to be stricke off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in haue taed him, which hee did not care being demanded why, hee replied, hee knew not whether he would also cut off her hands for her recompence.

The eleventh, the King rode to *Vgen* to speake with a *Dennis* or Saint, living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred years old: I thought this miracle not worth my examination. A noone by a foot-poll I received a letter, that the Prince, notwithstanding all *Firmans* and Commands of his Father, had intercepted the Prefects and goods sent vp, to fulfill his bafe and greedy desire, and that notwithstanding any gift nor entreaty, or perfwasions of Master *Tarv*, to whose charge they were committed, would not part with them, but by force compelled them to returne with him toward *Brampore*: yet did hee forebore to breake any thing open, but pressed the *English* to content, which they refusing by his order, he thought to winne them by vexatious gifts: the custome to see all Merchants goods euen before the King, that he may first choise, but I refused to breake that in our behalfe.

The Prince to satiate his desire, before I could have knowledge, he sent a Poll to the King to certifie him, that such goods he had layed without mention of Prefects, and prayed leave to open them, and to buy what he fancied. So soone as I heard of this fantastike vnsullied usage, I resolved I was iustifiable before all the world, if I vied the extremities of complaints, that I had practised all means to win and purchase fauour, and had suffered beyond the patience of a freeman, my former courtesies will witness, and leave me without blame in all successes, though I found it in a rougher way, seeing I could find no better in the smoothest. Briefely I refused to appeale to Iustice by complaint, but as calmly and warily as I could, to expresse my whole griefe, extream inuies, and long patience. To go to *Asaph Chan* (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trie him I feared would present my purpose: to send him that I desired to visite the King at the *Chud-Chan*, I doubted what I intended might be suspected, if hee had heard of the iucy: so I refused first to prevent, and avoid prevention.

The Prefect, whom the King vnder, offred me occasion, and my new Linguist was ready, I rode and met his Maestic on his Elephant, and alighted making signe to speake: he turned his monster to mee, and presented mee. My monne hath taken your goods and my Prefects: be not then, he shall not touch nor open a feele, nor Locke; at night I will send him a command to free him, with other very gracious speeches, that he knew I came full of complaint, to ease mee hee beguine me. Upon the way I could doe no more, but at night, without further seeking to *Asaph Chan*, I went to the *Chud-Chan*, resolved to prosecute the complaint of forcing backe our goods.

Inuies
Dennis
power
Madras
February 3
Confidence
with Sultan
CorfirooneSena
Madras
Calicada
King drunken
drownedOld Dennis
Princes incivili-
ties

goods, in respect of the charge and trouble, of the abuses of *Swart*, and all our other grievances. So soon as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and delivered by him, that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a haire should be dimmished: I replied, the injury was such, and the charge and labours of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redress, for that we could not longer suffer. It was answered, what was said I must remit to his sonne, but by *Asaph Chani* mediation I could procure nothing but very good words for him smoothed on both sides; so that I was forced to ferme content, and to seeke an opportunity in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Lawes of *Mosser*, *Iesus* and *Mahomet*, and in drinke was so kind, that he turned to me, and said: I am a King, you shall be welcome *Christians*, *Moors*, *Jews*, he medled not with their faith; they came all 10 in loue, and he would protect them from wrong, they lived vnder his safety, and none should oppress them; and this often repeated, but in extreme drunkennesse he fell to weeping, and to diuers passions, and so kept vs till midnight.

The *Mogel* in drinke.

Iudge all men what trouble I endured, by reason the *Fashors* kept my Presents foure moneths, and sent them euen in the mouth of the Prince, arrived within two dayes of *Brampore*, and hereby every way our charge doubled, that I rested not satisfied; but seeing I had begun and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good lye him to some purpose, as to none, at least to trie the King what hee would doe. So I waited advantage, but sent backe the messenger to *Maister Terry*, to stand out and attend the Kings answer, which I would speedily send him. And forsolede to dissemble that I hope to repay, when I came, with false flattery worse then the theft, or at least to gieve me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for otherwise it is no injury heere to bee soiled: he beganne to tell me he had taken diuers things, that please him extremely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoever I would not gieve him, I should receive backe: I answered, there were few things that I intended not to present him, but that I took it a great discourtesie to my *Suuerigne*, which I could not answer, to haue that was freely giuen seized, and not delivered by my hands to whom they were directed: and that for that they were intended for the Prince and *Normahall*, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Maiesties fauour to protect vs from injuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or private vs, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withal: he answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved, that hee had his choise, for that hee had not patience to forebear seeing them, hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first ferued, and to my Lord the King of *England* hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, *Normahall* and he were all onepead for any to bring with me to procure his fauour, it was a ceremony, and vnnecessary, for he would at all times heare me; that I should be welcome empty handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receive right from him and go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content; concluding I should not be angry for this freedom, hee ended well: I made no reply. Then he pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Maiesties content pleased me: so seeing *Maister Terry*, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, *Padre* you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever you desire to come to me, it shall be free for you, and whatseruer you will require of mee, I will grant you.

Maister Terry the Minister welcomed.

Then he conuerted himselfe with this cunning vnto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges, Cushions, Barbers case, you will not desire to haue backe, for that I am delighted in them: I answered no. Then said hee there were two Glasse chesies, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replied, I intended one for his Maiestie, the other to *Normahall*. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I haue, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld. Next he demanded whose the Hat were, for that his women liked them. I answered, these were sent to his Maiestie, the fourth was mine to wear. Then said hee, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that 50 on me, which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered, sent me to me to vie on occasions, and dispose of as my businesse required: so hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and other little questions, requiring many iudgements of them, of the third Picture of *Venus* and a Satyre: he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said: But asked his Lords what they conceiued should be the interpretation or morall of that, he shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars: every man replied according to his fancies; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived: and seeing they could iudge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iteming his command to conceal this passage from me. But bad he aske me what it meant: I answered, an Invention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was New to mee that had not seen it. Then he called *Maister Terry*, to gieve his iudgement, who replying, hee knew not. The King demanded why hee brought vp to him an invention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I entepoled that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them. onely com- 55

Norise question about the Picture of a Satyre.

ming in their company, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeat for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send, may be subiect to ill Interpretation: for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of iselife and trickes, for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliuer my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing, I had neuer seen the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not prelie hard vpon me. But, I suppose, he understood the Morall to be a losome of *sedition*, whom the said Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion and not unlike, who being hold by *Venus* a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that hee had him Captiue. Yet hee reuealed no discontent, but would them vp, and told he would accept him alio as a Present. For the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would sit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom hee would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Solicitor, in many busineses with as many complements, excuses, protestations as could come from any very Noble, or very base minde in either extreme. Yet hee left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beastes, and whether they were sent me to gieve to him I had vnderstood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lump of wood; I was really ashamed and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not intended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beastes with vs. He replied quickly, did you thinke in *England* that a Horfe and a Bull was strange to mee? I replied, I thought not of so meane a matter. The fencer was an ordinary man in good will to me for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not well said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horfe of the greatest size. It is all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall *Irish* Grey-hounds. And fetch other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will gieve you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their lines, and if they dyed by the way, only for my disfigure, their skines and bones I should be preferred, hee gaue extraordinary Bower, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witness, he neuer vsed to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedom, nor profession of loue. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong hee had done me, he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Maiestie to deliuer backe the Veluets and Silkes being Merchants goods, that they were sent vp among mine by his Maiesties command, for that by that pretence, they escaped the ruine of the Princes Officers: so hee gaue order to call *Maister Diddolph* to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I deliuered a Letter I had ready written containing my desire for Priuiledges and Iustice otherwise I should returne as a *Faynzane* and dispensed to my Soueraynes, and desired some Iustice for *Swilbeck-worke*. Debt lately due, he replied he would take such order with his Sonne for *Swart*, as I should haue no cause to complain, and that hee should order it for which hee gaue instant order. For other places, he would gieve me his commands, and every way shew how much hee loued me, and to the end I might returne to my *Maister* with honour, Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present with his Letter of my behaviour filled with many prayes, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable. I answered, I durst not craue, it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour, but whatsoever he sent, I doubted not, would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loued of my Lord. He replied, that I thought hee asked in selfe to please me, and that hee saw I was yet discontent, but hee conured me to beleeue he was my friend, and would at conclusion proue so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say, if his Maiestie pleased, I thought large 30 *Persian* Carpets, would be fitt for gifts of cost and value, my *Maister* expected not.

He answered, he would prouide of all sorts and sizes, and added to them what hee thought was fitt, that your King may know I respect him next, hauing Vexation of diuers sorts before him, hee gaue me halfe a Stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should be bestowed on his wiues, which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to diuers lack Mammocks, as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bore in his hands. Now *Naras* much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might haue flattered me into content, but the injury was about words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee lent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Maiesties fauour was sufficient to make mee any amends. Then, said hee, I haue onely one question to aske you; which is, I wonder much now I haue seene your Presents two years, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man before you with few times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambaffador with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferior to the other.

I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I have found you a Gentleman in your visage, and I am amazed why you were so lightly let out.

I would have replied, but he cut me off, I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteem you better then they employed you. At your returne, I will find you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not rejecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master: onely this I will require from you, and not expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiver, and Case for my Bow, a Coat to wear, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to be embroydered in *England*, of the richest manner, and I will except and receive them from you, for I know in your Country they can worke better then any I have seene, and if you find them use, I am a King, you shall not lose by it, which I most thankfully undertooke, and he commanded *Alaph Chou* to send me the pattenes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not demie it; he desired a taste next night, and if he liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

The third of March, we came to *Mandao*, into which the King entred in state, but no man was suffered to goe in before he was let, by the advice of his Astrologers, so that we all fate without, attending a good hour.

Mandao.

The sixth, I came into *Mandao*, having sent before, and found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tomb: it was taken vp by one of the Kings Servants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against rains, and save one thousand Rupias, and for a live very pleasurable upon the side of the hill.

Ill-prospect.

The eleventh, at night I went toward the Court, but the King upon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt, so that I had leisure to seeke some water: for we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Police) where was no water, that men and Cattle were like to perish, that little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force, the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest, were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and four Courte off, to the extreme trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of piousness. I knew not what to doe; my Roome and House was good, and though I were farr from Markets, yet it was a little inconvenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter, only I wanted water, so I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole possessed by *Chou*, which was given by the King. I sent to desire him leave to draw, who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort, that with selling away some of those lades that were put upon me from *Swar*, and putting off my Cattrell, I had hope to live, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery, nor punishment, which either the want of Government, or the naturall disposition of the Clime gave vs not.

§. VIII

The New-yeares Feast: Suspicions of the English: Trade of Dabul, distyle of the Persian, English-men of Warre in the Indian Seas.

He twelfth, I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares gift, a paire of very faire Knives of my owne, and fixe Glasses of yours; the excuse I made was well received, and the King vied me with all grace, this onely was my comfort. He said whatsoever came from my hands was present sufficient, he accepted my loue, and it was his part now to give me. I found a gainer by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I perceived the King inclined in my desire, and gave present order to an Officer to send for Master *Biddolph* to pay him, to his content for such things as he clamed, and all the others were acknowledged to be received by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweet baggage lay before him. I replied, I was as loth to goe empty handed: I it rested, the King commanded I should come vp and stand within, on the degrees of his Throne by him, where I found one side the Persian Ambassadour, on the other the old King *Candabar* with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gave a Jewell, and a young Elephant, for which he knelled and fluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same vied the last yeare, and all the other furniture: at the upper end was set the King my Soveraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady *Elsabeth*, Sir *Thomas Smith* and some others.

English Picture.

others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them, that came from *Persia*, a Throne of Gold set all over with Rubies, Emeralds and Turquoises, and the old Mullike of finging Whores. This day I dispatched to *Swar* my sduce of the Persian businesse and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to *Abram Chou* the Gouverneur from whom I received a Letter, that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowledge, but that his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him, that while he lived in authority we should neuer suffer any such abuses, but we should live in all freedom.

The thirteenth, I sent a Complement to *Alaph Chou*, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloves which he returned as valueless in this Country; the Cap he received and desired some Elegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. *Agram* (whose diligence now gave me great hope and ease) sent a *Bannan* his Secretary to tell me he had order for the dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master *Biddolph* to finish it, that the pattenes should be sent me home, and that his man should attend Master *Biddolph* to finish it, that the pattenes should be sent me home, and that I had no wile of a *Babylonish* Garment, nor needed money; if his Masterie were pleased to consider the injuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to give me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse. It was all I would desire, but for his gifts I expected none but Intice.

The one and twentieth: I yet could not at instant presse it further, only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Country, and breach with our Nation for the Prince, either out of guilelesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make vs the pretence of his owne desires, had newly informed the King, that next yeare, the English purposed the taking of *Swar*, and leaving it of which our owne folly gave some colour; for lately upon one of their ordinary brauades they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward *Swar*, and being met by divers the joyfull Mariners gaue out, they went to take it. This absolute brauado for a handfull of men to passe twelve mile to a walled Towne, able to put out a thousand horse armed, and as many shot, a River to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie, gaue iust occasion of scorn and offence: and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to retortise the Cattlehead Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good provision to keepe a doore open to his ambition, to if his Brother lye to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontents here, and some free language, my pleasure to goe to *Bamnapur*, and flying newes that we had taken *Goa*, and were preparing a great Fleet in *England*, did cause some suspicion in the King, which though he concealed it, yet he sought to discover by the former Discourse, with which hee rested fully satisfied, but I did not: I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of vs only preferred our renience.

The nine and twentieth of March: this complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court, that it troubleth all great men, it being their owne case, who liuing vpon farming Governments in which they vie all tyrannie to the *Naturals*, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings vnderstanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money, or to ransom themselves from no fault: this made all men ename my imployment, and auoid me as an Informer.

The ten and twentieth of April, I received from *Dabul* read from *Capt. Pymell*, that according to aduise he had Rayed the Luncke bound for *Alacha*, but weighing the caution given by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and *Mazalapatana*, in whose Territories the *Solomon* was and could not get to Sea, finding both alliance and friendship, he feared her without spoile, alleging the refusal of Trade to *Middleton*, which courtlesse procured him, so good entertainment as the *Indies* affords seldom, free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearly: a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the *Indians*, and the *Portugals* friends, enemies to the *Mogoll*) and all other courtesies, which if this kindehede proceeded not, for that the Luncke was yet vnder command, gives me good hope of some Trade in faye yearly at the Port, howeuer the freeing of the Luncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching, prejudiciall to the Company, and deliver him selfe honestly from the jealousies cast vpon him from *Dabul*, hee signifies his intent to proceed to *Calcutta*, and if that Fortune be not worthily supplies to transmit it to *Dabul*.

The eleven and twentieth, by the Foot-post I received from *Mazalapatana*, that the *Solomon* was got to Sea, and the *Hofander* from *Bamnapur* arrived, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the *Heiler* and *Concord*, careening in the Roade of *Lacarra*, on *Lana*, in recompence that the *Dragon*, *Clouard* and *Defence*, were homeward laden from *Bamnapur*. I took this occasion to conuey a letter to the Gouverneur of *Dabul* our land, to apprehend the ouerture newly made by him of the trade: though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next feet to proceed, but vpon better assurance then a forced friendship, and offis made while their Luncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie the caules of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir *Henry Middleton*, but now finding in him a better inclination and a

Suspicions of the English.

A. D. 1617.
Tyranny of Officers.Letter from
Caroline Pymell
well at Dabul.

Overture of Trade at Dabul.

desire to receive vs, & to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantity. I required if these motions were hearty, and such as befit a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master, to procure his *Firman* with such priviledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods, and to fulfill all the friendly offers made by him, his Officer, under his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great *Mogol*: whereby I might receive assurance and encouragement that they intended faith, and on such reception I did undertake on the behalf of the King of *England*, a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his Subjects free passage in the seas from any oppression by our *Fleets*, and that yearly by I would either send a ship to his Port for trade, or if it is required, leave & establish a residence in his Government. I doubt not, but yearly for feare or love, some good trade by sales may be made, but for enuements, it will not be worth it: only I proceeded as I would have wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first dealing is the best advantage: and for misery of ensuing times, it being a general rule neuer to mend your first estate, often to empaire it, every mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first seene; after the natural lenitie of these *Barbarians*, finds all that brings not change, faditious. This dispatch I committed to Master *Banham*, and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, advantages, inconueniences, humours and affections of these Decannies towards vs.

Dislike of the
Persian Am-
bassador.

The thirtieth, the time that he brought me the excuses of the *Persian* Ambassador, for failing in taking his leave of me, which he would not send by a servant, but vttered the truth that the Ambassador was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiving no content from the King in his kindness he suddenlyooke leave, and having given thirty faire horses at his departure: the King gave in recompence three thousand *Rupias* which he tooke in great comie; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassador had given him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arrival, even to *saues*, *Drinke*, *Mellons*, *Pines*, *Plantanes*, *Hawkes*, *Plumes*, the Elephant and whatsoever at extreme high rates, and sending both Bills made it vp in money. This base yage and comie caused him to excuse his not seeing *Asaph Chan* and *Simm Daulat* on a Feare, which having done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discourteie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourteie by double friendship to my Countrymen in *Persia*: with some bitterness against the King, which *Agemas* freely delivered, and I seemed as unwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aliquant and Knives, and we parted.

The twelfth of May, I receivede news of a great blow given the *Persian* by the *Turkes* Army, so that *Tauris* was taken, and the *Shahus* not able to keepe the field.

The five and twentieth, a Lion and a Wolfe vied my house, and nightly put vs in alarme, fetching away Sheepe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high wall with them. I sent to aske leave to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted: I ranne out into the Court vpon the noyie, and the beast misting his prey, seized on a little *Spann* Dogge before me, that I had long kept, but the Wolfe one of my Servants killed, and I sent it the King.

The fourteenth of June, certaine goods of the *Iesuites* were sent from *Cumbara* in a Cabinet, Philtre and necessities, and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and delivered the King: which he opened and sent for the *Pady* to read the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I observe as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to be wary of what they write or send, for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, left any Toy should escape his appetite.

The eighteenth, I received Letters from *Amadour* of the Hope of the fall of *Indico*, by the falling of the *Gae Cassia*, and that there was plenty to be bought but deare. That the *Viceroys* Home was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gave him new aduise; many complaints against *Swat* and others, which I meddle not with. I received from *Brampore* two Letters, how doubtfull the Debs of *Ralph Hood*, and newes of the returne of *Spragge* from the *Liege* of *Decan*. The Generall *Melikember* with much shew of honour, gave instant order for priue search in all his Campe, for the *Persian* fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to *Vicapore*, by testimony that businesse was pursued no further, but by a Letter to a *Dutch* there resident. The Generall desired *Spragge* to be a meane to bring him *English* cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his Souldiers which lyde within fixe dayes of *Brampore*. In my opinion, that had beene a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities.

The thirtieth of July, I received from *Swat*, of the casting away of two *Dutch* ships on the Coast of *Damam*, that having come from the Southward with Spices and *China* Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, vs, but losing their *Isken* with much extremity of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at *Socatra*, and vpon the Coast of *Arabia*, but being not able to get in any way, they refused for *Swat*, hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely: but the yeares differ, and being forced to anchor in extre-

mitie

mitie their greater ship cut her Masts by board, and after her Cables breaking, she went ashore vpon the Coast Ozie ground within Musket shot. The ship kept vpright, but hailing loit her long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to lye by rafters, foure men got ashore, and the Tydes heaving her in vpon the Spring, they faued much goods and all their people: her Pinnasse of fixte Tonne was beaten to peeces.

The one and twentieth of August, the King of *Candabar*, came to visit me, and brought wine and fruit, fate halfe an houre, and for his first of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince *Sultan Corfenne* had his one left of hopefull libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the Banqueting house by me. The Prince at *Brampore* had made a marriage without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure: besides some practice of his was discouraged against his Brothers life, but this as a secret he was called for to Court. *Normahall* and *Asaph Chan* by their Fathers aduice, came about to make a peace with *Corfenne* and Alliance, and with infinite joy his libertie is expected.

The two and twentieth, the King feasted at *Asaph Chans*. I received from *Allope* and *Persia*, passages of the Warre, the *Turke* retreat, but no word of our *English*: only, that the Captaine of *Grimin*, had written to practise their disgrace.

The five and twentieth, I aduised to *Agra* my proceeding in the *Armenians* businesse backe to *Swat*, and *Brampore* of all occurrences. This day *Asaph Chan* feasted *Normahall*, the Prince *Sultan Corfenne*, as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a Wife by his Fathers importunity, this will bring his full libertie, and our personal Matters rime.

The first of September, was the Kings Birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing, to which I went, and was carryed into a very large and beautifull Garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowres and trees, in the midst a Pinckle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large trefles, and a crosse beame plated on with Gold thinn: the scales of masse Gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey, the Chaines of Gold large and massive, but strengthened with filke Cord. Here attended the Nobilitie all sitting about it on Carpets untill the King came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, to great, so glorious; his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondents; his necke, collar, and about the elbows at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or three Rings fettered with chaires, or dyalled Diamonds; Rubies as great as Wal-nuts, some greater; and Pearles, such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly hee entered into the scales, like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight which were changed fixe times, and they say was fluer, and that I vnderstood his weight to be nine thousand *Rupias*, which are almost one thousand pound sterling: after with Gold and Jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none, it being in bagges might be fables; then against Cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffs, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleue, for they were in fables. Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Come, which is laid to be given to the *Baniens*, and all the rest of the Stuffs: but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Only the filke is reserved for the poore, and serves the ensuing year, the King vying in the night to call for some before him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he ate in by one side, hee gazed on me, and turned me his tones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Interpreter could not be aduited in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Balons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruits, Spices, of all sort made in thinn fluer, which he cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate vpon their bellies, which seeing I did not, hee reached one Balon almost full, and powred into my Cloke, his Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke, that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayne vp. I heard he threw Gold till I came in, but found it ill-uerio thime, that all I had at first being thousands of several pieces had not weighed fixte *Rupias*. I faued about twentie *Rupias* weight, yet a good dishfull, which I kept to thew the attention, for by my proportion he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling.

At night hee drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich Plate. I was invited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and durst not stay to venture my health.

The ninth of September, the King rode to the River of *Darhadab*, five couen on pleasure; and comming by my house I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neere their gate, make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called *Mombareck*, good Newes, or good Successe. I had nothing to give, nor might flye goe without nothing, nor stay at home without discourteie, which made mee venture vpon a faire Booke well bound filked and gilt. *Mercator* last Edition of the Maps of the world, which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King offered the World in which he had so great and rich a part. The King took it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answering every thing that came from mee was welcome. Hee asked after the ships arrival, which I told him I daily expected: hee told me hee had some far wild Hogges sent him from *Gae*, and if I would eate any at his returne: he would send me some. I made him due reverence, and an-

(swet)

The Kings
weighing.

Mercator Atlas
presented to
the Mogul.

swore any thing from his Maieitie was a fealt to me: he rode on his Elephant, and the way was stonie, and offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my house, demanding which it was, and praying it: indeed it was one of the best in the *Leake*, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclosed: iterating his fare-well, he said the way was ill, and desired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtie tooke leave.

Prince of
Calicut
Prince of
Calicut
Prince of
Calicut

The sixteenth, I rode to repay the visit of *Mahmud* the Prince of *Candahar*, who at my arrivall sent word he durst not see mee, except hee asked leave of the King or acquainted *Ennen Dowler* or *Alaph Chan*, which at the Durbar he would. I answered he should not need, for I never meant to trouble my selfe with a man so vncivill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shuff out of ill manners; that the King would bee no more angry for his bidding me well. It came to his house, then for his comming to mine, but that I cared not to see him, but came in civillie to requite, that I tock fo in him. His man desired me to stay untill he told his Master my answer, but I would not, and returned: at night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who questioned about the Booke of Maps, but I did forbear any speech of my debts.

The five and twentieth, I rode to the Court very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts, for that *Much* had had also newly answered he had mit his Prigany, and knew not how to say, but by his house, I delivered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee called to bee read, looke, and names of the debtors, and Iureties, and Iames distinctly, by *Alaph Chan*: which done, he called *Aradab Chan*, the chief of his officers of Household, and the *Cumwall*, and gave them order, but what I vnderstood not: reading the names, hee questioned their abilities, and qualities, and what goods they received, finding some dead, some strangers: concerning *Ralph*, *Alaph Chan* offered to speake to the Prince at his arrivall to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King conversed to mee, giving this answer: That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him, therefore if the men were insufficient, it was at their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him, which, I suppose, he spake of his servant *Hergoon*, who being dead, his goods were seized for the Kings use: but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist me, and cause our money to be payed: but greater the *Englysh* would deliver their goods to his servants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard, but if when commodities came to the Court, they would bring a bill to him of all, he would first see himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that, and if any of them failed, he would pay the money himselfe: this is indeed the custome of *Perfia* Merchants, to bring all to the King, which I have often seene, who takes his choice, and delivers the rest to his Nobilitie, his Scrivanoes writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price: a copy of which is given the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by current course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had given, that *Arad Chan* should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay: but this pleased not our Merchants, I thought it both a lust and gracious answer, better then in such cases private men can get of great Princes.

Mercant
turned

The King hearing I had been sicke, and wished for wine, gave me five bottles, and commanded when I had ended those, to send for more, and so as I wanted; and a fat Hogge, the fattest I ever saw, sent up by *Machreb Chan*, that came from *Gow*, which at midnight was brought home by a *Huddy* with this message, since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of favour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then he sent for the Map-booke, and told me he had shewed it his *Mulais*, and no man could read nor vnderstand it, therefore if I would, I should have it againe: I answered, at his pleasure, and so it was returned.

A Rake with
flood the
Kings forces

The fixe and twentieth, there being a *Rake* in rebellion in the hills, not past twentie Coures from the *Leake*, the King lately sent out two *Englysh* with horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them, and twelve *Mamscaplers*, and in all of both sides about five hundred, returning somefull messiges to the King to send his sonne, for he was no prey for ordinary forces.

October 2.

The second of October, the Prince entered the Towne, and all the great men in wondrous triumph: the King received him, as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation. *Brampers* left almost emp'ty under *Chan Charna*. I had sent to *Alaph Chan*, to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Pr. sent. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, received him four Coures off. I sent also some of my servants with my iust excuse, which his pride only noted at.

Englysh ships
taken by the
Englysh: which
might cla
have changed
red their cour
tesy-meny

The fifth, I received from *Swat* newes of our shippes arrivall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of *Maylandine*; the rest well, who had taken two *Englysh* Rowes, let out by () 60 who were found in chafe of the Queene Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in; if hee had bin taken, we had all bin in trouble: it was therefore the Companies Letter, in voice, instructions for *Perfia*, and diuers other notes of aduise, that by reason of the Admiralls absence: they knew not what course to take with the men of Warre. I

displeided

displeided to *Swat* orders about all businesse, as appears in my Letters.

The first, I rode to visite the Prince, at his usual house, to give him welcome, and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respects to him, and to that end not to come empty handed, and brought a fine Chaîne of gold, *China woker*. I sent in word: he returned that he should come next morning at Sunne tyme, when he fate to be worshipped; or if they will his riding to Court, which I must have done at his doore. This I tooke in extreme skorne, his *Wa-* The Prince
riding to Court.
der neuer denying me access: and his Pride is such, as may teach *Lucifer*: which made me answer roundly, I was not his Slave, but a free Ambassadors of a King, and that I would never so visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Iustice: but at night I would see him wish the King, to whom only I would address my selfe, and so departed.

At night I went to the King, who received me graciously. I made a reuerence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King, that according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command: after his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Armes, that he promised mee all favour, all privileges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answer, and for Jewels, which I told him they were dead in *England* then in *India*, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people had been way-hid for by the Prince, and such flitching, as I could not avoyd infinite trouble: I knew I could bring them afoare, and to Court by stealth, that the lesser expected, the better welcome; but my maine reason was, I would make a friendly them. Therefore when *Alaph Chan* pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answer of dearenesse, and that I would speake with him alone: hee soon vnderstood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to moue againe for the debts; and having my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it vp: the King not marking, others discovered what it was, and knew the King would be enraged that his order was neglected: whereat one stept to me, and chapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I answered, *Arad Chan* had absolutely refused me Iustice: at which hee being by, came in, in much feare, calling *Alaph Chan*, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered, our ships were arrived, and we could not forbear nor endure such delays: so they consilted together, and called the *Cumwall*, giving order to execute the Kings command: who that night at midnight befet their Tents, and caught some of them, so that now we shall have reason.

I had great thanks of all the *Perfians* for protecting the Queennes ship, and our comessie to their passengers, which they informed the King, who took it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to loue our Nation, and would doe them all service: but they wondered we could not gouerne our people, but that theues could come out, without the Kings leave.

At the Kings rising, *Alaph Chan* carried me with him to his retiring place and there first we translated the Abstract into *Perfian*, to shew the King an hours after: in which I inserted the money with some addition, because the King might perceiue was brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and forts, then the fine wares in general: lastly the grosse commodities,

desiring his Maieitie to order what he would buy, and to give vs liberty for the rest. This finished, *Alaph Chan* renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I neuer could expect. I replied, The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsel: for it was true I had somewhat, but my vjile last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any, but that he might see how I replied on him, I was willing on his oath to reueale it, which he presently gave. I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, I left the Prince were displeased; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourteise, and his resolution: but that I knew his favour was necessary for vs, that I hoped I might recouer it, by this one respect: that I kept the Pearle for him. This I said was my purpose and reason I concealed it; he was father in law to him, and

favorite of the King; I was ready to please both, and desired his aduice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither if I did, I should neuer want trouble: the King would vife me well, but keepe such a rate to see it, and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne. The Prince was rauous and tyrannical, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee seale all letters, trust none, and showed mee many conueyances: bade mee observe the vjile of the *Portugalls*, how they were snatched, and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should have money in *deposits*, what I should aske, and he would for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an opportunitie to make a friend. I answered, I was willing, but I feared hee would reuile it; which hauing received his oath, and a ceremony of couenant by crossing thummes, we embraced: I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the coming vp of the rest; he would take order to give me *Firmans*, no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince hee would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me, and make him vife me with all grace, and for other businesse it should be in his power to crosse me; but if hee did, he would avenge vs a Syndic, which was in his

gouernment,

gouvernement, or procure any other Port at my desire, and wharsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also desired me to give his sister *Normahall* some toyhe said he would make the King give me money : to which I answered, I desire you to consort it into the well vliage of my country-men, I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carried me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gave me all good vliage : asked if the Arryes were a Present : I answered yes, left it should be feared, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said he would buy all the parcel of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily : *Asaph Chan* to take order for a *Ferman* from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew though they are all () yet in this he would deale truly, because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he had the Pearle, for feare to misse it, nor after, for hauing himselfe betrayed the Prince.

§. IX.

Asaph Chan seeketh to further us for hope of gaine, so also NORMAHALL : Master STEELES arriveth : Danger to the publike, by private trade : Stirres about a Port.

*Asaph Chan
friendship for
hope of gaine.*

THE twelfth, according to promise, *Asaph Chan* carried me to the Prince, into his private room, where he presented him with a small *China* Gold-chain, in a *China* Cup, he view'd me indifferently : *Asaph Chan* perwaled him to alter his course towards vs, telling him hee gained yearly by vs a Locke of Rupias at his Port : that it appeared we yearly encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit ; that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Countrey, of which inconvenience would ensue. That we were his Subjects (such words he must vie) for he desire of toys he gave vs discontent, we would promise to conceale all from him ; but if hee gave vs that libertie which was fit, we would strive to bring all before him, for that I only studied his content and favour for my particular ; that he should receive mee, when I came, to visite him with honour, and according to my qualitie, it would encourage mee to doe him service, and content my Nation. Finally, hee mov'd him for a *Ferman* for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gave order to *Asaph Chan* his Secretary, to draw it in every point according to my owne desire, and to write a Letter to the Governour in recommendations of it ; and that I should at all times have any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily scene with how bafe and unworthy men I traffique. *Asaph Chan* for a third how only of buying some toys, was reconciled, as to betray his sonne, and to me obsequious, even to flattery : for the ground of all this friendship was, that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize, and some other knacks : to which end he desired to send downe a servant, which I could not deny without losing him, I had so long laboured to get : neither was it ill vs for his payment is good, and it will ease vs much charge and trouble to lett aboard, especially wine and luggish that spoiles in cariage ; and he obtained leave under false colours, and wrote to the Governour in our behalves, with all manner of kindnesse. There is a necessity off his friendship, his word is law, and therefore I durst not let his unworthinesse, and hope by this cause to winne him, at last to make great good vie of him. Upon this occasion I mov'd for a *Ferman* for *Bengala*, which he promised, and I would never before hearken to : and this effect of his gratefullne I found, that hee prosecuted our desires, as if his owne : and passing by the *Cutwa* on his Elephant, called to command dispathe, which was an usual favour : upon which *Groo* was imprisoned, and *Muchlu* had two dayes libertie only to pay vs ; and I doubt not, but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand Rupias, and the debtors most lusting fall : knaves in *India*.

The one and twentieth at this instant, came in to me from *Asaph Chan*, a servant, in the name of *Normahall*, that hee had mov'd the Prince for another *Ferman*, that all our goods might be in her protection, and that hee had obtained it, and was ready to send downe her servant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that there would be that over should not be wronged. That *Asaph Chan* had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delays ; that now he was sure that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle, that upon his honour I should receive all things consigne to mee ; that hee had written such a command, and charged her servant to aske our Factors, so that we should have neuer more cause to complain of *Swar*. Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captain and Factors to vie him kindly, and to let him buy for her some toys, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse ; and gave him a note on condition to see the Copy of the *Ferman* which was sealed, and I could not without leave, and so he was dispeedit : but you may by this judge this place, how easie it were to raise a flock. Last yeare, we

were not looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gave it the King ; every one is ready to runne downe to buy : *Normahall* and *Asaph Chan* studying to doe me good offices ; many great men desiring a letter to send their servants downe, so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought up aboard, and save you customs, and carriage, and spoile : for which purpose out of this I have ordered your Factory to sell to the servants of *Normahall* and her brother, whatsoever may bee spared, so that I may be fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall save trouble and you charge, the Prince presented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne : at the delivery of which *Asaph Chan* hath vnderaken the *Firman* for *Bengala*, or any Port, and a general command and grant of free Priviledges in all his Dominions.

The foure and twentieth, the King departed *Mandou* foure Course, and wandering in the hills, left vs irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose. The six and twentieth, I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price. The nine and twentieth, I remoued after : forced away by the delinquencies of the place.

The one and thirtieth, I arriv'd at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no man to follow without leave, the *Leher* divided and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare prouisions, sickness and all sorts of calamities accompanying so finite a multitude ; yet nothing remoues him from following this monstrous appetite. Heere I vnderstood the Kings purpose was vncertaine, whether for *Agra* or *Guzerat* : the latter given to us ; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest : but that how euer for the dispatch of my business, seeing hee would linger heere about a month, I was advised, and thought it as fit to fend for the goods and Presents, as to deferre it upon vncertainities, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course : I wore out my body, being very weak, and not like to recover upon daily travell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

The second of November, arriv'd Master *Steeles* with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen aboard, according to my order, which I received and gave quittance for : with him I had conference about his protectes, which because I would not rashly reject them, as he had fed them asoft, after hauing made him see his fancies, and vnderstand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-works, if to be effected, it must be begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enjoy the profit : but the Naturals taught, and our people rejected ; neither our commoditie vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage over-land ; and cannot be delivered at *Agra* so cheape as found there : yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to *Amadava*, to meete mee there, where by assistance of *Morid Chan*, who only is a friend to new inventions. I would make offer to the King of their industry, and make prooff what conditions may be obtained ; but in my judgement it will money and labour cast away. The Company must that their exeres against these protectors, who have their owne employments more in their ends, then their Masters profits : many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorie, fatisse curious imaginations, but in practise and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant received outomes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only rain-water, some of a holy River, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost : his second of reducing the *Cassiles* and Merchants of *Labar* and *Agra*, by the River *Indus*, that vied to passe by *Candahor* into *Perfia*, to transport by sea in our shipping for *Isques* or the *Gulph*, is a mere dreame, some man in conference may with it, but none euer practise it. The River is indifferently navigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the *Portugalls*, retunes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, we must transport their goods, which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the *Portugalls* use lead or noif such goods but only for shole of *Sindie* and *Tarta*, that traded by their owne lunkes, they gave a *Cortas* or *Passe* to secure them from their Frigates, and traded with them, for which they pay'd a small matter, and that onely which came to the purges of the *Grand Du*, *Damm* and *Ormus*, or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the *Laboures* neuer be drawne downe, being that *Cassila* consists most of returning *Perjians* and *Armenians* that knew the passage from *Isques* almost as bad, as from *Candahor*, and for that little on the Confines of *Suede* not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding for their better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errors, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne.

A third protecte for to joyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was already in vie, and the perill for the *Gowarats* very apparent, therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to laide in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make our selves necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, save export of monies, and finally, for this yeare employ one third of the olde account that should retune in September : and receive the proceed of the remanys of this joynt stocke, which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship, otherwise to transport to ouer will be extreme losse. This I opened and vrged the consequence shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appears. The consequence

November 2.
Master Steeles
protectes
questioned.

I will make evident in your profit, if they follow it, for were the goods and estate all my own, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the *Guzarat*, yet having to many empty vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe empty, and for company with them, then to omit that: there are many chances in the Sea, and in the way her returne only of our owne remaynes, shall require all forbearance; and be ready in time, for employed the mult be it we intend to send the rest upon this account, for that here is no harbourage at his arrival. I found him high in his conceits, having *timewit* forgotten me, Master *Koridee* when at warre, which I endeavored to temper on all parts, but for his Wife I dealt with him clearly, the cost he payd for our safety, and his Masters content; that he had ruined his fortunes, if by amends he repayed it not; that the *desolacion* travel nor live on the Companies Purse; I know the charge of women, that if he were content to live himselfe like a Merchant, as others did frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies service and to send home his Wife, he was welcome: otherwise, I must take a course with both, against my nature. Having to this perswaded him, I likewise profited the discouragement of Captaine *Tomerfon* about his Wife, (you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconvenience of granting these liberties) to effect this, I perswaded *Abraham* his Father in Law, here to hold fast: I wrote to them the grunge of this Court, the small hope or reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally, I perswaded his returne quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor, that such things as hee had brought and were vendible, should be brought to your selfe by Bill of exchange to such profit for him, as both might save; and this inconvenience you bring on your selves by liberties unreasonable, but to take eye of his trade to live upon your hands, upon any condition I did prohibit.

I find by your Letter your strict command in private Trade, as well for your owne Servants as others, whereby I collect, you mean not that he shall have that libertie he expects, for he is furnished for aboute one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and *Steelat* least two hundred pound, which he presumes sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will add in this case to be rid of such cattell, I will not buy, but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your owne Servants, some may doe all things for faire words, some nothing for good reasons: I could infinite some goe home two years since, that ouly employed their owne stocke, did no other business, and live now at home in pleasure, others that raise their fortune upon your monies, from Port to Port, and returne rich and unquestioned. Last year a Mariner had sixe and twenty Cloutes of Indico, others many Pardles, a third seven thousand Mamudes, first penny in Baroch, Batacas, chosen apart, for hee instructed my Monies, and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe: a fourth, about one hundred and fiftie pound first penny. These I mention not for spite, but to move you to equalitye, neither by their example they may escape, for they swallow you up, but that an indifferent restraint be executed upon all.

For the effecting of all these purposes, the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I find backe *Richard Steele* with orders to *Surat*, having altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the *Leiker*, it being declared that the King will for *Guzarat*, where I have appointed *Richard Steele*, after having dispatched other matters, to meete with them and his *Inventors*. I talke for my advices and directions to Captaine *Pring*, to take an Inventorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre, to make it over to your stocke and land, to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require, the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke, to grant passage to some of the Chieftes, to entertaine the rest and to referre to you at home, whom you will deal with the Owners that set them out. My opinion is peremptory, that their surprize is iust and iustifiable, all their goods forfeited: if you will restore any thing, at your courtship; but for the more rigorous you deale with these, the better example you will leave for such barous Piracies: for if this course be practised, take your leave of all Trade about *Surat*, and the Red Sea, and let the Company of *Turke* stand cleere of the *Grand Signors* revenge, and we here must expect cold Irons.

The sixth, I went to *Asaph Chan*, having received his Pass, unto whom I shewed the Peale according to promise, though the forts be not the Country, just as I was informed heretofore, yet their performance with him gave him such content, that I am confident, I may use *Platon* words, *The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Servants*: for the price we talked not, but he vowed much (because for my sake, who have shewed this confidence in him, hee will give more than their worth, and not returne on, and pay ready money of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend me what I want: his Sister I have promised to visit, whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receive, and some good effects. When the Presents arrive, assure you I will not be liberal to your loyle, till I shall see. *Asaph Chan* admonisheth me himselfe, so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as given: experience of others makes mee to approve of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner having invited

His Wife.

Danger by bringing Wives.

Publick hoste by private Trade.

The names are omitted.

Inventorie of the goods in the men of Warre.

Nominal a friend to the English.

me and my people: but he and friends dined without, appointing mee a messe with him apart, for they ate not willingly with vs: where I had good cheere and well attended; the recreation for my servants.

After dinner, Imouel *Groos* debt, told him the delays. He answered, I should not open my lips, he had undertaken it, that *Groos* by his meanes was finishing accounts with a Jew dealer; that hee had ordered, as money was paid, it should rest in the *Cannally* hand for vs; which I found true: and the *Cannally* promised to finish it in three dayes, desiring mee to lend no more to *Asaph Chan*.

I cannot omit a bafenelle or favour according as you will interpret it. The King when his Prisoners are full of condemned men, some he commands to be executed, some he sends to his *Vnraies* to redeeme at a price: this hee esteemes as a courtesy, to give meanes to exercise charitie, but he takes the money, and so lets the slaves.

About a month before our remoue he sent me, to buy three *Abassies* (for fortie Rupias a man) whom they suppole all *Christians*. I answered, I could not buy men as *Slaves*, as others did, and I had profit for their money, but in charity I would give twenty Rupias a piece to save their lives, and give them libertie. The King took my answer well, and bade them to be sent me. They expected money, and I was not fatter; hearing no word of it, I hoped it had been forgotten: but his words are written Decrees. This night the Officers being I went not, I called the Prisoners into my Procuradors power, and tooke his Scretary for sixtie Rupias, which at my returne I payed, and freed the *Slaves*.

The tenth, I visited *Asaph Chan*, having received aduile from *Surat* of a new *Firman*, which downe disannulle all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie: upon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at *Swadly*, and that our ships were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end; which supposition arose only by bringing a few on shore to found the ships bell: yet the *Aluram* came to Court to see, that I was called to answer; which when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how low vaine the place for vs, without water or harbourage: yet the ialousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a River by *Goya* for that end, that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surprize. By this you may iudge, how easie it were to place a Fort for our selves, if you affected it, which I can, neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenible. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this turne must be demolished, and a Hadley of horne lent downe to see it erected. The distarning of our men, being all that our people stomached, though it was onely to leave their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company, though it were quieter for vs, except they were often more civil: yet I told *Asaph Chan* we would not endure the slavery, nor I lay in the Country, that one day the Prince sent a *Firman* for our good vllage and grant of Priviledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answer my residence longer. He replied, at night hee would moue the King, before the Prince, and give me answer.

The thirteenth, I revisited *Asaph Chan*: he told me wondrous matters of the Kings offer. Given to my Soueraine, to my Nation, and to mee; that hee had ventured the Princes disfavour on our laces, and had full premie for a new reformation: but because hee feared the Princes dealing, being made his alliance, that hee would take the *Prigony* of *Surat*, which the Prince must leave, that hee had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come next night to Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter and the translation, the opportunity was faire to deliver it: upon the occasion of which, hee bade me put in my complaints, and offer to take leave, and after the occasion hee would say for vs, and so I should beleue my selfe. At evening I went to the King, it being a very full Court, and presented my Letter, which (the King taking on the ground) was layd before him and hee use,ooke no great notice. *Asaph Chan* whispered his Father in the circle, sending him to read the Letter, and to all vs, yet that he might better begin that then himselfe.

Emmon Donlet tooke up both Letters, gave the English to the King, and read the translated; to which when the King had answered many words of complaine, to that point of procuring our quiet Trade, I by his audience among the *Portugals*, he demanded if hee would make peace. I answered, his Master knew nothing, I desired to be secured by him, and I referred it to his wisdom, and I ad expected his pleasure: he replied, hee would write peace absolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas, which hee would be answer to my Masters Letters signie, with then give him content in all other his friendly duties. Notwithstanding, I desired him to send me to *Amadamas* to meet the Kings Prisoners, and to prepare for my returne. Upon which morning, the question was betweene the King and the Prince, who complained that hee had not paid his vs, that he was content to rid of vs. *Asaph Chan* took the terre, and quiet Trade, I by his audience among the *Portugals*, he demanded if hee would make peace. I answered, his Master knew nothing, I desired to be secured by him, and I referred it to his wisdom, and I ad expected his pleasure: he replied, hee would write peace absolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas, which hee would be answer to my Masters Letters signie, with then give him content in all other his friendly duties. Notwithstanding, I desired him to send me to *Amadamas* to meet the Kings Prisoners, and to prepare for my returne. Upon which morning, the question was betweene the King and the Prince, who complained that hee had not paid his vs, that he was content to rid of vs. *Asaph Chan* took the terre, and quiet Trade, I by his audience among the *Portugals*, he demanded if hee would make peace. I answered, his Master knew nothing, I desired to be secured by him, and I referred it to his wisdom, and I ad expected his pleasure: he replied, hee would write peace absolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas, which hee would be answer to my Masters Letters signie, with then give him content in all other his friendly duties. Notwithstanding, I desired him to send me to *Amadamas* to meet the Kings Prisoners, and to prepare for my returne.

Causeth the jealousy towards a Fort.

Emmon Donlet is our English.

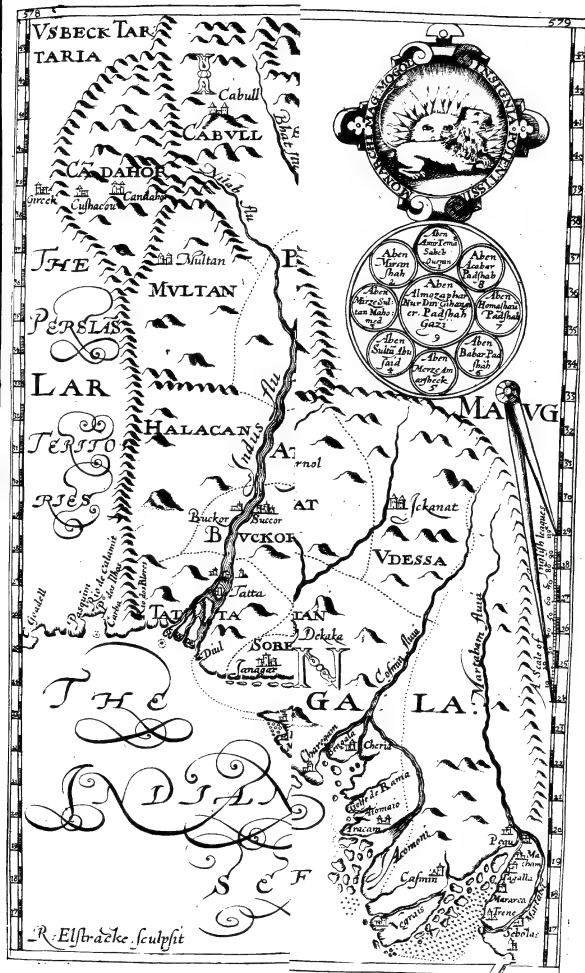
ANow Reader, we are at a stand: some more idle, or more busie spirits, willing either to take their rest, or to exchange their labour; and some perhaps wishing they had the whole Journall, and not thus contracted into Extracts of those things out of it, which I conceived more fit for the publike. And for the whole, my selfe could have wished it, but neither with the Honourable Company, nor else-where could I learne of it: the worthy Knight himselfe being now employ'd in like Honourable Embassage from his Maiestie to the Great Turke. Yet to supply the defect of the Journall, I have given thee the Chorography of the Country. Certaine Letters of his, written thence to his Honourable Lords and friends in England, out of all which well wrought on by an understanding spirit, may bee Iewel and framed a delightful Commentary of the *Mogoll* and his Subiects. Take them therefore Reader, and vie them as a Prospective Glasse, by which thou maist take easie and nere view of those remote Regions, People, Rites, Religions.

And first here followes a description of the Country both by Map and Writing, and after them the Letters passing mutually betwixt his Maiestie and the *Mogoll*, and lastly, those of Sir Thomas Roe afore-laid.

§. X.

The severall Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll SHA SELIM GEHANGIER, with the Principall Cities and Rivers, the situation and borders, and extent in length and breadth, as nere as by description I could gather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register: I begin at the North-west.

1. *Andahar*, the chiefe Citie so called, lyes from the heart of all his Territoire North-west, confines with the *Shabaz*, and was a Prouince of Persia.
2. *Tata*, the chiefe Citie so called, is divided by the River *Indus*, which falls into the Sea at *Sinda*, and lyes from *Candahar* South, from the middle of which, I suppose *Agra* West, some-what Southerly.
3. *Buckar*, the chiefe Citie so called, *Buckar* *Sucker*, lyes upon the River *Sinda* or *Indus*, to the Northward, some-what Easterly of *Tata*, and West Confines upon the *Baloches*, a kinde of rude Warlike people.
4. *Multan*, the chiefe Citie so called lying also upon *Indus*, East from *Candahar*, North from *Buckar*.
5. *Hasickan*, the Kingdome of the *Baloches*, to the West of *Tata* and *Bacher*, and confines West upon the Kingdome of *Lar*, subiect to the *Shabaz*. *Indus* windeth it selfe into the Easter-side of it, it hath no renowned Citie.
6. *Cabull*, the Citie so called, a great Kingdome, the Northernmost of this Emperours Dominions, and confineth with *Tartaria*.
7. *Kylomer*, the chiefe Citie is called *Sirindher*, the River of *Blas* passeth through it, and frindeth the Sea by *Querra*, on some say of it falls into the North part of the Bay of *Bengala*, it bordereth *Cabul* to the East Southerly, it is all Mountaines.
8. *Barkish*, the chiefe Citie is called *Besihar*.
9. *Atack*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on one side the River *Nilah*, which runneth the North-west into the River *Indus*.
10. The Kingdome of the *Katarier*, lyes at the foot of the Mountaines: it hath principall Cities, *Dawley* and *Parbala*, it bordereth North-east on *Kylomer*.
11. *Pen-lab*, which signifeth fise waters, for that it is leat within fise Rivers. The chiefe Citie is called *Labar*, it is a great Kingdome and most fruitfull, the Citie is the Mart of *India* for Traffique, it borders North-east on *Multan*.
12. *Lanka*, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth East on *Pen-lab*, it is very mountaynous.
13. *Peitan*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of *Lanka*, and from the North-west *Bengala* it is full of Mountaines.
14. *Nakerker*, the chiefe Citie so called, the North Eastermost confine of *Mogor*, it lyes to the North-east of the head of the Bay of *Bengala*, it is very mountaynous.
15. *Siba*, the chiefe Citie so called, it borders with *Nakerker* Southerly, it is all Mountaynous.
16. *Iesull*, the chiefe Citie so called *Ragepur*, it bordereth with *Bengala* South-east North, and with *Siba* and *Nakerker*, it is full of Mountaines.
17. *Delly*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on the North-west side of the River *Lennie*, which



which falleth into *Ganges*, and runneth through *Agra*: it is an ancient Citie, and the seat of the *Mogoll* Ancestors, it is ruined: some ascribe it to have bene the seat of *Porus* conquered by *Alexander*, and that there stands a Pillar with a *Greeke* Inscription.

18. *Menat*, the chiefe Citie called *Narnet*, is lyeth on the East of *Ganges*.

19. *Sasball*, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth between *Ganges* and *Jemni* to the North-west of their meeting.

20. *Baker*, the chiefe Citie is called *Bukoner*, it bordereth North-west on *Ganges*.

21. *Agra*, a principall and great Kingdome, the Citie so called, the heart of the *Mogoll* Territories, in North latitude about twentie eight degrees and an halfe: it lyeth most on the South-west-side of *Jemni*, the Citie vpon the River, where one of the Emperours Treasuries are kept. From *Agra* to *Labor*, being three hundred and twentie Courtes, which is not less than seven hundred miles, it is all a plaine, and the high-way planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke: it is one of the great workes and wonders of the World.

22. *Tempar*, the Citie so called, vpon the River of *Kaul*, which I suppose to bee one of the five Rivers inclosing *Labor*, and the Countrey lyeth betwene it and *Agra*, North-west from one, South-east from the other.

23. *Benda*, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth *Agra* to the West.

24. *Parna*, the chiefe Citie so called, it is inclosed by foure great Rivers: *Ganges*, *Jemni*, *Serfeli*, and *Kanda*, so that it lyeth from *Agra* South-east towards the Bay of *Bengala*, where all these pay Tribute.

25. *Gar*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth toward the head of *Ganges*.

26. *Bengala*, A mightie Kingdome inclosing the West-side of the Bay on the North, and windeth South-westerly, it bordereth on *Comandell*, and the chiefe Cities are *Ragmehbell* and *Deketa*, there are many hauens, as *Port Grand*, *Port Pequana*, traded by the *Portugals*, *Philipians*, *Satigams*, it containeth diuers Provinces, as that of *Purp* and *Patan*.

27. *Kub*, It hath no Citie of note, and bordereth on the South-west, East of *Bengala* and the Bay.

28. *Udaca*, the chiefe Citie *Iekomat*, it is the vtmost East of the *Mogoll* Territories beyond the Bay, and confined with the Kingdome of *Maug*, a savage people lying betwene *Udaca* and

30 *Pegu*.
29. *Canduana*, the chiefe Citie is called *Kerkakienkeh*, it lyeth South-west of the South of *Bengala*.

30. *Kualtar*, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth to the South-east of *Kanduana*, and bordereth on *Burhampur*.

31. *Chandes*, the chiefe Citie called *Burhampur*, a great Kingdome, one of the ancient seats of *Decan*, and conquered from them, it lyeth East on *Guzerat*, South of *Chitor*, West of *Decan*, and it is watered with the River *Taheri*, which falleth West into the Bay of *Cambaya*, it is now the seat of the *Decan*.

32. *Malua*, the chiefe Cities called *Pgen*, *Narr*, and *Spring*, it lyeth West of *Chandes*, betwene that and the Countrey of *Ranna*, on the East of the River *Sapra*, which falls into the Bay of *Cambaya*, not farre from *Surat*.

33. *Bevar*, the chiefe Citie is called *Shahpur*, it bordereth on *Guzerat*, and the hills of *Ranna*.

34. *Guzerat*, A goodly Kingdome inclosing the Bay of *Cambaya*, the chiefe Citie is *Amadana*, it contains the Citie and Government of *Cambaya*, the beautie of *India*, the Territorie and Citie of *Surat*, and *Baroach*: it is watered with many goodly Rivers, as that of *Cambaya* fallie supposed to be *Indus*, the River of *Narbadah*, falling into the Sea at *Baroach*, that of *Surat*, and diuers others, it trades to the Red Sea, to *Arabe*, and many places.

35. *Surat*, the chiefe Citie called *Garagar*, it lyeth to the North-west of *Guzerat*.

36. *Narwar*, the chiefe Citie called *Ghehd*, lyeth South-west from *Chitor*.

37. *Chitor*, an ancient great Kingdome, the Citie so called on a mightie hill, walled about ten English miles. There stands yet above an hundred Churches, the Palace of the King, many braue Pillars of carued stone. There is but one ascent cut out of the Rocke, passing foure magnificent gates, there remaine the ruines of an hundred thousand houses of stone. It is vn-habited, it was doubtlesse one of the seats of *Porus*, and was wonne from *Ranna*, his ille by *Echarhaw* the last *Mogoll*, *Ranna* flying into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountaines, seated himselfe at *Odapow*, who was brought to acknowledge the *Mogoll* for his Supremie Lord, by *Sultan Camran*, this sonne of the present Emperour, in the yeere 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from *Chandes*, and North-east from the North-west of *Guzerat*, in the way betwene *Agra* and *Surat*: *Ranna* himselfe keeps the hills to the West, nere *Amadana*.

38. The length is North-west to South-east. From *Chasdehar* to *Labor*, three hundred and fiftie Courtes, about eight hundred miles.

From *Labor* to *Agra*, three hundred and twentie Courtes, about seven hundred fiftie two miles,

* Lee not the
duesitie of
names troubl-
any in fo re-
more tongues
and differing
pronunciati-
ons: if any o-
ther difficulties
happen com-
paring this dis-
course with the
Map or Reli-
ous I confesse,
I would haue
thought better
to listie my
title, if Sir T.
Rich had bin at
home. As for
Courtes they
are diuersly in-
ten (as Sou-
thene and
North-me-
miles with vs)
in some places
longer, as o-
ther, as in
th is dis-
course, which can be
scarcely in the
From computation.

From *Agra* to *Hbagirpattna* three hundred Courtes, about six hundred and eightie miles.
From *Hbagirpattna* to *Kirafunder*, three hundred Courtes, about six hundred and seuentie miles.

In all, Courfes one thousand two hundred and feventie. Miles, about two

The breadth in all is North-east to South-west from *Hardwar* to *Dwarfa*, six hundred and fifty Co. res. about fifteen hundred miles.

The Kings Letters sent to *Selim Shagh* the Great *Mogor*, in the
yeare 1614. by *Sir Thomas Roe*.

I AMES, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian Faith, &c.
To the high and mighty Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chulmer and Corozon, &c. Greeting.

We having notice of your great favour towards us, and Our Subjects, by Your Great Firms to all Your Viceroyes of Russia, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertainment of Our loving Subj^{ts} the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time sooner they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have good Trade and Commerce without any kind of hindrance or molestation, &c. After the Articles concluded by Our said Governour of the Circassians, to Your Name, with Our loving Subj^{ts} Captaine Thomas Best appeared: Hee thought it meete to foote You Our Ambassadors, which may more fully and at large handle, and treat of such matters as shal be to be conferred, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begunne betwene us, and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utility of both Nations. In which conclusion, and further ordering of such laudable Commerce, Wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, being one of the most able and experienced of our Counsellors, to be our Ambassador to Your said Our Great Scale of England, together with direction to him, to further treat of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the civillity and profit betwene us, and Your said Governour, and Subjects: to whom we pray You to give favour and credit in what sever He shall move or propose unto you, and the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination, and well-wishing unto You, We pray You to accept in good part the Prefect, which our said Ambassadors will deliver unto You, And so doe commit You to the merciful protection of Almighty God.

A Copie of the Grand *Moghor* his Letter to the King.

VNto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors, bred in Military Affairs, and cloibed with Honour and Justice,

A Commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King I AM ES, whose love hath bred such impression in my thoughts, as I will never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant flowers whose beautie and odour is still increase so be assured my love shall grow and increase with yours.

[illegible]

As for your Mercy, I have given expresse order through all my Countrey, to suffer them to sell by Auction, and carry away at their pleasures, without let or hindrance any person whatsoever, all such Goods and Merchandise, or other things, as they shall desire to buy, and let this my Letter be fully satisfied Ten in the diſcreet peace and love, as if my none should have been the Messenger to ratifie the ſame. And if any in my Countrey not fearing God, nor obeying his King, nor any other good of Religion, should inſolently, or be so Infrimment to breake this League of friendship, I would then of Right Sultan Coroono, a Soldier appeare in the Warres, to cut him off at no Obſtacle may hinder the continuance, and increasing of Our affections.

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MY Lord, only for promise, which is an benefit d. b. I send your Lordship a Journal till my arrival
at Batavia, a Piece of bones made of muddle, where one of the King's sonnes kept his Court.
He is called Perotto. I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing me-
morizable, and yet use my fault: but I had rather trust your Nobleness, then trouble you with excuses, and
so defend to a more vnnecessary defence of the true and exactness of the Land.
They have no more in Law. The King by his owne words reles, and his Gouernours of Provinces by
that outdore.

Once a week he fitteth and cometh patiently, and giveth entrance for crimes Capital and Civil. He is every man's way to be desired, which maketh him rich, and the Country so civilised. The great men about him are as borne Cavalie, but Favourite rather; to whom he is the [of the true] wonderful means. They are welcomed by Horles: that is to say, Carrels of twelve [of twelve] Horles; which are greatly, whereof are four, besides his Jounes: and wife: so descending to twelve Horles. Every day of these are bound to come, or raise any one. But the King offends them so much land, as it is much to many one. Many Horles as a rest each horse at fine and twelve pounds: fleting by the year, which is an incredible Revenue. Such any [so many] of that is almost all, but the Ploughmen, Artificers, and Tradesmen, who fitteth of it: so upon it. But as they die, and must need gather, so it returneth to the King like Ringer. The fitteth of these he gave to, and of those that have gained by their own industry. But for the most part, they are his widemes, and children their horse, fluffe, and some other stock: and so putteth them into a Significancy. And so the King is the world's end, and aduanceth them as they deserve of him. They all live by prebating him, which they flume to doo both richly and rarely: some giuing a hundred thousand pounds in wealth at a time.

He hath now beloved with *four* fairs, that wuldy governeth him. He received lately a Prefent from the King of Ditha por, to *obtain* grace, (whose Ambassador knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants: of two whereof the chaires and all tackle were of beaten Gold, to the use, but of three hundred pounds: two of silver, of the same fallow: the rest of Copper: fiftie Harbes well furnished, and two Leaces of Ropas in Jewels, great Pearls, and Balasse Rubies. Emrie Leach is an hundred thousand, and Ropas; every Ropia two hundred six pence sterling: so tenne Leaces is a Million of Ropia.

His Territory is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as the Turkes. His
 meanes of money, by revenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, above both. His Coun-
 trey lieth betwixt Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountaines of Iaurus North. To
 the East as farre as the utmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges: and South to Decan, it
 two thousand miles square, in the least breadth.

The true defence here of Porus, that was overcome by Alexander, called Ranna, is lately conceived, may be augmented this Revenue, but given a great Pension to him. His Country I crossed, betwixt this Town of Almore and Brampton. Ceter having been anciently the chief Town, and surely standing in an high, steep as a Rock, some fifteen miles about, that is all walled: the City within, but with one Town and five adjacent, the country the chief of the Country.

[illegible]

I have now on the *Corte* to touch, and mine entertainment. The King never used any Ambassadors with so much respect: without any dispute giving mee leave to use mine owne customes; not requiring out of me, which he would of the *Portugall*. He presented me with a *meuble* before I was

This Letter I found amongst M^r H^{is} Papers, as the two former: the rest are transcribed from Sir T. Ro^{se} owne Booke. No law but the Kings word. Sec of these things Cap^{tain} Hawkes larger relations.

Presents of a hundred thousand pounds.

Some say two
shillings, some
two shillings
three pence.
The *Mogels*
treatise.

Index of Persons

eter a great
ruined Citic:

inches, or
of a hundred
examples.

is entertaining
at Court.

the Kings sitting
three
times a day.

Etiol. 22.

Temple was
Etiol. 22.* Underhand
ten, & on
any thing
et al., and
there out
none.Of this see be-
fore in the
Journals of
M. de S. Jean
and F. de S.Concerns how
poore:

In this Confession they continued until the time of Echaria Father of this King, without any noise of Christian profession, who being a Prince by nature mild and good, enquiring after Novelties, curious of new Opinions, and that excellent in many virtues, especially in piety and reverence towards his Parents, called in three Jesuits from Goa, whose chief was Jeronimo Xavier a Nauarrois. After their arrival he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their parts, and caused Xavier to write a Tract in defence of his own profession against both Moores and Gentiles which finished he read over night, causing some part to be discussed, and finally granted them his Letters Patents, to build, to preach, teach, convert, and to use all their Rites and Ceremonies, as freely and amply as in Rome, bestowing on them measures to erect their Churches and places of Devotion: So that in some few Cities they have gotten rather Temples, than Ecclesiam. In this Grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or own blood, professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him. Here was a fair beginning to a forward Spring of a new and barren Harvest.

Echaria his himself continued a Mahometan, yet he became to make a breach into the Law, considering that Mahomet was but a man, a King as he was, and therefore reverence, he thought he might give in good a Prophet himself. This defection of the King spread not farre, a certain outward reverence delayed him, and so he dyed in the formal profession of his Sect.

Ghe-angietela, his sonne, the present King, being the issue of this new fanatic, and never circumcised, broke up without any Religion at all, contenting so to this house, and is an Adhuc; sometimes he will make profession of Moore, but always observe the Holy-days, and doe all Ceremonies with the Gentiles too. He is content with all Religion, only he loses none that changes: But falling into his Father's account, both dared to enter farther therein, and to profess himself for the maine of his religion, to be a greater Prophet than Mahomet, and hath formed to himself a new Law, mingled of all: which many have accepted with such superstition, that they will not eat till they have fasted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at the Sunnes rising to a window open to a great place before his house, where multitudes attend him: and when the Moores abuse him by asking of Mahomet, he will forsake them, but is glad when any one will break up against him. Of Christ he never utters any word conveniently, nor any of those sects, which is a wonderful secret working of Gods truth and worthy observation. Concerning the new planted Christian Church he confirmed, and enlarged all their privileges, every night for one year spending two hours in hearing disputation, often calling out doubtful words of his conversion but to wicked purpose.

And the rather to give some hope, he delivered many Together into the hands of Francisco Cortes now resident here, to teach them to read and write Portuguese, and to instruct them in humane learning, and in the Law of Christ; and to that end he kept a Schoole some years, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers Janes, who being brought up in the knowledge of God and his sonne our blessed Saviour, were solemnly Baptized in the Church of Agta with great pomp, being carried forth by the Janes way, drinking by the Kings intention. Others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policy, to reduce these children into hate among the Moores for their conversion, of whose consisted the strength of his empire, but all men follow of his purpose which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were seized, as was thought, in Christian Religion, and had learned some principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with Infidels, the King set the bores to demand some Portuguese wives of the Jesuits, who thinking it only a idle motion of their own braines, chid them, and satisfied no more. But that being the end of their conversion, to get a woman for the King and so care taken: the two Princes came to the Jesuits, and furnished up their crosses and all other rights, professing that they would be no longer Christians, because the King of Portugal sent them no Presents nor wives, according as they expected their confidence that had cut off the awe of Papill, and examining them by the bores, had cut off confidence. They refused to accept the crosses, answering they had been given by his Majesties order, and they would not take notice from bores of any King foreigner, but bade them desire the King to send some of those, who by a kind of order are to deliver all his Majesties Commands, whose mouths are by principles sufficient authority, and then they would accept them, hoping and knowing the Kings nature, that he would not discover himself to any of his Officers in this poor plot. The bores returned with this message, which enraged the King, but hee being desirous to pursue the Seque, and to withdraw the youths without noise, he bade them call the Jesuits to the women: where, where he a Little received the order, and without taking any notice force of any thing, his Jesuits recalled, who are now absolute Moores, without any taste of their first faith, and so the King, of all these bores are contented. And I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and orderly converted, nor yet the profession, except some few that have been baptized for money, and are maintained by the Jesuits: so that there are there would be more, but that they find the decent, and cannot endure the burthen. Thus is the truth of their bragg and labour, and the full growth of their Church here.

But that year () may a little more understand the fallow of the King and the Jesuits proceeded, I will make you one or two merry and late relations, and either say he is the most impossible man in the world to be converted, or the most easie; for he loves to be aware and hath so little religion, yet that he can well abide to have any decided.

Not many daies since the Jesuits house and Church being burned, the Crucifix remained safe, which wonder had was given out for a miracle, and much talk of it, that would be content any self might be made of an accident to enlarge the name of Christ, held my peace: but the Jesuits suspecting I would not agree to the miracle, dissembled it to me, and made it a matter of dispute, why it was not burned; insinuating that the Moores had caught up this opinion of miracle without his consent, or suggestion, though he confessed he was glad of the occasion.

But the King who never lets slippe any opportunity of new talk or novelty, called the Jesuit, and questioned with him of it, he answered ambiguously; whereupon his Majesty demanded, if he did not desire to convert him, and receiving full answer, replied: You speak of your great miracles, and of many done by you, in the name of your Prophet: if you will call the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burns not, I will become a Christian: The Jesuit refused the trial as unwise, answering, that God was not tied to the call of men, that it was a time to tempt him, that he wrought miracles according to his own Council, but offered to enter the fire himself for proof of his faith, which the King refused. Here arose a great dispute, because by the Prince, a most stiff Mahometan, and bawler of all Christians, that it was reasonable to trye our Religion by this offer, but without the Crucifix and Picture, then that the Jesuit should be obliged to render Moore: he urged examples of miracles performed to die for life purposes then the conversion of so mighty a King, and in case of refusal of the trial, I make scornfully of Christ Jesus. The King undertook the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a Prophet, by comparison of his works with those of their alford Saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replied, To give fight to one earthly blood, was as great a miracle. This question being pressed both on both sides, a third man to end the controversy, interposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions: for that to raise a dead body to life, must needs be confessed to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give light to an eye naturally blind, was the same worse, for that a blind eye was dead, fight being the life thereof: therefore be that gave fight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it up from death.

Thus this discourse ended, and so in middaye I left: But I cannot leave out an apish miracle which was acted before this King, which the Jesuits will not acknowledge, nor come at their practise; only of the truth be said, there is no doubt. A Angler of Bengali (of which craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as he professed, divine and prophesie: and to this beast by some sects is much divinity ascribed: The King took from his finger a Ring and caused it to be bid wonder the grade of one among a dozen other bores, and bade the Ape divine, who went to the right child, and tore it out. But his Majesty (somewhat more curious) caused to twelve several papers in Persian letters, to be rewritten the names of twelve Lawgivers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomet, Ally, and others: and shuffling them in a bagge, bade the beast divine which was the true Law: who putting in his foot took out the inspired of Christ. This amazed the King, who suspecting that the Ape's matter could reach Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in Court Characters, and presented them the second time: the Ape was content, found the right and kissed it. Whereas a principal Officer grew angry telling the King it was some imposture, desiring he might have leave to make the lots anew, and offered himself to punishment if the Ape could beguile him; he wrote the names putting only eleven into the bagge, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searched, but refused all; the King commanded to bring one, the beast tore them in fury, and made signs the true Law-givers name was not among them. The King demanded where it was, and he ran to the Noble-man and caught him by the head, in which was a piece of paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The King was troubled, and kept the Ape yet. This was acted in public before thousands: But where the story was, or whether there were any, I judge not: only one of the Jesuits (scholar) ran to him with open mouth, professing the King had an Ape a good Christian. Of this accident the Jesuits make great account: to me they fight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not unlike one of their own games.

Your () will pardon me all this folly, to interrupt you with so much and so of itselfe tattle: I should be glad to remove where I might learn and practise better matter: but I cannot repent my journey: it hath made me learn and know my God and my selfe better then ever I should have learned either among the pleasures of England; he hath wonderfully showed me his mercy, and taught me his indgements: his goodness be glorified and magnified for ever. I humbly desire you () to present my name (I dare not say my service) before his Majesty my Lord and Master: it is enough for me if I be not forgotten: I shall never merit nor deserve the employment of this favour, but I will pay my wages, and pray for his Majesty that he may live a happy and glorious long life to the comfort of his Church and empire. The Crime of Crimes, prepared by the King of Kings for that low him; whereas I have falsified your Honour, or by mine own weakness, your () will measure by thurs, Exigit & post. I am cum titi non quod cuque dabitur, sed quod quique efficitur potest, and you will pardon the assuming so high a word as friendship, with this interpretation, Senus est humilis amicis, which as I am bold to profess, I will be ready to demonstrate by obedience to your commands.

Atmore, the thirtieth of October, 1616.

THOMAS ROE.

Cccc

A

A Letter of Sir THOMAS ROE, to another Right Honorable Councillor.

IF my last sent your Honour, by the way of Aleppo, be miscarried, this present discourse will be unpertinent and obscure, which I could not find a way to rectify, that you may command. From Sir Thomas Smith, how farre that designe of bringing in the Spaniards by Sherley had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will informe with the present estate of the warres there in preparation: what hath succeeded, your Honour shall receive, that Sherley was stayd at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passage the last year, where he was entertained with honours and maintenance, which makes mee judge his offer and negotiation is gratiuous. The Shabas yet so depends on that hope, that he continues the prohibition of exportation of Silkes throv Turkie.

Some few dayes since I received adavis from Spahan, that Sherley hath written to the King that with much joy and ready embracement he hath so farre proceeded with the Vice-Roy of Goa, in a conclusion of the league, as his commission hath power, that he is ready to embark for Spaine to accomplish it fully. If it is pceded and take effect, I can make it evident that it will ruin and strengthen all the times and designs of the Portugals in the Indies, and make all other murthering Princes accept them; only I will not profile the consequence where it will be so fully understood.

* The request
Arriv. is
1800.0.0.0.0.0.
the Turkish
doubtful.

The Shabas is in the field at Salinas, a Village indifferent to the wayes to Tauris or Constantinople, attending the Turke Generall, who with a monstrous armie (if it be not increased by famine) is accompanied 20 Argenom, irrelevante which of these two attempts he shall begin, being not above five dayes from the one, and ten from the other. But these great armies will dissolve of themselves, and I am of opinion there will be no great effect of them, the winter approaching: and that they will treat a peace, which the Turke will never embrace, but with the opening of the trade, & liberty of ancient commerce which through the Persian yeild unto, yet if the Spaniards accept his offers, the like will be offered to the Turke, for that the Sikes shall come unto Otrums; but I hope your Honour will prevent it, God hath provided you lesse.

The King of Persia lately enquired where after the English, for he is indifferent what Christian hath the trade, so that the Grand-Signior is to it: for his first offer to the Spaniard, will take his trade and after we may have the leaving.

We have sent to Liqueux a ship from our Port of Surat, with Cloath and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence, and to get a kind of a possession: For where it was free to refuse or accept, it will be now as injury to turne us out, being come upon assurance of his Letter received by me. But though I did us consent to the going of this ship because I knew both the Port consist, the goods vendible and preudiciall to the great expectation and promises, which makes me feare the Shabas will dissolve us, and judge us by this beginning, and so with the more roundly either conclude with the Spaniards, or make peace with the Turke (for his designe is either wholly to desert the trade or nothing) yet I will moun it as well as I can by the help of an Ambassador lately arrived at this Court; who, as I suppose, is come to get ayde of money, in which he had beene suddenly liberall reliefe, and this King of India may better spare then any Marchants of the East.

I have sent
the Copies.

The advantage to be made of it in England, is (if I may give my opinion) that when Sir Reter Sherley shall arrive in Spaine and negotiate his employment, the Ambassador of his Majesty request may crave audience, and produce the Letter granted to us, and urge our possession of the Port; and therefore require in the name of his Majesty, that in this new contract either the English may be comprehended, or at least that nothing passe on the part of the King of Spaine, preudiciall to the subjects of his Majesty, nor contrary to the unity of the two Nations: which if the Spaniards shall enterprize, to the expulsion of us, it is in my opinion the trade being in a free Kingdom, granted to us a just cause of such a breach, as may produce Letters of Mart and reprisal: in all the English parts to right our selves. I will in the meane time amuse the Persian with as many doubts as I can misse into him of the () and hopes of us.

In this Court which is now in the field towards the conquest of Decan (with an effeminate armie fitt to be asseile, then a terror to enemies) I shall so farre effect my employment, as to confirme our trade and people on equal conditions to the inhabitants and borne subjects, who suffer themselves, abuses of Governors which can never be remedied, but by an absolute change of the regiment and forme of government. For the contrary I will no further give my word, then our owne prosperitie, and the others feare, and the Portugals selfe love shall confirm to us.

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way understood by the Company how to effect it at best advantage, and yet we have done little but disfigure it. I have no power to meddle in that, but if I were at home ten dayes, I would doe them better service then here I can give. To promise and demonstrate equity and conscience, were rather the subjects of a Doct than of a Letter but I will doe my part every way, according to my ability, & judgement faithfully and honestly. Besides though they may think I speak for mine own ends; I effect your honor it is not fit to keep an Ambassador in this Court. I have flourish better out, and escaped and avoided affronts and dishonourable outcomes cleaver their ears as did. I am allowed rather above the Persian, but he outstrips me in rewards: his Majesty here is not, but his Rival

is he commanded me to doe nothing unworthy the honour of a Christian King, and no reward can humble me to any baseness. I see what the Persian doe, and suffer. I know one that would creep and sue, might effect more by insinuation then I, for every little matter cannot trouble the King; and his great men are more proud, and expect that from me I cannot give them. The King of Spaine could never be drawn to stand any, and their experience hath taught them, that besides he should not be received in honour correspondent to his quality, they knew an easier way to effect their ends. I shall not retaine a rich man, and then many will condemn me for want of providence or wit to get it, but they know not the Indies, it grows here in as rough wayes as in Europe. I will truit to the Company, and to my merit. I could write your Honour many remarkable accidents in this government and Kingdom: all the policy and wicked craft of the Dutch is not practise alone in Europe, there is enough to be learned or to be despised, but you have not leisure to entertaine so foreign a discourse; that part which may be worth knowing: as the proceeding of the Icuits, the growth of their Church, and the commixture of this Kingdom with Europe by trade, and the aliter it embraces, if I find not leisure to put them into method, I will weary your Honour with them by a fire-side in broken pieces.

The Portugall pursues vs heere with virulent hatred, but God doth chastise him, and his pride fees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Goa, a vessell of fiftene hundred, armed with six hundred men falling among our Fleet, a small ship halted her after the custome of the Sea, which fees required with silence, except her Ordnance: the Commander of our Fleet, Beniamin Ioseph, came up with her, and demanded reason, but was returned scorne, so that he began a fight, in which he lost his life. A new commission being speed, Humfrey Popwell succeeded him, to his place and resolution, with the luste of his eye and other parts, sought into the Gallion having her Masts shot, ran ashore on Comara, an Island inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of eleven degrees, and one fiftie minutes, where the General Don Emanuel de Meneses, with three hundred disarmed, but fresh ships, fees was very rich, and the succor of India this year: her companions were lost at sea, and on the fourteenth of October, where was no news of any of them which were three ships, this is the greatest disaster and disgrace ever befall them, for they never mist their Fleet in September, nor lost any vessell as this which was reported unincivable, and without supplies they perished utterly. The flanders raised the General and all his followers, and they are since arrived at Goa, naked and bare in the Gallion of Molambique, which had likewise bene endangered by a Hollander, but the nearness of the Port saved her. All these considered, me thinks the Heaven confire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter, if his Majesty would be pleased to bend only his Royal countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my time. I will increase your Honour to preserve my name in the Kings memorie, not for any worldeage, but as a humble desire to serve him: and that you will be pleased to accept of my endeavours, and esteeme me such as I am, one that loves and honours you: and that will pray to God as the best expression of my affection, to increase you in all worthy honour, and to blisse you with his holy spirit.

Moses stand

Your Honours humble, faithful Servant,

THOMAS ROE.

I humbly desire your Honor to do me the favour to
thinke Sir Thomas Smith, in my behalfe, that hee
may find my gratefull to my Friends.

From the Campe of the Great Mogoll, Emperour of India,

November 30. 1616.

Part of a Letter to the Companie of the East-Indies: Dated the
three and twentieth of November, 1616.

MY Honourable Friends, I received your Letter on the twelfth of October, 1616. from the Charles, safely arrived with five ships at the barre of Surat, the six and twentieth of the former month, of what pass at Sea. I doubt not you will receive ample Relation, only a little difference in the report of our Fleet, and the Portugals I will mention, that we began the fight, and that on the 21. of May being sent this year, an ancient Souldier, Don Emanuel de Meneses, that had twice bene General of their Forces, Reports of this was in the Admirall, who being beaten ranne herselfe ashore at Molambique, and are now arrived at sight. Goa. This Tale hangs very ill together, for that I know they first made free shot, and that it is impossible they could passe from Aguzetia to Molambique in a Canoe, or that the Inhabitants having robbed them, durst carrie them into their strength, or that all this could be effected, and news of their arrival come from Goa in so little time. So that my judgement is, they make their Relation as were ours as they can, and are loath to confesse truth, that either all perished, or the Vice-Roy, which were the greatest loss and dishonour ever happened to them in India.

I shall not need to write you any long Discourse of your Affairs, nor my opinion, for that in a continued

Iournall I have set downe all passages, and send you the Copies of my Letters to your Factories, wherein many points are disputed and opened, from both which you may make best your own collection and judgement: for in them casually all your business is handled and discussed at full, and it may be convenient to such a method as you may fit at home, and see it at once.

But because some points in my last Letter, I followed at my first coming at others reports, which since I find true and frivolous, and others perhaps are unresolv'd in my general Discourse, I will venture over the materiall points with brevity: for I extremely desire that you once understand the constitution of this Trade, how to govern and settle it, that by variety of send opinions you bee not counselled to unnecessary charge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

Concerning the aiding the Mogoll or coining his Subjects into the Red Sea, it is now useless, yet I 10 made offer of your assistance: but when they need not a courtsey, they regard it as a Dogge does dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugals, and will never make a canisane warre, except first we displace them. Then his greatness will step in for allsorts of the benefit, that does not partake of the profit: when they have peace, they forgoe our assistance, and aske as much as our Name: if we are opposite them, they dare not put one under any protection, nor will pay for it. You must remember: from you all thought of any other then a Trade at their Port, wherein if you can defend your selves 20 leue them to their fortune: you can never oblige them by any benefit, and they will sooner force you then love you. Your reverence you need not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall; therefore awayde all other charge at unnecessary, that resists: not him; he only can preiudice you. For a Port at my first arrivall, I receiv'd it as very necessary, but experience teacheth me, we are refused it to our advantage, if the world offer 20 me ten. I would not accept one: first where the River is commodious, the Country is barren and untraded, the passages to parts better planted so full of Theeves, that the Kings authorities annales not, and the strength of the hills assures them in that life, if it be taken for the Trade, the Naturals would have chosen it, for they see the incommodiousness of a barren Haven: and it is dangerous enough of some force incovenience, that they must not see it if it were safe without the walls, yet it is not an easy 30 work to divert Traders, and so to the resort of Merchants from their accustomed Martts, especially for our commodities which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the charge is greater then the Trade can leave, for to maintaine a Garrison will cost the profit: it is not an hundred men can keep it. For the Portugall if he once see you undertake that course, will set his rest upon it to supply 30 you. Warre and Traffique are incompatible, by my consent, you shall no way engage your selves but at Sea, where you are like to gaine as often as to lose: it is the boggard of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich Residences and Territories, that hee keeps Soldiers that spend it; yet his Garrisons are mean. He never profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Offense this will.

It hath bene also the error of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation there by the sword, they have a wonderful flake, they grow in all places, they possess some of the best, yet their dead payes consume all the gaine. Let this be received as a Rule, that if you will profit, seeke it at Sea, and in quiet Trade: for without Customer it is an error to effect Garrisons and Land Warres in India. If you made it 40 very many how to engage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a faire retreat as at sea: so that whether would either discredit you, or interresse you in a Warre of extreme charge and doubtfull event. Besides, an action so subject to chance as Warre, is most wisely undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remoteness of place for supply, succours and counsels, subject it to irrecoverable losse, for that where it is most uncertain, remedies should be so much the nearer to occur to all occasions. At Sea you may take and leave, your Designs are not published; the Road of Swally, and the Port of Surat, are fitting 50 for you in all the Mogols Territories, I have weighed it well and deliver you that shall never be disgraced, you need no more, it is not number of Ports, Factories and Residences that will profit you, they will increase charge but not recompence it; the inconvenience of one respectively to your fleet, and in the commodious of Inconveniences, and the well employment of your Serments is all needfull, a Port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The Road at Swally, during the season, is as safe as a Pond; Surat, Cambaya, Broach, and Amalaut, are better traded then all India, and 60 seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portugals at Sea, and the landing of goods, to meet with which you must bring to passe, that your lading bee ready by the end of September at your Ports which may be effected by a stocke before-hand, or by taking up money for three monethes, and so you may discharge and lade in one, and depart for excellent season for England, and the Enemy shall not have time with force to offend you, no will be newly arrived; and if the preparation be ancienter you shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of Pirates, and to have the carriage over land, you must send a Punt of three score tonne, with ten Pieces that it comes but seven or eight foot water, to passe 65 the River between Swally and Surat, and so your goods will be safe, and in your own command to the Custom-house Key; and it will a little save the Time; therefore proceed after according to your appointment.

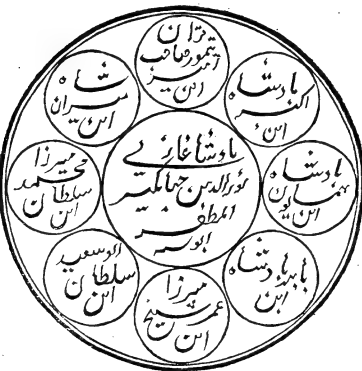
The Commodities you sell passe least in that quarter, the goods you seeke being principally Indico and Cloth, no one place is so fit for both, and the lesse inconveniences are to be chosen, of that you shall gather more at large my opinion and reasons, in my Journall and Discourses to your Factors, perhaps some of them will contradict it: but I am not deceiv'd, nor have private ends, to keepe Factories to employ and ad- 70

uance friends, the places and number of servants I have deliver'd my judgement in, and could manifest the past errors, but not mend them. Sindu is possessed by the Portugals, or if it were free, were no safer then Surat, nor safer: as it is, it will be more subject to perill. Your Factors sent me Jewre or Jewe chaises of your Commission, that concerned Pettia, a Port, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use with no other purpose, proposition or resolution, they will acquaint me. They cannot abuse I should understand or direct them, if they refuse of any thing in their opinion for your profit, and send to me. I will effect the Court part, but you will find in my Letters and Journall how they use me, which doubtlesse at first was mov'd by some real sense of yours which will cost you dearely.

For the seeing your Traffique here, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the King and your force will always bind him to civility; it will not need so much hope at Court, as you suppose, a little countenance with the discretion of your Factors will with easie charge returne you most profit, but you must alter your stocke, let not your servants deceive you. Cloth, Lead, Teeth, Quick-silver, are dead Commodities, and will never drive the Trade, you must succour it by change, and you will find my opinion discuss'd in Letters. I have this yeere paid many difficulties by the purchase of Sultan Caroline, Lord of Surat, but by Gods direction, I have overcome them; Articles of trade on equal terms I cannot effect, want of Presents disgraced me: but yet by Presents I have gotten as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all Broch, Extortions, Debts made and taken before my time till this day, or at least at honorable composition. But when I deliver the next gifts to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will set on a new for a formal. * contrail, &c.

I have heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogoll or Mogoll, his Letters of Commendation to his Maestie, easily obtained that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his sale; left it under, hee should disparage him-life; if it were, it might cause diffalt to the Kings sale and prevention therefore was this, to find the Letter vinted, and the great Seale it self, that so his Maestie might according to his owne pleasure affix it. The Seale is Silver, the type and forme wherof, containing only the Mogols Genealogie from Tamerlane, in several Circles, with the English Translation, I have 30 here added.

The Description of the Great Mogols Seale.



of Negotiations for the right Worshippfull Company of Merchants in London that trade for East-India. I spent in my journey betwixt Ierusalem and the Mogolls Court, fifteene monethes, and ebbe dayes: all which way I traversed afoote, but with divers paines of Ioyour, having bene such a Propagatorke, (I will not call my selfe Propagatorke, because you know it signifies one that maketh a perambulation about a place, whereas signifying to walke about) that it is a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you have heard of the like in your life: for the totall way betwixt Ierusalem and the Mogolls Court, comprehends two thousand and seven hundred English miles. My whole perambulation of this Asia the greater, is like to be a Pilgrimage of almost fix thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thorow Persia, afterward also by Babylon and Ninive, I shall come to Calone in Egypt, and from that downe the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day (by Gods helpe) imbarqued for Christendome; a very immense dimension of 10 ground.

Now I am at the Mogolls Court, I thinke you would be glad to receive some narration thereof from me, though succinctly handled: for I meane to be very compendious, lest I should otherwise preoccupe that pleasure, which you may hereafter this reape by my personall relation thereof: This present I Prince is a very worthy person, by name Selim, of which name I never read or heard of any more then one Mahometan King, which was Sultan Selim of Constantinople, that lived about a ghrist yeere; since, the same that conquered Ierusalem, Damasus, Aleppo, Cairo, &c. adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is fiftie and three yeeres of age, his nativite day having bin celebrated with wonderfull pompe since my arrivall here: for that day he weighed himselfe in a paire of golden Scales, which by great chance I saw the same day (a custome that he observes most usually every yeere) laying so much Gold in the other Scale as counterbalanceth the weight of his body, and the same day likewise was a day devoted to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betweene them: I know not how to expresse it with a more expresse and significant Epithet then Olive: an Olive colour is a face prettious: hee is of a seemely composition of bodie, of a stature little unequall (as I guess not without grounds of probability) to mine, but much more corpulent then my selfe. The extent of his Dominion is very spacious, being in circuit a little less then four thousand English miles, which very nere answereth the compass of the Turkes Territories: or if any thing be wanting in Geometrical dimension of ground, it is with a great pleasure supplied by the fruitfull of his soyle: and in this two things he exceedeth the Turkes, in the first (as I have said) of his Land, no part of the World yielding a more fruitfull veine of ground, then all that which lyeth in his Empire, saving that part of Babylonia, where the terrestrial Paradise once stood: whereas a great part of the Turkes Land is extreme barren and sterile, as I have observed in my perambulation thereof, especially in Syria, Melopocania and Armenia; many large portions thereof being so wonderfull fruitlesse, that it beareth no good thing at all, or if any thing, it beeth Infelix Iolium & Sterile dominantur augeat.

Secondly, in the continuation and union of all his Territories, together in one and the same goodly Continent of India, no Prince having a foot of Land within him. But many travells of the Turkes Countries are by a large distance of Sea, and otherwise, divided asunder. As yet so his Revenue he exceedeth the Turke and the Persian his Neighbour by twelfe halfe: for his Revenues are forty Millions of Crownes of six shillings value by the yeere: but the Turkes are no more then fifteene Millions, as I was certainly informed in Constantinople; and the Persians five Millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan. It is said that he is unconquered, whereas hee differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that ever were in the World.

He is both very reverent of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian Tongue, Hazaret Eeli, that is, the great Prophet, Jesus: and all Christians, especially in English, he is full of reverence, as was demonstrated Prince the like. He keepeth abundance of wilde Beasts, and kind of all sorts, as Lions, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antelopes, Unicorneys, &c. thereof two I have seen at his Court; he brought hither of the World: they were brought hither out of the Countrey of Bengalla, which is a Kingdom of most singular fertilitie within the compass of his Dominion, about foure Moneths journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers Channels of the famous Ganges; which I have not as yet seen, but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this Countrey, the nearest part of it being not above twelve dayes journey from this Court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice every day without faile in his Nobles at the rising of the Sunne, which he adoreth by the elevation of his hands; at none, and at the setting of the clocke in the evening: but he standeth in a roome alitt, alone by himselfe, and looketh upon them. For a wonder that hath an extraordinary sumptuous coverture, furnished with two silver Pillasters to yeild shade: unto him. Thrice every week, Elephants flye before him, the brasse spectacle in the World: many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high; and then some, to assest together like two little Mountaines, and were they not in the midst of their fighting by certaine fire-workers, they would exceedingly gore and cruciate one another by their murtherous teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth three thousand in his whole Kingdom at a unspeakable charge: in feeding of whom and his Lions, and other Beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of Money, at the least ten thousand pounds sterling a day. I have read upon an Elephant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant. The King keepeth a thousand Women for his own body, whereof the chiefe (which is his Queene) is called Normal. You may remember to relate this unto your Friends, that I will now mention as a matter

Of this Revenue and of all other things of this State, read Capten Hawkins his Relations, who had better means and iudgement to know them. The Viceroies are no other but the Rishnooks.

very memorable: I spent in my teene Moneths travell betwixt Aleppo and the Mogolls Court, three pounds sterling, yet farred reasonable well every day; vitall being so cheap in some Countreies where I travell'd, that I oftentimes lackt completely for a penny sterling a day: yet of that three pound I was cozened of no lesse then tenne shillings sterling, by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian Nation: so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my teene Moneths Travell. I have bin in a Cate in this Countrey, called Detee, where Alexander the Great fought Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie, erected a Brasse Pillar, which remaineth there to this day. At this time I have many friends in the fire; for I learne the Persian, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues, having already gotten the Italian (I thank God) I have bene at the Mogolls Court three Moneths already, and am to be carried hence (by Gods grace) five Moneths longer, till I have gotten the fore-said three Tongues, and then depart hence hence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court.

Your assured loving Friend till death,

THOMAS CORYATE.

From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere in the Easterne India, on Michaelmas day.
Anno 1615.

I Doe enioy at this time as pancreaticall and athleticall a health, as ever I did in my life: and so have done ever since I came out of England, saving for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an Ague, which with a little letting blood was cleane banished, the Lord bee humbly thanked for his gracious blessing of health that he hath given unto mee. I was robbed of my money, both gold and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was placed) in a Cite called Diarbek in Melopocania, the Turkes Countrey, by a Spahie, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke; but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune, would bee too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money I thank God. Since my arrivall here, there was sent unto this King one of the richest Presents that I have heard to bee sent to any Prince in all my life time: it consisted of divers parcels, one being Elephants, whereof there were one and thirrie, and of those, two so gloriously adorned, as I never saw the like, nor shall see the like againe while I live. For they wore faire chaines about their bodies all of beaten gold: two chaines about their legges of the same Furniture for their buttocks of pure gold: two Lions upon their heads of the like gold: the ornaments of each, amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling: and the whole Present was worth ten of their Leakes, as they call them; a Leake being ten thousand pound sterling: the whole, a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshippfull Fraternitie of Sirenacall Gentlemen, that meete the thirft Friday of every month, at the signe of the Mermaid in Bread-street in London, ghee thue: From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere, in the Easterne-India.

Right Generous, Iovall, and Mercenall Sirenacien, I have often read this Greeke Proverbe, *Ξαί* *Τις* *Λεγεται* *μεγαλως* *αγαθός*, that is, one that is both well loved, and the Latine, *Multus Mulum scabit*, one Male stretched another; by which the Sirens signify, that countries doe one Friends, ought to be requited with reciprocal offices of friendship. The firm consideration thereof, hath made me to call to minde that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternitie with a generall suffrage gave me for the securitie of my future Perambulation, concommated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable Artisan of sweet Elegance, the joyrie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the Noble Society, Maister L. W.

Therefore since it is requisite that I should repay him what for the same, according to the Lawes of humaneitie: Such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo, the Metropolitane Cite of Syria, by one Maister Henry Allart of Kent, my Fellow-pilgrimage there-hence to Ierusalem; I meane a plaine Epistle, which I hope long since came unto your hands: I have sent unto you by a man no less deere unto me then the former one Maister Peter Rogers, a Kentish man also from the most famigerated Region of

This Letter by M. Rogers was delivered to my selfe.

of all the East, the ample and large India: affording my selfe, that because I am not able to requite your love with any essentiall gratulations, other then verbal and scriptall, you will as lovingly excuse my poore Letters, being the certaine manifestation of an ingenuous minde, as if I should send unto you the unmerall riches or Drugges of the Noble Countrey.

Think it no wonder I pray you, that I have made no use in all this space since I left my native Countrey, of the superexcellant Commettage; for I have spent all my time hitherto in the Mahometan Countreies, and am like to spend three yeeres more in these Muleiman (as they call them) Regions of Asia, after of Europe, before I shall arrive in Christendome; for this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my Countymen, there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall have ended my Indian and Persian perambulations: and there-hence to come to Constantinople, and that by the way at Iconium, Nicaea, Nicomedia, and in the Countrey of Natolia, a journey of furtive dayes. From that finally I borrow the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedaemon, Thebalonica, and to the City of Ragoutze, heretofore Epidaurus, so sacred for the Image of Esculapius in the Countrey of Sclawonia, once called Illyricum; from thence I have three dayes journey to the inestimable Diamond sit in the Ring of the Adriatique Gulfe. (as once I said in the first Harangue that ever I made to Prince Henric of blessed memorie, translated since my departure from London, from the Terrestriall Tabernacles, to the Celestiall Habitations) venerable Venice, the Sovereigne Queene of the Mare superum: of the great Iehoush (shall be so propitious unto me, as to grant me a prosperous arrivall in that Noble Cite, I will there beguine to teach your selfe comitall, and to decantate, you and to blazon your praises for the same; and after in every other place of note, until I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite, with that the Cities will yield, thorough which my laborious fete shall carrie me, it would bee superfluous to commemorate unto you the almost incredible extent of Land, I travell'd from Ierusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll in India, where I now reside, with the variable Regions and Provinces inter-sacred betwixt them; and the manifold occurrences and observations of speciall works in this vaste Tract; for it would bee such a fastidious Discourse, that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of Paper: but Master Whitaker, I hope, I will not faile to import unto you in a few compendious Relations, which I have acquainted him with, in a particular Letter to himselfe: of which, if I should have written againe to you, it would have proued Crambe bis cocta.

The Gentleman that brings this Letter unto you, was Preacher to the English Merchants, consular at the Court of the aforesaid mighty Monarch, in the Towne of Ainsere in the Easterne-India: and in divers loving offices hath bene so kind unto me, that I intreat your Generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhortate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French, and Rheni's Grape, which the Mermaid yeeldeth; and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall universallitie of the one after another, to thank him heartily, according to the qualitye of his merits. Farewell, Noble Sirrenackes.

Your Generosities most obliged Country-man, ever to be commended by you, the Hierosolymian-Syriac-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian-Legge-first-cher of O'comb in Somerset.

THOMAS CORYATE.

Pray remember the recommendations of my dutifull request; to all those whose names I have bene expressed, being the lovers of Vertue, and Literature; and so consequently the well-willers (I hope) of a prosperous issue of my designements; in my laborious pedestrian perambulations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Written with mine owne hand, at the Court of the Great Mogoll, Shaugh Selim, resident in the Towne of Ainsere, in the umbelike of the Orientall India, the eight day of November, being Wednesday, Anno Dom. 1615.

Inprimis, to the two Ladies Varney, the Mother and the Daughter, at Bolwell House without Temple-barre.

2 Item, to that famous Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotten, at his House in the Black-Friers. Pray tell him that I have a very curious white Marble head of an ancient Heros or Giant-like Champion, found out very casuall by my diligent peruseffication amongst the ruines of the once renowned Cities of Cyzicum, mentioned by Cicero in his second Oratation; if my memory darst not fail me; nearst Vertes, situate in an Peninsula of Bythina, in the goodly Countrey of Natolia, neere the Sea Propontis: so this head will bee best Antiquities whatsoever you desire.

3 Item,

3 Item, to that courteous sweet, and elegant-mindured and nurtured Gentleman, Master William Ford, Preacher to our Nation at Constantinople, if you happen to see him in any part of England; one that deserveth better of me, then any man is in this Catalogue: for of him have I learned whatsoever superfluous shill I have gotten in the Italian Tongue: pray recapitulate my commendations unto him.

4 Item, to Master George Speake, my generous and ingenious Country-man, the Same and beire apparent of Sir George Speake, in Somersetshire; him you are like to find in any Terme, either at the Middle-Temple, or in some Barbers house neere the Temple.

5 Item, to Master Iohn Donne, the Author of two most elegant Latine Booke, Pseudo-martyr, and Ignatij Concluse: of his abode either in the Strand, or else where in London, I thinke you shall be easily informed by the means of my friend, Master L. W.

6 Item, to Master Richard Martin, Counsellor, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple, but in the Terme-time, scarce else.

7 Item, to Master Christopher Brooke of the Cite of Yorke, Counsellor at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne, or neere it.

8 Item, to Master Iohn Hoskins, alias Equinoctiall Pastoraft, of the Cite of Hereford, Counsellor, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple.

9 Item, to Master George Garrat; of whose being you shall understand by Master Donne aforesaid.

10 Item, to Master William Hackwell, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne.

11 Item, to Master Benjamin Iohnson the Poet, at his Chamber at the Black-Friers.

12 Item, to Master Iohn Bond my Country-man, chiefe Secretarie unto my Lord Chancellor.

13 Item, to Master Doctor Mocket, resident perhaps in my Lord of Canterburies house at Lambeth, where I left him.

14 Item, to Master Samuel Purchas, the great Collector of the Luccubrations of sundry Classick Authors, for description of Asia, Africa, and America. Pray commend me unto him and his unparalelled Master Cooke, by the same token, that he gave me a description of Constantinople, and the Thracian Bosporus, written in Latine by a French-man, called Petrus Gillius; which Booke, when I carried once in an after-noon under mine arme, in walking betwixt our English Ambassadors House in Paris, on the opposite side to Constantinople, and the Flemish Ambassadors house, I lost it very unfortunately to my great grieve, and never found it againe, &c.

There is another and later Letter of his to his Mother, written the last of October 1616: part of which for the Odcombin stile and Coryatall traine, I have hither transcribed. Great pity it is that his voluminous Observations of his foot Pilgrimage, longer then perhaps of any man ever hath bin in that kind, are either lost, or at least not come to those discreet hands, which might, no doubt, distill good instructions thence for the publique, as sweet fresh water out of the huge salt Ocean.

Some written Notes of his, it pleased Sir Thomas Roe to give me, whence (omitting such things as before you have had in Sir Thomas Roes owne Observations) I have inserted a few, following this Letter.

From Agra, the Capitall Cite of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October 1616.

Most deare and well-beloved Mother, though I have superscrib'd my Letter from Ainsere, the Court of the greatest Monarch of the East, called the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, whither I did in this end, that those that have the charge of conveyance thereof, perceiving such a title, might the more carefull and diligent to convey it safe to your hands: yet in truth the place from which I wrote this Letter is Agra, a Cite in the said Easterne India, which is the Metropolitane of the whole Dominion of the fore-said King Mogoll, and ten dayes journey from his Court at the said Ainsere. From the same Ainsere I departed the twelfth day of September An. 1616 after my abode there twelve months and sixtie dayes; which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine in one and the selfe-same place, yet for two principall causes it was very requisite for me to remaine there some reasonable time: first to learne the Languages of those Countreies, through which I am to passe betwixt the bounds of the Territories of this Empire and Brittain, namely the Persian, Turkish, and Arab: which I have in some competent measure attained unto by my labour and industry at the said King's Court; matters as a word of courtesy need no money penny Price, as being the clearest, or rather only measure to get me no penny, if I should suppose to be justitate, a matter very unbecomming to a poore Foot-man Pilgrimage, as my selfe, in the last of the said Ainsere, than (as I have said) I travell. Secondly, that by the hope of one of those great men, I might be able to procure unto my selfe access unto the King and be able to

expresse my mind unto him about the matter for the which I should haue occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moued me so long to tarry at the Mogols Court, during which time, I abode in the house of the English Merchants; my deare Countrey, not sending me little piece of money either for diet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue, which I should haue learned very carefully, I attended to that reasonable skill, and that in a few months, that I made an Oration unto the King before many of this Nobles, in that language, and after I had ended the same, I discoursed with his Maiestie also in that tongue very readily and familiarly; the Copy of which speech, though the tongue is selfe will come to an English-man very strange and vnknown, as having no kind of assistance with any of our Christian languages, I haue for monitie sake written out in this Letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may siew it to some of my learned friends of the Clergie, and also of the Temporalitie, in Euill, and elsewhere, who helpe, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and vnusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is thus that followeth.

The Copie of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mogol, before diuers of his Nobles.

Hazaret Aallum pennah salamet, looker Daruces ve telauagehsia haslam kemia emadam az wellaggers doon, ganne az mulk Ingilizan: kekessation pethen mulhasas cardand ke wellagets, mazoor der aknes magrub bood, ke mader hamma nezzaerts dunnaft. Sabbebe amadane mazi mia boott: char cheez ahi aual be dedane mobarrekkeddears. Hazaret ke seete caramat: ba humma tanthit: chareedat ooba tamam mulk Mulfiaman der theendane awashe. Hazaret daueda amadam be dedane asfawne akhas mahar asfaham dium tray dedane feshay Hazaret, kin chun innoos der heech mulk ne dedane feun bray dedane namay darayeh humma Guga, ke Serdier: hamma darayha dumieth. Chaharum een all, keyee fermawee alishan amayes fermoyan, ke betwaman der wellayetes Vabek raftan ba shahre San arcand, bray Zeerat cardan cablate mobarreke Saheb crawnah awashe tang oo mofa: here ood der tamam aallum mefhoor alt belk der wellagette Vz be cencalar mefhoor neth chunan che der mule Ingilizan alt digr, bishare eltheecard dam be dedane mobarreke mela Saheb crawnia bray een fahbe, che awne faman che focher de shabr Stambol boodam, ye aiaeb cohua amarad demen yeechi baw nafide shabr malcoor coia che padhaw Eezawiwn che nameth Manuel bood der Saheb crawnia cohul melmanee afam carda bood, had as grilane Sulten Batalfetra as iange assem che shuda bood nas che shahre Bafra, comma che Saheb crawn Sulten Batalfetra de Zemira tellio be fland, oo der cates nahadon een clar chues mader ma ium banded ta mia, as mulc. Room oo Atrac preada gethas doot der een mule trefsedam, che char bafar phurung raw dirad, behare derid oo mohuet calhedam che heech che der een dunnia een eader mohuet ne calhedat bray dedane mobarreke delare Hafaretet awn rooi che be tacte though ne shagheeb mulharat fermadand.

The English of it is this.

I Ord * Protector of the World, all hail to you: I am a poore Traveller and World-seer, which am
 * This is the
 ordinary title
 that I give
 him by all
 strangers.
 I come hither from a farre countie, namely England, which ancient Historians thought to haue bene
 situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Caput of all the Islands in the World. The
 cause of my coming hither is for fauour respect. First, to see the blessed face of your Maiestie, who
 wonderfull fame hath resounded ouer all Europe, and the Mahometan Countie. When I heard the
 fame of your Maiestie, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious
 Court. Secondly, to see your Maiesties Elephants, which kind of beasts I haue not scene in any oth-
 er Countie. Thirdly, to see your famous Riuer Ganges, which is the Captaine of all the Riuers of
 the World. The fourth is this: to entreate your Maiestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious
 Paile, that I may trauell into the Countie of Tartaria to the Citie of Samarcand, to visit the blessed Se-
 pulchre of the Lord of the Corners (this is a tale that is giuen to Tambarlaine in this Countie, in this
 Persian language: and whereas they call him the Lord of the Corners, by that they mean, that he was
 Lord of the corners of the World, that is, the highest and supreme Monarch of the Universe:) whose
 fame, by reason of his Wares and Victories, is published ouer the whole World; perhaps hee is not altogether
 so famous in his owne countie of Tartaria, as in England. Moreover, I haue a great desire to
 see the blessed Tombs of the Lord of the Corners for this cause; for that when I was at Constantinople,
 I saw a notable old building in a pleasant Garden neare the said Citie, where the Christian Emperor
 that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great Banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after hee had
 taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neere the Citie of Brutta, where the Lord of the
 Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a Cage of yron. These foure causes mo-
 ued me to come out of my native Countie thus farre, having travelled afoute thorsun Turkeie, and Persia,
 so farre haue I traued the world into this Countie, that my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand
 miles; wherein I haue suffered much labour and toyle like unto the like of whom I see no worlde man in the World did
 euer performe, to see the blessed face of your Maiestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in
 your glorious Ma. u. x. x. x. Throne.

After I had ended my Speech, I had some little discourse with him in the Persian Tongue, who amongst
 other things told me that concerning my trauelle to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any
 good, because there was no great army betwixt the Tartarian Prince and himselfe, for that his com-
 matory Letters would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians,
 that they would certainly kill them when they came into their Countie. So that he earnestly dissuaded me
 from the journey; if I loved my life and well fare; at last he concluded his discourse with me by a summe
 of money, that he threw downe from a window, thence hee looked out, into a street tied up by the faine
 corner, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of silver, each worth two thidings sterling,
 which counteruailed ten pounds of our English Money: this business I carried so secretly by the helpe of
 my Persian, that neither our English Ambassador, nor any other of my Countreim (I sauing one offic-
 iall, private, and intrestfull friend) had the least intelling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my de-
 signe: for I well knew that our Ambassador would haue stopped and barracaded all my proceeding there-
 in, if he might haue had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified vnto me, after I had effected my pro-
 posit, alleging this, first, for his reason, why hee would haue hindered me, because it would redound
 somewhat to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly
 and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to craue Money of him: But I answered,
 our Ambassador in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my business, that hee was content-
 ed to cease nibling at me, neuer had I more need of Money in all my life, then at that time: for in trauels
 I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my Purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes
 20 Cities called Emert, in the Countie of Mesopotamia, where a Mijerant Turke stripped me of almost
 all my Monie, according as I wrote vnto you in a very large Letter the last yeare, which I sent from
 the Court of this mighty Monarch, by one of my Countreim that went borne by Sea in an English ship,
 Laden with the Commodities of this India, which Letter, I hope, came to your hands long since. After I
 had bene with the King, I went to a certaine Noble and Generous Christian of the Armenian Race, two
 dayes iourney from the Mogolls Court, to the end to desire some remembrance of mine in the same
 place, to whom, by means of my Persian Tongue, I was so welcome, that hee entertained me with very kin-
 d and courteous complement; and at my departure gave mee very beautifully twenty pieces of such kind
 of Money as the King had done before, counteruailed fortie shillings sterling. About tenue dayes after
 that, I departed from Almire, the Court of the Mogoll Prince, to the end to begin my Pilgrimage, after
 30 my long rest of fawetene Moneths, backe againe into Persia, at what time our Ambassador gave mee a
 piece of Gold of the Kings Coyne worth foure and twentie shillings, which I will salue (if it bee possible)
 till my arrivall in England; so that I haue received for beneuolence, since I came into this Countie,
 twentie markes sterling, sening now shillings eight pence, and by the way, upon the confines of Persia, a little
 before I came into this Countie, three and thirtie shillings sening foure pence in Persian Money, of my Ladie
 Shertley at this present I haue in the Citie of Agra, where I dwelt I wrote this Letter, about twelue
 pounds sterling, which according to my manner of lusing upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for
 with that proportion I can lise pretty well, such is the cheapnes of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable
 things cooing nothing, for seldom doe I drinke in my Pilgrimage any other liquor then pure water) will
 maintaine me very competently three yeeres in my trauell, with meate, drinke and cloathes. In this Citie
 40 of Agra, where I am now, I am to remaine about sixe weekes longer, to the end to expect an excellent
 opportunity, which then will offer it selfe vnto me, to go to the famous Riuer Ganges, about five dayes iour-
 ney from this, to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this Countie, called Batmans, wherof
 about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shoue themselves in the Riuer, and
 to sacrifice a world of Gold to the same Riuer, partly in stamped Money, and partly in small great lumps
 and wadges, throwing into the Riuer as a Sacrifice, and doing other strange Ceremonies most wor-
 thy the obseruation. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the great
 Asia, nor the lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be scene, this I then doe they make once every
 yeare, comming thither from places almost a thousand miles off, and honour their Riuer as their God,
 Creator and Saviour; Superstition and Impiety most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish
 50 Ethnicks, that are alien from Christ and the Common wealth of Israel. After I haue scene this scene,
 I will with all expedition repaire to the Citie of Lethor, twentie dayes iourney from this, and so into Per-
 sia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ, &c.

Your dutifull, louing and obedient Sonne, now
 a desolate Pilgrime in the Worlde,

THOMAS CORYATE.

Dddd

Certaine

Certaine Observations written by THOMAS CORYAT.

Isidrius! Mar-
tialis.Notable ex-
ample of A-
theisme.

Eschewing!.

Winey fidelit

Right and
Ru about
finding a
Fountaine.Charitie of
Moors.

Eskers pietie.

Notable fen-
tence.

Prodigious!.

Whereas the Beggars hege in this Countrey of a *Christian* in the name of *Bible Maria*, and not of *Hanaan Esfa*, thereby we may gather that the *Isidrius* haue preached *Mary* more then *Iesus*.

A great *Kata a Gentle*, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Deitie, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor beleueing nor fearing none: sitting dallying with his women, one of them plucked a haire from his breast, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the skinner, that blood appeared; this small skarfe festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he departed of life, and being accompanied with all his friends and diuers Courtiers, he brake out into these excellent words: Which of you would not haue thought that I being a man of Warre, should haue dyed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow? but now I am enforced to confesse the power of that great God, whom I haue so long despised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill fo blaipheuous a wretch, and contemner of his Maie-
stie, as I haue bene.

Eskar Shangh had learned all kind of Sorcery, who being once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his Nobles, brought forth his chiefeft Queene, with a Sword cut off her head, and after the same perceiving the haunefte and sorrow of them, for the death of her (as they thought) cauled the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and Coniunctions, to be set on againe, to no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword.

Sultan Curisano hath but one Wife, for which one principall reason is, that during his imprisonment, the King inteling to make a hunting Progreffe of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a Towre, and immure him within it, without gate, doore or window, except some small holes to let in Ayre higher then he could come vnto; putting in all sorts of prouision whatsoever, both fire, clothes, &c. with some seruants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his Wife came and fell at the Kings feete, and neuer would let goe till shee had obtained leaue to bee shut vp with him: the King much perswading to enioy her libertie; she vterly refused any other comfort, then to be the companion of her Husbands miseries; amongst which this was the greatest, that if any of those that were immured, being in number fiftie, should haue dyed in the Kings absence, there was no meanes to burie them, for what no man was admitted to come neere the Towre.

The Fountaine found the first day by one of my Lords people, Master *Herbert*, brother to Sir *Edward Herbert*, which he had not done, he must haue fene ten Courte every day for water, to a Riuer called *Narvide*, that falleth into the Bay of *Campose* at *Burech*; the custom being such, that whosoever Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe, without the interruption of any man whatsoever. The day after one of the Kings *Haddys* finding the same, and struing for it, was taken by my Lords people, and bound all, &c. a great controuersie being about it, &c.

Remember the Charitie of two great men, that in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten Camels with twentie persons every day to the said Riuer for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare, that they sold a little skinner for eight Pise.

Eskar Shangh, a very fortunate Prince and pious to his Mother; his pietie appearing in this particular, that when his Mother was carried once in a Palanke between *Lahore* and *Agra*, he travelling with her, took the Palanke vpon his owne shoulders, commanding his greatest Nobles to doe the like, and fo carried her ouer the Riuer from one side to the other, and neuer denied her any thing, but this, that shee demanded of him, that our Bible might be langed about an Alles necke, and beaten about the Towne of *Agra*, for that the *Portugals* hauing taken a ship of theirs at Sea, in which was found the *Alcoran* amongst the *Moors*, tyed it about the necke of a Dogge, and beat the same Dogge about the Towne of *Ormuz*: but hee denied her request, saying, That if it were all in the *Portugals* to doe so to the *Alcoran*, being it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempe of any Religion, was the contempe of God, and he would not be reueenged vpon an innocent Booke: the morall being, that God would not suffer the sacred Booke of his Truth to be contemned amongst the Infidels.

One day in the yeere, for the salace of the Kings Women, all the Traikemens Wines enter the *Mahal* with some-what to sell, in manner of a Faire, where the King is Broker for his Women, and with his games that night makes his supper, no man present, (because that whatsoever is brought in of virill shape, as instance in Reddishes, so great is the idoltrie, and so frequently the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and ragged for feare of conuicting the face to some vnnatural abuse) by this meane hee attaines to the weight of all the prettie Venicles of the Towne: at such a kind of Faire hee gets his beloued *Normahal*.

After

After *Shasf Freed* had wonne the Battle of *Lahor* by a stratagem, the Captaines being taken by the King, and hanged vpon flesh-hooks and stakes, made an entrance for the King to *Lahor*, his sonne *Confaw* being then taken Prisoner, and riding bare-footed vpon an Elephant, his Father demanded him how hee liked that spectacle of his valant and faithfull Captaines hanging in that manner, to the number of two thousand: hee answered him, that hee was faine to see so much Crueltye and Injustice in his Father, in executing them that had done nothing but their duties: for that they liued vpon his Bread and Sale: but hee should haue done right if hee had faued them, and punished him which was their Maister, and the Authour of the Rebellion.

For more cleare declaration of this excellent vertue vbraiding the coldnesse of our Charitie, you shall vnderstand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his *Oufle-cas*, often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, calls for certaine poore and old men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure clothes them, and giues them bountifull Almes often, whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands.

For a close of this Discourse, I cannot forget that memorable Pietie, when at *Ajmore* hee went afoot to the Tombe of the Prophet *Hod. Munda* there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands, and his *Normahal*, vnder that immense and *Heidelbergian* equippott Brass-pot, and made Kitchene for five thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands, and setting one, *Normahal* the second, and so his Ladies all the rest. Cracked mee this Nut, all the *Papsi* Charitie vnto.

An *Armenian* desirous to turne *Moore*, procured a Noble man to bring him to the King, whom the King asked why hee turned *Moore*, whether for preferment? hee answered, No. Some few Moneths after craving some courteisie of the King, hee denied it him, saying, That hee had done him the greatest fauour that could bee, to let him saue his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should prouide as well as hee could.

The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe being of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Seruant that was an *Armenian*, by name *Scander*, to whom vpon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the *Pader* had conuerted one *Moore* to be a true *Christian*, and that was for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect *Christian*, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused pretein to bee sent for: and bidding his Maister depart, demanded why hee was become a *Christian*, who rendered certaine feeble, implicit, Isidricall Reasons, and auowed that hee would neuer be other: whereupon the King praisted by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of *Mabomer*, offering him Penions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Reward for quitting his prepared faith; but if hee would recant, hee would heape vpon him

many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became *Christian*, for hee had limbed, and could carrie so much of any *Mabometan*, but that hee was a *Christian* in his heart, and would not alter it. This saying; but the King turned to threatening, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Profligate manfully refusing to suffer any thing, answered, hee was ready to endure the Kings pleasure. Vpon this relaxation, when all men expected present and future castigation, the King changed his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Maister, and to serue him faithfully and truly, giving him a Rupia a day Pension for his Integritye. About two Moneths after, the King hauing bene a hunting of wilde Hoggess, a beast odious to all *Moors*, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venison among *Christians* and *Rasboates*, sent for this *Armenian*, Maister of this conuerted *Castibumen* or *Mabometan*, to come and

to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take vps a Hoggess for his Maister, which no *Moore* will touch; which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was fo footed at by the *Mabometans*, that hee threw downe his Present in a Ditch, and was fo footed at by the King, for shame hee threw it away: at which hee replied, By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? or to flatter the *Mabometans*; doe you in outward things forsake it: now I see, thou art neither good *Christian*, nor good *Mabometan*; but a d-
d d d d

Appoyntment

The Kings external charitie. Hee had added here of the Kings respect to two-fold benefits which you haue before in Sir T. R.

The King likes not others of Religion.

tembling

sembling knave with both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choole and profess, they may stick to vnto.

I had thought at first to haue finished all these *Indian Voyages* in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the *Turkish Trade* at *Moka*, and especially the *Persian* at *Isques*, haue caused in the *English Trade*, with the contrary Attempts of the *Portugals*, and chiefly the *Dutch*, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the *English-Indian Trade*; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

NA-



NAVIGATIONS, VOY- AGES, TRAFFIQUES, DISCO- VERIES, OF THE ENGLISH NA- TION IN THE EASTERNE PARTS OF THE WORLD:

Continuing the *English-Indian Occurrents*, and containing the *English Affaires* with the Great *SAMORINE*, in the *Persian* and *Arabian Gulfs*, and in other places of the Continent, and Islands of and beyond the Indies: the *Portugall Attempts*, and *Dutch Disasters*, diuers Sea fights with both; and many other remarkable RELATIONS.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Memorials taken out of the Journall of ROGER HAWES, touching the proceedings of the Factory at Cranganor under the Great Samorine.



He Generall of this Fleet was Captaine William Keeling in the *Dragon*; Robert Boner Master: Captaine Christopher Harris in the *Peppercoorne*: Captaine Walter Payton in the *Expedition*. You haue his Journall before.

The fourth of March 1615, we chased a *Portugall Frigate*, which ranne into a creeke and escaped vs: and we making our way on towards Cape *Comorine*, there came a *Tony* aboard vs with Messengers from the *Samorine* to the Generall.

The next day the Gouverneur sent a Prefent, and entreated the Generall to go to *Cranganor*, which the day after we did, and the chiefe men sent from the *Samorine*: the Generall was desired to come ashore to speake with him, but in the going, certaine Frigats came and anchored neare the theare, and caused him to goe aboard the *Expedition*. Some shot pulled, but little hurt.

On the eight, the Generall went ashore with Master *Barbier*, Cape Merchant, and others, where they received kind viage, and concluded to settle a Factory. The Articles agreed on, were these:

60 VNIuersall Chiete, the Great Samorine, &c. To JAMES by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, &c. whereas your Seruant and Subiect William Keeling Esquire, arrived in my Kingdome in the month of March, Anno 1615, with three English ships at the Port of Cranganor, in latitude ten degrees fiftene minutes, and at my earnest solicitation came ashore to see me: there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English Nation, as followeth,

Dddd 3

As

sembling knave with both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and please, they may stick vnto.

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NA-

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60 V NINETEEN Choete, the Great *Samorine*, &c. To *JAMES* by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, &c. Whereas your Servant and Subject *William Keeling* Esquire, arrived in my Kingdome in the month of March, Anno 1615, with three *English* Ships, at the Port of *Cranganor*, in latitude ten degrees fiftene minutes, and at my earnest solicitation came ashore to see me: there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the *English Nation*, as followeth,

Dddd 3

As

March 4. 1616.
Crispian Cas-
tic and land
promised to
the English.

Cochin promi-
sed, and com-
mended to
the English.

As I have bene ever an enemy to the Portugals, so doe I purpose to continue for ever: I doe hereby faithfully promise to be and continue a friend to the English, and my Successors after mee: to endeavour the recovery of the Fort of Cochin, and to possess the English thereof as their own, with the land thereof, which is in length on the Sea coast nine miles, and in breadth three.

Troubled, that I purpose to build therein a house for some of my own people, to the number of one hundred persons.

I will also endeavour, with the aide of the English, hereafter to take in the Fort and Towne of Cochinch, belonging formerly to my Crowne and Kingdom, and then to deliver it into the possession of the English, as their own proper lands and possessions: Provided, that the charge of the forprize be equally borne, the one halfe by my selfe, the other by the English Nation: and the benefit of the forprize thereof, in whatsoever quality, the one halfe to belong to me, the other halfe to the English Nation.

The Samorine to have no right, title or interest in the aforesaid Towne, Precincts, or appurtenances of Cochinch at all.

And the Samorine doth also covenant for himselfe, his Heires and Successors, that the whole Trade of the English, in whatsoever commodities brought in, or carried out, shall pay, yield or allow no manner of custome, imposition, taxe, toll, or any other duty of whatsoever quality.

And to these Covenants, which the shortness of time did not permit to amplify: I the Samorine have religiously sworn by the great God I serve, to performe accordingly, and that not only for my selfe, but for my Successors after me: and in witness hereof, have laid my hand upon this writing.

And the said William Keeling doth promise to acquaint the Kings Maiestie with the premises, and to endeavour his Maiesties vnder taking thereof accordingly.

A Stocke was made, as the State present permitted, and three Factors appointed, George Woodman chiefe, Peter Needham, one of the Generalls lieutenants, second, my selfe (Roger Hand) third, Edward Pooley, a Youth attendant, and to learn the language: and John Stamford a Gunner, to assist the Samorine, if need required in his warres. On the tenth, the ships departed, leaving vs in a shrambe at the waters side, with our goods and a Present for the Samorine, where we continued till the thirteenth, at which time the last of our goods were carryed to the Samorines Castle: whom thus possessed of our goods, we much suspected.

On the twentieth, hee would needs see Master Woodmans Trunke, supposing wee had sterc of money (Needham had told him wee had five hundred Ryalls of eight) and finding little about fifty Ryalls, hee would needs borrow fifty, which we could not deny him, and offered a pawnee not worth halfe, which we refused to take, hoping after this money lent: hee would permit vs to depart for Calicut, but found delayes. He also vrged vs to give his brother a Present.

On the eight and twentieth, hee came vp into the Chamber where we were, and gave Master Woodman two Gallions, and to every of the rest one: and the next day called vs to the sight of his rumbling forts. The same night Stamford went out with his sword in his hand, telling the Boy he would come againe presently, and the next newes we heard of him, was that hee was met with by the King of Cockins Nayros, having lost himselfe (being drunke) they demanded whether hee would go, he said to the Samorine, whether they undertooke to bring him, and hee knew not himselfe betrayed: till he came at Cochinch. This put vs in great feare, but the Samorine gave vs good words, saying hee had rather now find him a knave, then when hee should have put trust in him.

In April we got liberty to depart with our goods for Calicut, where the two and twentieth we arrived, and were kindly entertained: but were faine to stay in the Custome-house, till we might get a more convenient house, which was made ready for vs the six of May, with promise of a better after the Raines. Faine would we, according to the Generalls his order, have sent a messenger with his an: our Letters to Surat, to acquaint our Countreimen with our being here: but the Gouverneur would not consent till wee had sold our goods, for their better encouragement.

Perfidious people.

On the eighteenth, one was sent. Part of the goods were sold by the Gouverneur procurement, to the Merchants at Calicut, some after the six and twentieth, and faire promises of part of payment shortly; but it was not the outcome. Yet it was in this country, to be as good as their word being sworn only in dissembling. Master Woodman was desirous to go to Naffore to make sale, but the Gouverneur put him off with shewes thus from time to time.

July 3.

The third of July, the messenger sent for Surat returned with reports, that being well onward on his way, hee was set upon, beaten, his money and Letters taken from him: amongst which was a letter of Generall Keeling to the next Generall, which grieved vs, supposing yet hee was not sold with his own consent, and of his honesty only. A Broker of Naffore told Master Needham that they were sold to the Portugals by the Gouverneur hearing of it, and hanging down his head, as guilty therein. We told good news to Merchants of Naffore.

August 17.

The twentieth of August, Master Woodman dyed. Our criminal money we could not get, and our Beas refused, that some one of the debtors would goe to the Gouverneur, and with a true procuration request, the rest refusing till they paid all.

On the foure and twentieth, the Samorine sister sent vs word, shee would bechew then to pay.

pay, and lend vs any money we needed: but we found her as the rest. The Queene Mother also made vs faire shewes. Debtors likewise promised to convey letters to Surat for vs; but with words as shewes from the count, and adhere to all truth.

Master Needham thus wronged, further wronged himselfe by infirmitie, threatening hee would be gone to the King of Cochinch, in presence of a Nayro appointed to attend vs, who disconcerted the lame; and he added yet further, to put him in feare with making shew of violent rage, as hee did also to a Serinawo (which is as a Justice with vs) taking him by the throat, and making as though hee would have stricken him with his sword, for detaining money hee had received for vs. Our Broker also told him, it was not Merchant-like to go vp and downe the Towne with a sword and buckler: his carriage and habite resembling those, which here we call Roaring-boys, rather then Merchants, notwithstanding, my admonition, which was required with ill language to my selfe, and accompanied with abuses of his owne selfe and the Companies affairs.

The three and twentieth of September, a Holland ship, which had traded at *Mopoa*, came to this Port, with purpose of fiding a Factory, which were by the Gouverneur appointed: to go to the King, and promised to carry vs a letter, but went without it. And here Jallyung and delaying continued. Whereupon the fourth of November, Master Needham went to the Samorine, and returned the five and twentieth, having had a Gold-chain bestowed on him, a Jewell and a Gold-ring to wear on his arme, with orders also from the King to effect our desires. But the performance halted.

The twentieth of December, a Malabar Captaine had taken prize of the Portugals, and would have traded with vs, but we could not get in our monies due long before. We heard also the same day of four English ships at Surat. But the Gouverneur and people continuing their wonted perfiditise, the one more careful of taking, the other of giving bribes, then paying our debts: we vied a strange policie to get some of them: for when we came to demand them at their houses, if they would pay vs monies, we would threaten not to depart till they paid vs. And we had heard it reported that the custome is, neither to eat nor waly, whiles we are in their houses. By this means we sometimes got little Fanos of one, one hundred of another: by no means would they endure vs to lie at their houses, except one, where we waited three dayes and nights, with three or foure Nayros: they had for their watch of them, but we could get nothing. The Nayro, whom the King had appointed to get in our debts, came to demand a gratuitie of vs, yet got in nothing: yet hee would go to the debtors houses and take three or foure Fanos of each, and then depart without the money.

The ninth of January, Master Needham came to demand a debt, a Nayro, as hee said, would not suffer him to talk and being put by with his hand shooke him; whereupon hee gave the Nayro a dangerous wound in the head, which it was thought hee would not recover; other *Moor* being hurt in taking his part. And word was presently brought to vs, to shut up our doores, lest the Nayros should attempt to doe vs some mischief (fours or kindred quarrels and murders being rare amongst them, without other law to right themselves.) Our Nayro with his kindred and guard him home, to the number of thirty, with pikes, and swords, and bucklers, in his defence, whom hee could not but gratifie. Our house was guarded three or foure nights and dayes, none of vs daring to go into the Towne for money or other buisines (which before we did very safely) for a week: and then our Broker would vs not to go without a Nayro, for that they had sworn the death of one of vs, in revenge of him that was killed.

The twentieth, the Portugall Armada of four and thirty shippes passed by from the South, whereof foureteen shippes, the rest Frigates: they put into the Harbour, where three Frigates lay at anchor: a hot fight followed, but the Portugals went away with disgrace, having only one of the Frigates halles, which drove ashore and broke in pieces, belonging to the Gouverneur, who was well killed, keeping in the country, and keeping foure or five great peeces, which were at his disposing, in the Towne, locked up, all five one: neither had they powder an shot for about two houre. Before the fight was ended, some four thousand Nayros were come downe; debtors were thine on both sides. Nine or ten Portugals were drunen ashore, and two or three of the chiefe prientlye hanged by the bodies two dayes, and then being taken downe, the night following were decoured by wilde beasts.

The eight and twentieth, a *Panama* told that the Gouverneur was friend to vs only in shew, wishing the Portugals in our room; for we did no good in the Country, but brought wares which they were forced to buy, whereas they could goe by trading.

The eight of February, we received Letters from Surat. The fourth of March, we received Letters from the King, wishing vs, if our ships came, to come with them to *Panama*, and for our monies not to trouble our shippers, for hee would pay vs, though hee sold his Rings.

September 23.
Hollanders at
Calicut.

December 20.

Strange policie, through the perfiditise.

January 9.
A dangerous fight.

Fight with the Portugals.

CHAP. II.

Notes taken out of the Journall of ALEXANDER CHILDS, from England to Surat, and thence to Ialques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which General TO SEM was slain.

June 13, 14, 15, 1666.



He thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1666. after our arrivall at *Saldan*, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with *Captaine Nuyper*, homewards bound. We found here good watering, but little refreshing elie, save fresh-fish for our sicke men: the *Blackes* brought vs nothing.

August 1.

Fight with the Portugall Carricke.

Captaine Beechings injury slain.

Captaine Pepwell succeded in place and fight.

Comers.

Captaine Pepwell, and others wounded, slayes slain.

The Carricke fired, rende more herof in Sur Thomas An.

Referring at Camra. September 14. Thomas Kerridge, who was now this June 1666, returned home.

The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called *Zookam* in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelve minutes.

The sixt, we descried a saile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from *Lisbone*. The *Globe* sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came vp to her, and the Carrick presently gaue her a whole broad side, shot diuers bootes thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall alee, and stand in with the Generall and the rest of the Fleet, shewing vs of the Portugall discourteisie. When our Generall came vp with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboard her to know of the Captaine, why he shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboard to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boatswaine aboard the Generall, who told him directly that he would not come aboard, nor giue satisfaction: who thereupon hauing sent his man aboard, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within leffe then an houre, an vnluckie shot came from the Carrick, and blew our worthy Generall. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put abroad a flagge of Council, where coming aboard, we found to our griefe his body mangled with a Culuerine shot, and himselfe suddenly departed.

We kept company with the Carricke till fixe the next morning, and it proved vnder the Land *Mozila*, calme, that we were forced to anchor by means of a pretie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. Iooke out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippes, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

The eight, about feuen in the morning, our Generall, Captaine *Pepwell*, seeing hee could not fetch her vp so soone as he desired, called to me, whose ship went better, and gaue mee leave to haue the first onne. I came vp and gaue him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the Generall came vp, and I gaue place; the Vice-Admirall also and the *Globe* one after another; and thus we fought all day. Betwene three and foure in the afternoon, his maine mast fell on-board, and presently his Fore-top mast followed: at five we gaue him ouer within half then a league of the shore, (being a Lead-shoare, and a great shoale). The Islands name is *Comora*, very deep to a hundred fathoms, within lesse then a Cables length of the Rocks, and no ground to stand on, and on all that night. The Generall was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe-decke, and *Richard Hounsell* the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and diuers others were hurt: I lost two men. The Generall in the evening sent Master *Coscock*, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if hee would yeeld, he should haue good quarter, and be sent to *Goa* in safety: his answer was, he neither would nor could: but if we could winne him with the sword, hee must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with vs, if wee tooke him. At twelue in the night hee was aground betwene two rocks very steepe, and set on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully we cannot tell.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master *Anthony Fugers*, my mate, ashore in my long Boat to see if any men were saved, and to take in some of them, to know how they came on fire: but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to bee seene. There were many *Blackes* of the Island on the land against the Carrick, and they put out a flagge of truce for my men to come ashore, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rocks being steepe, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

The tenth, we bore about the South-west part of the Island, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteene, called a Towne called *Mazuma*, the people promising Bees and all that the Island did afford: but we were faine of our hopes, till at last with much labour we bought nine Bees, some Goats, Henms, Lemons, Plantains and Coco-nuts: and I perceived my life they are very treacherous.

The foure and twentieth of September, we playd vp to *Sandly* Reale, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboard the Generall, the principall Factors name was *Thomas Kerridge*.

The Voyage to Ialques.

The fifth of November, I went ouer the Barre of *Sandly*, bound for *Ialques* in *Persia*. The tenth, the Island of *Dia* did bare North from vs three leagues distant. The eleuenth, latitude twentye degr. twelve min. I left my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to haue spoken with a Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and feuen or eight in the Pinnasse were with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to fougat them.

The two and twentieth, we were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, variation eighteen degrees from North to West. This day we saw the Land of *Gondel* North and East, nine or ten leagues distant. When you are within five leagues of the shore, you shall see the Cliftes whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, we were off a ragged mouly Land, called by the Portugals *Sete Sahages*, by vs the feuen Cities, shewing like feuen Cities, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyeth West North-west from Cape *Gondel* fixe and twenty leagues, you may see it fourteene or ffteene leagues off, like Islands, and may runne within a league of the shore, in ten or twentie fathoms, within a mile lost Ozie ground without danger: Variation eighteen degrees, I found no Current out or in.

On the feuen and twentieth, latitude fixe and twenty degrees, two minutes variation eighteen degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the *Persian* shore, hauing been put out on the Coast of *Arabia*, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine diuers dayes: and on the second at night, we anchored five or fixe leagues to the West of *Ialques*, in two and twenty fathome Ozie ground.

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape about a league, and anchored in eleven fathome Ozie ground.

The fourth, I sent my Justice with the Frigate and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discouer the Roale of *Ialques*; but before hee came ashore, the Gouernour of the place, seeing vs lye off and in with the shore, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboard with her. After some conference, wee sent Master *Bell* ashore to the Gouernour, with his man and a *Gosarat*, to his Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Prelent, to found what welcome: I kept two of my men for a pawne.

The fifth, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shore, and anchored within a league of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no streame, but it flows a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a *Paged* or *Merike* on it, and the Fisher-rowne did bare North-east, in latitude fixe and twenty degrees, fixe and thirte minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Dia* ten degrees, foure minutes West, and the Variation nineteene degrees, twen minutes, from North to West. M. *Bell* returned with two of the Gouernours Souldiers, commending his entertainment, and promised welcome to vs.

The eight, M. *Coscock* our Cape Merchant went ashore, with M. *Barker*, and two other Factors, and returned at night with fewe newes.

The tenth, the Purser bought vs foure Bees and Goates, not fat at that time of the yeere, but such as gaue vs content.

The tenth, our Merchants went ashore with their baggage, for their journey to *Mogustan*, *Mogustan*, and on the twelfth tooke their way thither.

The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought it downe, haue foure shillings *English* money the tunne: it was raine-water (for they haue neither it raines but little in December, but in January it will raine fixe or seuen dayes together, that it fills all their Cliftes and places of prouision for the whole yeere following. I take it not whollye being full of small wormes, that we were faine to straine our beuorage.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them vnreasonable. I sent the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is the worstest place for fish in all the Indies. They laded eighteen or twentie tunne of Ballast.

On the nineteenth, we received a Letter from M. *Coscock*, that hee was on his way to *Mogustan*, of their peaceable trauell.

The first of January I received a Letter from M. *Coscock*, that hee was on his way to *Mogustan*, of their peaceable trauell. The first of January I received a Letter from M. *Coscock*, that hee was on his way to *Mogustan*, of their peaceable trauell. The first of January I received a Letter from M. *Coscock*, that hee was on his way to *Mogustan*, of their peaceable trauell.

CHAP. II.

Notes taken out of the Journall of ALEXANDER CHILDS, from England to Surat, and thence to Iaquies in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which General I O S E P H was slain.

June 13: 14, 15, 16.

August 1.

Fight with the Portugall Carricke.

Captaine Ben jamin's ship slain.

Captaine Pepwell succeded in place and fight.

Comra.

Captaine Pepwell, and others wounded, die with slane.

The Carricke fired, rende muche heere in Sue Thomas Bay.

Refusing at Comra, September 14. Thowm Kerridge becom now this June 1623. returned home:

IHe thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1616. after our arrivall at *Soldania*, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with Captaine *Newport*, homewards bound. We found here good watering, but little refreshing elc, save fresh-fish for our sicke men: the *Blacks* brought vs nothing.

The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called *Boobam* in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelue minutes.

The fixt, we defied a faile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from *Lisbone*, The *Globe* sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came vp to her, and the Carrick presently gaue her a whole broad side, shot duers shoots thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall astern, and stand in with the General and the rest of the Fleet, shewing vs of the Portugall discomfite. When our General came vp with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboard her to know of the Captaine, why he shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboard to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boat waine aboard the General, who told him directly that he would not come aboard, nor giue satisfaction: who thereupon having sent his man aboard, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within lesse then an houre, an vnluckie shot came from the Carrick, and slew our worthy General. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put ayroard a flage of Council, where coming aboard, we found to our griefe his body mangled with a Culuerine shot, and him selfe suddenly departed.

We kept company with the Carricke till sixe the next morning, and it proued vnder the *L. land Mopila*, calme, that we were forced to anchor by means of a prettie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. I took out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippes, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

The eight, about seuen in the morning, our General, Captaine *Pepwell*, seeing hee could not fetch her vp so loone as he desired, called to me, whole ship went better, and gaue mee leave to haue the first onfer. I came vp and gaue him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the General came vp, and I gaue place; the Vice-Admirall also and the *Globe* one after another, and thus we fought all day. Betwene three and foure in the afternoon, his maine mast fell vpon-board, and presently his Fore-top-mast followed: at five we gaue him our within life then a tongue of the fire, being a Lee-shoore, and a great fire. The Islands name is *Comra*, very flesse to our handred latitude, within lesse then a Cabell length of the Rocks, and no ground: so we stood off and on all that night. The General was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe decke, and *Richard Housfield* the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and duers others were hurt: I lost two men. The General in the evening sent Master *Concock*, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if he would yeild, he should haue good quarters, and be sent to *Goa* in safetie: his answer was, neither would nor could; but if we could winne him with the sword, he must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with vs, if we took him. At twelue in the night there was a ground betwene two rocks very flesse, and lee on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully we cannot tell.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master *Anthony Fugers*, my mate, aloft in my long Boat to see if any men were landed, and to take in some of them, to know how they came on fire; but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to be seene. There were many *Blacks* of the Island on the land against the Carrick, and they put a flage of truce for my men to come ashore, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rocks being flesse, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

The tenth, we bare about the South-west part of the Island, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteen, against a Towne called *Mosamora*, the people promising Bees and all that the Island did afford; but we were fustice of our hope, till at last with much noise we bought nine Bees, some Goats, Hennes, Lemons, Plantains and Coco-nuts: and I eriwade my kilt they are very treacherous.

The foure and twentieth of September, we plyed vp to *Smally Roal*, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboard the General, the principall Factors name was *Thomas Kerridge*.

The Voyage to Iaquies.

THe fifth of Nouember, I went ouer the Barre of *Smally*, bound for *Iaquies* in *Persia*. The tenth, the Island of *Diu* did beare North from vs three leagues distant. The eleuenth, latitude twentie degr. twelue min. I sent my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to haue spoken with a Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and seuen or eight in the Pinnasse were hurt with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to fauour them.

The two and twentieth, we were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, variation eighteene degrees from North to West. This day we saw the end of *Gondal* North and East, nine or ten leagues distant. When you are within five leagues of the shoare, you shall see the Clifts whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twenty degrees, seven and forty minutes, we were off a ragged mouly Land, called by the Portugals *Sete Senhoys*, by vs the seuen Cities, shewing like seuen Castles, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyceth West North-west from Cape *Gondal* sixe and twenty leagues, you may see it foureene or fiftene leagues off, like Islands, and may runne within a league of the shoare, in ten or twentie fathomes, within a mile-fift Ozie ground without danger: Variation eighteene degrees, I found no current or in.

On the seuen and twentieth, latitude five and twenty degrees, two minutes variation eighteene degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the *Persian* shoare, having been put ouer the Coast of *Arabia*, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine three dayes: and on the second at night, we anchored five or sixe leagues to the West of *Iaquies*, in two and twenty fathome Ozie ground.

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape about a league, and anchored in eleven fathome Ozie ground.

At foure, I sent my chiefe Mate with the Frigate and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discover the Road of *Iaquies*; before they came ashore, the Governour of the place, seeing vs lyve off and in with the shoare, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboard with her. After some conference, we sent Master *Bell* ashore to the Governour, with his man and a *Guseerat*, to his Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Present, to found what welcome: I kept two of their men for a pawne.

The fift, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shoare, and anchored within a league of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no strame, but it flows a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a *Pagod* or *Meiske* on it, and the Fisher-towne did beare North-east, in latitude five and twenty degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of *Diu* ten degrees, fortie minutes West, and the Variation nineteene degrees, twen y minutes, from North to West, M. *Bel* returned with two of the Governours Souldiers, commanding his mercenryment, and promised welcome to vs.

The eight, M. *Concock* our Cape Merchant went ashore, with M. *Barker*, and two other Factors, and returned at night with like newes.

The eleuenth, the Purser bought vs foure Bees and Goates, not far at that time of the yeere; but such as gaue vs content.

The tenth, our Merchants went ashore with their baggage, for their journey to *Mogastan*, *Mogastan*, and on the twelfth tooke their way thither.

The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought it downe, had after foure shillings *Englysh*-money the tunne: it was raine-water: (for they haue noother) it rained but little in December, but in January will raine fixe or seuen dayes together, that it kills all their Children and places of prouision for the whole yeere following. I take it not wholefome being full of small wormes, that we were faine to faine our housewage.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them vnreasonable. I sent the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is the worst place for fish in all the *Indes*. They laid eighteene or twentie tunne of Ballast.

On the nineteent, we receiued a Letter from M. *Concock*, halfe on-ward of his way to *Mogastan*, of their peaceable trauell.

The first of January I receiue a Letter from *Iaquies*, which came from our Merchants, & made vs glad. On the fifth, M. *Concock* would haue had me gone with the ship to a place called *Cosfate* within seuen leagues ouer against *Ormus*, where I was looth to yeild, being out of season of the yeere. The next day they called of Planting the ship to *Streck*; but I was the same man. The Merchants reported that they hoped it would be a good place of Trade, and in time, as good as any in *India*. The Pilot confessed it was dangerous then to carry the ship to *Streck*; it was too foule, stormie,

stormie, and a lee shoare, the sea high, anchorage vnfore, and Master *Cornack* seeing the storme we there abode, fo extreme, altered his mind, and speeded to land the goods at *Laques*.

The twentieth, I set saile from the Road of *Laques*: and the eight of February, at ten of the clocke, wee anchored in *Swaby Road*.

CHAP. III.

A Letter of Master THOMAS SPURWAY Merchant, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders (the former vnkind disputes and bragging quarrels breaking now out into a furious, unexpected, insinuous warre) Written in a Letter to the Company.

Laus Deo in Bantam, the twentieth of November, 1617.

Honorable and right worshipfull, my humble dutie alwayes remembered. And may it please you to understand, &c.

The beginning of this Letter was come, and therefore as this, in this, a little imperfect, but what is here defective, hereafter you shall find supplied in Master *Nathaniel Corbush* relation with the continuance of the *Bandan* affairs, and Dutch insolencies, in him, Master *Hans* and others. Thus I thought good to premise, as in case preceding the fight in the ensuing Voyages mentioned.

The King of *Moccafior*, and all the Kings therabouts mortal enemies to the *Flemings*.

Now, my friend, the Hollanders land at *Moccafior*.

The King of *Moccafior* with two thousand men.

The *English* procure this bit of the *Hollanders*.

The *Hollanders* attempted to land againe at *Moccafior*, when this *Dutch* resistance interposed, flew them off, being sixe.

The *English* courteous to the *Hollanders*, going towards *Banda*.

His nineteenth of November, 1616. wee arrived at *Moccafior*, the *Swan* and the *Defence*, where we stayed to take in one hundred quoyenes of Rice. In the time of our being there, and the fourth of December, we differed off at sea, a great ship, and coming at an anchor five leagues off. The first *dutch*, they sent their skiffe aloare, making directly to the *English* house, having eight men in her, which, as soone as we perceived, we ran to the sea side, and before we could come to them, two of their men were landed; so we acquainted them with the danger they were runne into, so that the King of *Moccafior*, and all the Kings thereabouts, were their mortal enemies, in regard of the many abuses their people the *Hollanders* had done vnto them, and that the *Hollanders* had carried away a principall *Sabander*, and others of *Moccafior* perforce, and therefore would be reuenged; also acquainted them, that if the King were not the more mercifull, they were all dead men: so they would presently haue gone into their skiffe. But the *Moccafior* sticking about vs, layed hands on them; I presently, the Factor, and other *English* rode post vnto the King, acquainting him what had happened, wee hauing a Guard of *English* nere the *Hollanders* for our better discharge, that the King might not con- 30 cence amiss of vs, and that we were not accellarie to any treacherie that they might pretend. The King gaue vs thanks, and willed vs to take it eke two men which were come on land, into the *English* house, and to learne of them their intent in coming thither, which we did. They said they were of the Fleet lately from *Holland*, hauing lost the rest of their conforts, and fell with the backside of *Iava*: The one called *Iohn Swan* by name, as hee reported; The other an *English* man a *Sayler*: who perceiving the great danger they were in, desired vs most earnestly, that we would hand their friends, and get them free againe, bewayling their hard 40 happe; we promised to doe our best for their good, and so to be gone. Presently comes the King of *Moccafior*, the King of *Talaw*, and diuers others, to the number of two thousand men presently leuised, and came by the sea side vpon the lands, and vnto in counsell vpon these men: the King of *Talaw* would haue had them all killed, but wee fled our best means for their freedom. As last command was giuen, they should into their boat and be gone, the King liuing, they were too small a reuenge, he expecting a greater, so they departed into their ship. They had all bene presently killed, if we had not bene.

The next day, wee perceived another boat comming towards land from the same ship; the King hauing notice thereof by his people, presently commanded twentie *Praues* and *Correcores* to be manned, and to go forth, which was on an instant effected, and made towards the *Hollanders* boat, the *Hollanders* still rowing in for the shoare, and directly to the *English* house: the *Praues* and the *Correcores* still elyng nere the boat, betwene the shoare and them. The *Hollanders* perceiving their intent, turned their boat, and made toward their ship againe, being foure leagues off, but it was too late, for the *Moccafior* in short time had scatched them vp, and boarded their boat on each side, emred, and instantly killed eury man of the *Hollanders*, being in number sixteene, and brought away their boat: we were that time commanded to keepe house. There were about that time nere five thousand people on the sea side. This *Holland*-ship called the *Indringher*, imagining vs bound for the *Moluccas*, or *Banda*, layed off at sea.

We set saile out of *Moccafior* Road the eighth of December, 1616. The said *Holland*-ship seeing vs vnder saile, they also weighed and kept vs companie: wee would gladly haue gone from them, but could not, in regard of the *Defence* her bad sayling. They sent their boat aboard of vs, desiring two quoyenes of Rice, foure tunnes of water and hennes, all which we presented them.

them, paying enely fortie Rials of eight for two quoyenes of Rice: the rest wee gaue vnto them. Wee demanded of them why they would attempt to come to land at *Moccafior*, they said that their first boat was not then returned vnto their ship, so they thought their skiffe had still bene there: but I verily beleue, it was their obdurate boldnes, and presuming that their first boat was denied only vpon the instigation of vs the *English*, whereto they would make trial againe, purposing to haue flattered the King, and to haue come there againe, and to haue scatched a *Factorie*, and so to haue hindered the *English*: for it is a manifest token of such a project, both of their boats comming by our ships, and within Musket shot, yet would not come aboard to inquire what newes on shoare, as they went on shoareward, which if they had, wee could haue fore-warned them of that danger. So now their obstinate and rash proceedings purchased them a iust reward, &c. They kept vs companie vntill wee came nere *Ambona*, and so stood in for that place, wee standing our course. Now, since wee vnderstand that they haue reported that that wee were the occasion that their men were killed at *Moccafior*, which is most false: for, I protest, wee used our best means to free them, the first eight men had dle also died.

The thirteenth of December, 1616. the *Swan* and *Defence* arrived in the Road of *Polarone*. The fourteenth *dutch*, the people of the said land came aboard the ships with whom we had conference about the surrendring of their land of *Polarone*. Also our Nation had many times bene at their land to our great charges, and partly vpon their requests, to settle a *Factorie*, and to haue friendly trade with them in bringing them commodities, as Rice, Cloth, and other provisions for their Spices, and that we desired not to vnrise, and bring them in suaction, or bondage, as the *Hollanders*, and other Nations haue formerly; and that wee now came to settle a *factorie*, if they would surrender their lands of *Polarone*, vnto our Kings Maiestie of *England* by writing: also by deliuering vnto them, with a tree and fruits of the said land, as tokens of their fidelitie, and in eury yeare a nut-tree in remembrance, and in so doing, wee would furnish them with Rice, Cloth, and other commodities, for present and also yearly. And being settled on the said land of *Polarone*, sufficient supplies should come eury yeare in better manner then now at present, and that we would to the vttermost of our powers, with our men and shippes, defend them against any their enemies, if they came to doe vs or them wrong. Wee also demanded of them, whether they had made any contract with the *Hollanders*, and giuen them any surrender; they all replied, they had not, nor neuer would: but held them as mortal enemies, confessing and auerring vnto vs (both *Polarone* men and diuers of the principals, which once liued vpon *Polarone* and fled to *Polarone* vpon the *Hollanders* comming there, and getting it by force of Armes). They also said still auerre, and doe maintain the land of *Polarone* to belong vnto our Kings Maiestie of *England*, by a lawfull iudgement vnto *Richard Hues*, before the *Hollanders* came into the Road, and called the *English* Colours to be set vp in the Castle, which the *Hollanders* shot downe seuerall times, and vied many disgracefull words of his Maiestie. This the *Bandan* deserue doe still confirme, and that they defend it, as long as possibly they could, to his Maiesties vie, vntill perforce they must leaue the said land, and so fled to *Polarone*, *Lantor*, and *Serran*.

This Council continued all the day, and so concluded: the writings being drawne and confirmed by the principals of *Polarone* and *Palamay*, and so deliuered by their owne hands vnto vs, viz. *Nathaniel Corbush*, *Thomas Spurway*, and *Sophom Cowley*, to his Maiesties vie. Also the same instant deliuered vs a Nutmeg-tree with the fruits thereof in the Earth with other fruits, and a living Goat: and further, desired to haue the *English* Colours set vp vpon the land, and to haue Gunnes shot off. All which was presently effected, the Colours set vp, and fixe and thirtie pieces of Ordnance shot off: and so at night they parted in friendly manner, repaying to the shoare.

The five and twentieth of December being Christmas day, we discouered two great *Holland* ships elyng nere *Polarone*. They discouering our ships in the Road bore come for *Nero*; and the six and twentieth another did the like. The eight and twentieth, another *Holland* Pinnace standing right out for *Polarone*, came brauing within shot of our Fort, hauing the *Flemish* Colours on the peope, and presently tacked about, and taking them downe, sets vp in leu thereof a bloudie Ancient, and stands out for *Nero*. By this we expected their comming daily, according to their old custome of insulting vs. On the thirtieth, we landed four *Praues* of Ordnance, besides reuoluer on Christmas day, and went to worke to fortifie for our defence. And with the helpe of the *Bandan* deserue we made two Forts, one called the *Swan*-Fort, the other the *Defence*-Fort, and mounted on each three *Praues*. The *Swan*s Fort is a principall Caluist shot of the ships, commands the Road at pleasure to the Eastern side, where the *Holland* ship is for the Westly Monson.

The third of Ianuarie there came into the Road three *Holland* ships from *Nero*, the *Horne*, of eight hundred tunnes; the *Starre*, five hundred; the *Tanger*, one hundred and sixtie: which came to anchor close by our ships; the *Horne* by the *Swan*, the *Starre* by the *Defence*, the *Tanger* a head of all to cut off supplye from the shoare; all these ships full of men, &c.

The *Hollanders* stander vs.

Surrender of *Polarone*. For their obligation of the *English* to this trade, (i.e. *Milward*), also *Capp. Kreeke*, *Nide*, *distant*, &c.

The men of *Polarone* and *Palamay* protest that they had no would make contact with the *Hollanders*. *Palamay* was chained out to the *English* by the *Hollanders* came into their road. The *Defence* shot of sixe haue the *English* Colours set vp. *Hollanders* insulate *Polarone* with *bandos* and *bandis* Ancient.

The *English* fortifie.

Holland ships approach to our ships at *Polarone*.

Now

The Hollander.
could make no
claim to Pa-
larone.

The *Hollanders*
came to beate
vs out of the
Road.

The Hallanders
send a Pinnasse
to sound the
depth by Pola-
rouse, and to
innsure vs.

John Davies in the Swan would go out of the Road to fetch water.

All this time the Glaffe running in the great Cabin before their faces, put them in mind of being gone. We also told them that; their coming was only to betray vs, and to put vs from the Iland by their treacherie, which our Nation hath diuers times had experience of: wherefore we neither could nor would trust them any more; and to put them in mind of being gone, for the Glaffe tides times run, they must expect (thor from the shore) and if in case the tide should fly, and did thote vnto the Land, or shewed any discourteisie or wrong vnto the people of *Palamou*, we would take it as done to vs, and would defend them being now become our Kings Liefties. They would have flayd vntill the next day, but we would not grant it, doubting that more of their Shps might haue come out. They then desired till mid-night, which we granted if they might see them about to way their Anchors: and that we would fend vnto the shore and perfwade the *Bandages* to forbear. Also I demanded of *Didall* the cause of their coming to molest vs, who answered, I had beene formerly a cutome in sailing by the Iland. I told him that was vntruth, for that the people of the Iland had reported vnto vs, that there was neuer a ny Christian ship in the Road till we came, and that we were the first. So he was silent and would not mantaine his report. They came into the Road about three of the clocke in the afternoon, and departed thence about eleven at night. We haue beente since informed that they came purposefully to betray vs, and to haue beaten vs out of the Road, or to haue taken our ships; and had giuen the attempt, but that they perceiued we were fortified on the Land. If they had then begun, we doubt not but to haue made our parties good with them. For we had both Forts ready, and our Gunners ready to giue fire vpon our watchword or signe from the ships.

The tenth of January, a *Holland Ship* and *Pinnace* came forth from *Nero*: the *Pinnace* came edging neerer the small land or high fand adjoining to *Polarooene*, called *Nylucke*, belonging vnto *Polarooene*, and consequently to the *Englyb*. There are no Inhabitants vpon the said land or fand, but it is full of Trees and Buthes, and *Polarooene* men resort thither daily to fish about the said small land. Now the said *Pinnace* came neerer the said land and did found the depth as foure fathoms, and then the *Englyb* came neerer, and the *Pinnace* did not seeme to strike her, but shot twice, giuing them notice to forbear and be gone. The *Pinnace* at that shot replied with a *Bale*, or some such like peece, vnto the small land amongst the Trees, where there were some *Englyb* and some *Buradene* of *Polarooene*, which were in danger of their shot. And seeing they braued vs in such manner, the Gunner was bid to doe his best, who then made a shot, which fell close ouer them at the Sterne of their *Pinnace* or Frigate, which made them creepe out and presently get off. They were *Hollanders*, and seemed men which came to our knowledge, and were sent by the *Englyb*, purposing to come with their forces, and there to fortifie and fortify vs from their strand.

January the thirteenth, Master *Dauy* complaining he wanted water, and purposing to go out for *Wagye* upon *Lutone* side there to water, we acquainted the people of *Lutone* herewith, who would by no means consent lest should go out of the Road: neither would we, doubting some iniurie from the *Hollanders*. And the people of *Lutone* told vs, that they would rather fetch them water over upon *Lutone* with their Praves. I went presently aboard, and acquainted Master *Dauy* herewith, but *He* and the *Companie* would not yeeld therunto, and broke all in general againe it, and said, that the *Banckes* were low. I bring them rain water, or such as might be vniuolome for his men to drinke: I saye, it was but fixe or eight dayes time.

CHAP. 3. *Places surrendered to his Majesty. The Swari basely taken.*

The same time therefore came ouer vnto vs from *Wayre*, a free Towne vpon *Lanore*, alio from the Ile of *Refuiging* (an Iland of it felde) the Principalls of both those places, to haue partly with vs, to surrender both the said *Wayre* and *Refuiging* vnto his Maieitie, as the people of *Polaroune* had lately done. Now, the surrender of both those places being drawne, and all concluded vpon at *Polaroune*, they desired that some *English* might goe to seeke out the said *Wayre*, and *Refuiging*, and to take possession of them. Forasmuch as the said *Malter* *Dunham* resolution being to goe hands, and to fet all right in the said *Wayre* and *Refuiging* vnto his Maieitie, and to haue the said *Malter* *Dunham*, should goe for *Wayre* and *Refuiging* in the *Swan*, to performe the said business, oricet done, and the *Swan* there to water; after which dispatched, it was ordered that *Malter* *Sophister* should reurne againe in the *Swan*, and the other three should reayne vpon the said Iland of *Refuiging* for possession, till further order. All buttaine being there ended, came the said *Malter* *Dunham* to the said *Wayre*, and *Refuiging*, and to tell the *Spices* to vs for Rice and Cloth. All being granted, he shew'd vs of the medicines with *Nuts* and *Maice*, a great quantitie.

they snipped *Gwlad* and she went for *Gwladiga*, being but a little way from *Wre*, as I understand, and there watered; after which they feasted and eight leagues off *Wre*, a *Holland* ship or two gave them chase; which they in the Swan perceiving, asked the Malfert what he meant to do, thinking that he purposed to fight with them. Malfert *Dau* answered; they flew his colours and I see them, I know him to be a *Hollander*, they me to be an *Engliſhman*; I know no *Hollander* I have done them, and I stand for my Port of *Polarone*. And in short time, the *Holland* ship the *Terre*, being come within shot, never held the *Swan*, nor paid word of their intent, but let the great shot and small in most violent manner; the *Swan* having received two or three great shot thorow and thorow, before she was repuried, and the *Holland* ship killed three of her men, she continued, as Malfert *Dau* writes, on her side, till she was beaten in pieces with a great shot; Robert *Adrien*, quarter *St. Sephorus*, and *Nick*, quarter *St. Andrew*, were killed; and the *Swan* was quartered by the *Christifer Drowe*, *Edward Murrisk*, and a *Bandesie* of *Woyre*, a passenger ship. Three others were maimed, haue lost Legs and Armes, and almost all hope of life, and not dead already: More, eight men wounded, most of their wounds deadly. And in this their cruelty, a villaine of the *Starre* standing upon the *Poupe* with a drawne Sword, braved with

[illegible]

We went off in three ships; the *Swan*, which was commanded by Sir William Brouncker, knight, Treasurer of England; the company were left in *Polestone* to defend the Ports, two of which were Guernsey, viz. *Herman Hammon*, and *Iohn Day*. The *Swan* being taken they carried her proudly vnder *Nero Caffle* and all the men, there being much battered and torne; they much glorying in their victorie, and shewing the *Baner* of Englande; and thus they returned home againe, where they landed at *Weymouth*; they showed their exploit, in the great disgrace of the *Englysh*, what they could say, that the King of *England* might not compare with their great King of *Holland*, and that one *Holland ship* would take of the *Englysh ships*, and that *Saint George* is now turned child, and that they care not for the King of *England*.

The *Swan* being brought to *Nero*, they presently sent our men on shore and keep them as prisoners, many of them in yrons, neither Man nor Boy having libertie. The *Swan* left saile from *Pelonaire* the sixteenth of Ianuarie, 1616. we expecting her returne in eight or ten dayes furthet; but neuer heard of her till the five and twentieth of Februarie by *Robert Fuller*, who being at *Rojingand* and *Wayre*, heard of an *English* ship vnder *Nero* Castle, and came ouer to *Pelonaire* to acquaint vs herewith.

[illegible]

The Ile of Re-
sing and
Town of Weyre
desire to sur-
render them-
selves, and to
have some go
to take the
same surren-
der.

The Swen and
four Merchants
goe to *Refuge*,
and take the
surrender.
The people of
Refuge and
Wife goe with
goods to the
Swan.
The *Starre*
takes the *Swan*,
slaying five
men vsing
cruell violence,
and preud in-
sultation.

e Egregiam vero
laudant!

The surrender of Polaroone was taken in the Swan, so we procured another *atibax* from the Polaroone men which I have brought with the Surrender of Rejeng, and delivered both at Bantam &c.

A Messenger
sent to know
why they took
our ship. Their
horrid visage on
him.

th Their vaults
ne and the case,

The poore ship there lay rent and torne in view of the Countrey people. In short time after, they sent our vnto vs a Messenger with a Letter, which we answered, as we did others after sent, their Messenger still coming with a Flagge of Truce, all which said Letters and Surrenders I brought with me to *Bantam* and delivered to *Captayne Ball*.

Reports that the Hollanders were preparing things against *Polarone*.

Hollanders practise to fire the Ship Defence.

Hollanders threaten that we should have no Spice from this Island.

Our people forsake *Polarone*.

Nine men were away in the Defence vnto the Hollanders:

John Cornelius
Boascons made
John Owers
William Carter
Richard Taylor
Edward Bridges
John Harris
Will. Rockwell
Hugh Woodcock

The Hollanders encouraged by the Villains that run away.

The people of *Lantore* will not accord with the Hollanders.

Now we were still threatened by their Letters, as also by word of mouth from their Messenger, that as they had the *Swan*, so would they also come to fetch the Defence, and drive vs from the Island. We still answered, that we expected their coming in regard they had so often threatened vs, and that we would defend it as long as life lasted. Many brauado's they made, daily shooting at *Nero* and *Polarone*, fortie, fittie and hixtie pieces of Ordnance, thinking to smite and shupping *Plankes* and *Earth*, which we imagined was for Land service, hauing then *ships*, *four Gallies* and *Frigates*, and many men: and that they pretended to come over to fight with vs. And that they had ingatiged their *Blackes* (which are *Slaues*) that if they could by any means goe out to *Polarone*, and there let on fire the Defence, they should be Free-men, as also some other reward they should haue. Also the Hollanders reported, that we should carry no Spices from the Island, or any the Islands of *Banda*. Hereupon we considered, that hauing made a contract with the people of *Polarone*, *Wayre* and *Refusing*, and had trusted our goods vnto them: Also a good quantitie of Nuts and Mace being ready to dispatch away, lying ready vpon *Polarone*. The Hollanders threatening to come ouer and force vs from the said Island of *Polarone*, and to take the Defence: Hereupon we resolved, to maintayne the Honour of our King, and good of the honourable Companie our employers; to land all the gunnes out of the Defence, and all provisions etc, and to fortifie vpon the small Island adjoining vnto *Polarone*, there being no people on the small Island, but full of Trees and Bushes. And there the Hollanders purchased the Land and done vs much iniurie, for that the people also of the Island *Polarone*, could not haue filled as they were accustomed, neither could the *English* haue come into the Road, but that they on the small Island would haue beaten them off. And to prevent all dangers, we landed all the Defence Ordnance (onely four great peeces, and some Breast and two Butts of Syder, also a Tercer of wine) and were all fortifying vpon the said small Island, with the helpe of the *Bandaesers*.

The Master of the Defence, Master *Hynley*, being also on the small Island, and all men else at worke, and landing things, some men being left aboard the said Defence to keepe the Ship, a Ship drave, or cut the Cables, and the same night the twentieth of March, 1616. either they let the Island, presently sent a Boate after them; adding then to returne with the said Ship: but those Villaines would not heare them, neither suffer the Boate to come nere them, but betwixt their peeces against them, and discharged a Musket shot at them. They being not able to ouer-come them, forsooke the said Ship and came backe vnto vs at the small Island, acquainting vs what had passed. The next day we perceived they run into *Nero Road*, vnder saile, and vnder the command of *Nero Castle*; some of the men went presently, as we vnderstand, on shoare, and 40 meeting with the Hollanders, reported vnto them of their exploit, and contending amongst themselves who should be the best Pilot in conducting the Ship thither; one reporting it was I; and another, it was I: and as the Hollander Messenger reported vnto vs, afterwards coming ouer vnto vs, that they brought a kan of Wine ashore and dranke vnto the Hollanders, as if some as they came on shoare. Presently the Hollander tooke possession of the said Ship the Defence, and had all the Villaines into their Castle, and what passed amongst vs. Their Villaines took the course to cutt all our throats vpon *Polarone*; for the going away of the Ship broke a zealousie in the *Bandaesers*, that it was a pretended plot amongst vs to ioyne with the Hollanders, and so to betray them. Also their discouraging our weaknesse vpon *Polarone* might haue encouraged the Hollanders to haue attempted, that in which else they perchance would haue doubted of victorie. And indeed, many sharpe threats we had after the running away of these fellows, and expected daily their coming ouer; which had they come it would haue cost many mans life. For their hauing taken the *Swan*, and killed our men, abusing them with imprisonment and Letters, and all the disgrace that might bee, hath much hardened the hearts of the *English* against them.

The three and twentieth of March, 1616. we diffided away a Letter vnto the Hollanders at *Nero*, by *Robert Fuller*, who being landed vpon *Lantore*, the people of *Lantore* bring them in parley with the Hollanders, about a Factory, that the Hollander desired vpon *Lantore*, and also would build a Fort there, but the people of *Lantore* would not grant it. This time our Messenger could not passe, but desired to stay three or four dayes with kind words from the *Lantore* people, to our Messenger returned. The effect, to demand the Defence, Men and Goods.

The five and twentieth day, a Messenger came ouer vnto vs from *Laurence Ryall*, principall Generall, being newly come to *Nero* from the *Melucues*, vnderstanding what had passed, desired

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ring to haue parley with vs, and would haue Master *Corbop* and my selfe to come in a Prow, and two of his principall Merchants should doe the like, and so to meete each other halfe way betwixt *Polarone* and *Polarone*, to parley. But we refused their demand, doubting the treachery, for they might haue men lie secret, and so carry vs away perforce.

Also the same time, and by the Hollander Messenger, we received a Letter from Master *Dauy* being prisoner at *Nero*. The effect, disliking of what we had done and still did maintayne, in keeping the said Island of *Polarone*, and that our commision could not warrant what we had done, and aduising vs to haue parley with the Generall, *Laurence Ryall*, and to come to some agreement that no more blood might be spilt. All which he hath written, I conceiue, was to the indignation of the Hollander, possessing him with many vntruths, as herafter it plainly appeareth: the first and principall they had so wrought him in humouring him, and made him beleue that they had our Kings Maiesties Letters to take any *English* ships, if they found them to the Eastward of the *Selebes*, which newes made vs much to maruaile: and that if any such things were, we must obey it.

Hereupon we did write a Letter vnto *Laurence Ryall* Generall, by his Messenger, that if he would send our vnto vs two of his principall Merchants, *vis. Henrick de Waterford*, and *Peter Tongue*, and to land them vpon the small Island; and hauing receiued them into our charge, Master *Corbop* and one more to attend vpon him, would presently goe ouer, to their Mr. Messenger departed; and two dayes after, viz. the third of April, returned with this answer, The two Merchants, before named, which we desired for pledges could not come; the one gone to Sea in the *Horne*, the other his businesse such, being principall Booke-keeper, could not be spared. The said *Laurence Ryall* propounding two others lately come, and principall Merchants, called *Cornelius Neep* and *Hans Rogers*. We returned the said Messenger, accepting them: And the first of April their Gallie came ouer vnto vs and brought these two men. Presently receiued them into our charge, and a Tent being set vp nere the place where they landed, there lodged them, because they should not come nere our Forts to take any view how we were fortified, and placed a Guard of our souldiers about the Tent, two *English* men with small shot, and that they might rectifie no wrong of the *Bandaesers*. Presently Master *Corbop* went into their Gallie and went ouer to *Nero*, and arriued there nere night and was received; no more was passed that night but referred vntill next day: so the next day did discourse many oppositions on both sides, which I leave to relate because of the Letter of Master *Corbop*, which I brought from *Banda* and delivered vnto *Captayne Ball*, will certifie your Worthips at large. Only a little I will touch, Many threatening words they vsed, and spake of many abuses they had receiued by the *English*. Impresaria, that Sir *Henrick Middleton* did weare the Hollands colours in the Red Sea, in the Trade, and gaue out they were Hollanders. Master *Corbop* replied, that was an vntruth, for that hee came forth in the said Ship, and continued in her as long as free eigned, and neuer knew her to weare Hollands colours; and replied, That Sir *Henrick* was a Gentleman that much formed to weare the Hollands colours. Also reported, That they had the King of *England* Letters to take any *English* to the Eastward of the *Selebes*. So Master *Corbop* vsed them that he might see the same, and that if they could shew him that we would obey it and be gone, but they could shew no such Letter. Divers other things they alleged, but no truth; and many periuations to leaue the Island of *Polarone*, perswading him the great error we were run into in holding the same. All this while, Master *Dauy*, neither any the *English* were permitted to come nere Master *Corbop*. The Generall, *Laurence Ryall*, seeing hee could not preuaile and to haue his desire, grew much discontented, and threw his Hat on the ground, and pulled his Beard for anger: Master *Corbop* and vsing him, that hee could doe nothing of himselfe, but was toynd to a counsaile being Affinitas, and would relee what had passed when he came to *Polarone*, and that we would consider of it, and so to write our direct answer. Thus I aduised him to say, that he might get the more freely away: Also Master *Corbop* demanded the Defence, Men and Goods in their possession, but they would deliuer neither *Ships* nor Men except vpon composition. Thus being *Laurence Ryall* demand, that we would permit him to come with his Ships and Gallies vnto the small Island adjoining to *Polarone*, where our Castle is and twelve peeces of Ordnance, and there to land his Men and his Ordnance, and being possessed, would deliuer vnto the *Swan* and Defence, and all our Men; and for the goods, he would make restitution to all a penny. All this would not doe; then to conclude, Desired Master *Corbop* to set his hand vnto a Note which hee had drawne. The effect, That the said *Laurence Ryall* had made these proffers vnto vs; Master *Corbop* likewise refused and would not set his hand herunto.

Now, they had so wrought with Master *Dauy*, that they were perswaded that hee would perswade somewhat: he was sent for by the Generall, and admitted into the roome with Master *Corbop*. So Master *Corbop* and hee had much discourse, speaking of the Letter which they should haue, and was perswaded that it was true, and that we continued in great error. The Master *Corbop* acquainted him what had passed in discourse with *Laurence Ryall*, and what proffer we had made him, if he would then vs the said Letters: which Master *Dauy* perceiuing

Eccc a

Officers of partly knew one the Hollander's Generall and Fathers of *Polarone*.

John Dauld his indignment by information of the Hollander's.

Math. Corbop vpon pledges to satisfy with the Hollander's at *Nero*.

The Hollander's accuse one people of vntruths.

The Hollander's report that they haue our Kings Letters for taking of ships, &c. without truth.

The Hollander's desire to restore our ships; but vpon conditions to restore *Polarone*.

Laurence Ryall.

1108

The runaway in the D¹ face in many respects, worthe of death.

370. fukles of Mace shipped in a Junk w¹ eight English, which was lost by the negligence of one Stacie, who had charge of her.

Hollanders brags that they can make friends in Court, &c.

John Davis had 700. Rials of eight by him when he was taken; and further scarce.

Description of Polaroone, &c.

The profitable Trade.

way, and intreat them by faire means, like children, so little in their resolution regard they what may entice, caring for nothing so they may get free. The people of Polaroone perceiving a difference amongst vs, did murmur, taxing vs with our promises before mentioned: and that if the Defence and men went away, we could not resist the Hollanders: our morall enemies, whom we expected daily. And if they came and had the victorie, wee that should therefore maine, must expect none other but rigour on both sides. The People of Polaroone would have conceived that we betrayed them, and the Hollanders would have had no remorse, letting them flave a work to murder, wherein themselves would not have bene fene. And should they have ganyed either the great Island, or the small (as they might and would have done, had not the ship played) we had lost all, goods, debt, service of our Nation, without hope euer to bee to let her ride it out untill further opportunities. But in the meane time, and land all things: and away with the laid Defence, endangering all, and therefore worthe of death.

At my coming from Polaroone, it was concluded by vs, that another Praw should bee sent for Bantam for aduice, twentie dayes after our departure, doubting the Hollanders might have purloined and taken vs (as they did their best) and so all our proceedings had bene obscure. Accordingly a Praw was sent, and therein laden an hundred and seuentie fukles Mace. Accounting three thousand three hundred fukles Rice, at a Riall the Cate, each Cate five English and neere two ounces better. In the said Praw were eight English, and thirte Bandanjes: in charge committed to one Master Hinfley Mate in the Defence. But it kemetem his knowledge and care answered not our expectation: for neere the Island of Bantam, he ranne the Praw vpon the shoales, being rockie ground, and there he bled her, and lost all the Mace; the men got ashore. Stacie is put in fault by the rest of the company, for that some of them told him they saw land on the lee bowe, but he being preuail and headstrong, called them all fooles, not regarding it.

Also may it please your Worships to vnderstand, that the Hollanders hauing bene by some of our people, told of their vile abuses done vnto vs, and that it will lie heauie vpon them at home, being knowen, the better sort of them have replied, that they can make at good friends in the Court of England, as you (the Honourable Companie our Employers) can: and that this which they haue done, will cost you the Honourable Companie, and them to sayne, and that a chaine of gold will recompence all, and that they haue Rials enough in Holland to pay for a ship or two, so as they may hinder vs from the trade at Bantam.

All being considered, we hope, you the right Honourable and Worshipsfull, our Employers, will prize the blood of your seruants, by them murdered, maymed, and wounded, the rest all prisoners: all our damages, interests, and hinderances in the returne of ships and goods; all those poore mens periculous loiles, as also Master Coribop, my selfe, Sophonie Coeche, and George Mafshampe: wee all presuming what we had in the Swan to be as sure as on the shore, and now haue lost all: that they may better aduise themselves how they attempt the like againe. Likewise Master Davis told me many times, that if it pleased God to send him well home, he would come forth no more, finding himself decayed and weak in bodie, and that hee had fixe or seuen hundred Rials to employ, with which returne, and after his wages, hee should haue a competent living: all which money (as sure as I can learne) he had by him when hee was taken: now these croffes, I am periwinded, will kill him; or else, I doubt, they will make him away by poysoning him, that he shall n¹ use the English againe.

Now, for aduice as touching the trade at Banda, the Island of Polaroone is reported to be the worst Island, and is about eight English miles compass: and the small Island adioyning called Xelene, about one English mile compass. There is prettie store of Mace and Nuts growing vpon Polaroone, and more would be if it were well husbanded. Lantore and Refinging yeeld great store. Refinging is a fine land, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Polaroone, we cannot want Spice for our selves, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Lantore, we cannot want Spice for our selves, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Refinging, we cannot want Spice for our selves, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Banda, as currant as Rials of eight, and at the same rate, being worth at Bantam but two shillings foure pence, or two shillings fixe pence the piece, called Malle. Our Cargoon which we had was but small, hauing but one hundred quoyes of Rice, our Cloth at Mace for much decayed, lying there two or three yeeres. If we had had three times as much Cloth and Spices, we could haue sold it all for Nuts and Mace at Polaroone: and were intreated for Rice and Cloth by Lantore and Refinging men, and others; but had it not for them: and some returned with part of their Spices home againe. They come ouer to Polaroone with Prawes and Corcorries in the night. The Mace and Nuts were very good, but lying so long mult needs decay, by the many molestations of the Hollanders: we hauing no time, nor lime to make wherewith to preserve the Nuts. The Trade will proue profitable, if we may quietly enjoy the land, and we must buy Rice at a lower rate than at Macefor, it being by report at Lep¹ about half the price.

May

May it please your Worships to vnderstand, that after my arrivall at Bantam, the Steward of the Houle being at the Market to buy provisions, the Hollanders Steward there present quarelled with him, wherof (whiles they contended) notice was giuen at the Dutch Houle: and presently Tymon (the second Merchant) ran forth with twentie Japans, and Hollanders, and blakke to the Bazar or Market, running vpon our Steward with their drawne weapons, he hauing but two English all disarmed, enforcing them to thrust and gae way. Meane while Richard Hunt, chanced to come by and drew his sword, whom presently they assailed and gaue him three wounds, wherof he dyed within fiftene dayes after on the foure and twentieth of Iuly, 10 1617. Notice hereof being brought to the English house, we with our Japans ran forth and met with them, before they could recover their Houle, and wounded two Hollanders, wherof both dyed shortly after, also one of their Blakke then killed out-right, and one or two more of them were hurt; and so draue them home to their Houle. They gaue after that great words, that they would put vs all to the sword, and did lye in wait for our people with their Pistolls and Peeces, wherof wee had notice by the Lantani, and stood vpon our Guard night and day to reuenge them, if they had giuen any attempt on the Houle, or abroad.

Now concerning the Islands of Banda, and especially Polaway, Captaine Cofleton might haue made it kine vnto the English, as I haue heard reported by diuers: and the English haue still more right on that Island, both by Law and Iustice, then the Hollanders, although by force of Armes they put the English from it. The ease obtaining, and Captaine Cofleton denying the right and possession the English had there (as it is reported) emboldened the Hollanders to vie the violence at Polaroone. And except it bee supplied this yeere, the possession mainetained, the name of English is vtterly disgraced, and little hope of being recouered there againe: which if we should vntill your Worships haue refused what to doe herein, we shall in short time procure as much Nuts and Mace as they; which may in time procure an entrance into the Moluccas for Cloues. The Hollanders pretend they haue right vnto the Moluccas and Banda by the King of Ternate's Ionne, hauing him prisoner. But the Bandanjes denie any right the King of Ternate hath in their Lands, every Island being free of it selfe, and gouerned by Sabandors and Orentanias, generally appointed. Now it is meet that a supply be sent the Bandanjes and English, for Rice, Victuals and Cloth, and other necessities, to hold the possession, and bring away the Nuts and Spice there in readinesse, in Godmer. The Hollanders gae out that they will take you ships that shall gae into those parts and cut them off, so to famish both English and Bandanjes. So your Worships may charge them of all damage already done, and may expect to heare of further abuses from them. Wherefore it requirerh earnest and speedie protection, that wee may quietly trade without molestation vnto those parts, that haue furnished and desired Trade with vs: vico. Polaway, a Paradise by report (the Hollanders report it to bee as good vnto them, as Scotlan to his Maestie) Polaroone, Refinging and Wayre, Wayre being a Towne vpon Lantore. And if in case of necessity your Worships cannot agree for Polaway, yet if you may enjoy the three last, we shall procure Nuts and Mace enough for England, as also to transport both thence and hence for Sumar, and other places in the Indies. Now is the time or neerer vpon the vile abuse of bloodshed and murder committed by the Hollanders. And for the Trade here, it will proue very profitable, I make no doubt. What hath passed formerly I doubt not, but Captaine Jordan hath certified at large; what time, my selfe. It is requisite that I should relate the particulars of all Occurrences, in respect the businesse is of so great importance. Here is bound home for England the Charles and Hope, I pray God send them well at London. I haue sent your Worships a bricfe abstract of our Cargoon for Banda, and sales there made. If I seeme tedious, I humbly craue pardon: with my humble dutie I end, beseeching the Almighty to prosper and giue good successe to all your desires: humbly taking leave.

Your Worships most humble servant in all dutie,

THOMAS SPURWAY.

Endorfel. To the Honourable and Right Worshipsfull Companie of the Merchants of London, Trading to the East Indies, these be deliuered.

By Captaine Henrie Pepwell, whom God preserve.

A land quarrel at Bantam with the Hollanders. A very times.

Our right by Law and Equity vnto Polaway.

* In the quarrels first moved between Capt. Keding and them, they neuer make such Title, but pretended agreement, and intended and extended force. See above page 202, their own Articles of their rights.

CHAP. IIII.

Relations and Remembrances, taken out of a large Journall of a Voyage, set forth by the East Indian Societie, wherein were employed, the James, the Anne, the New-yeeres Gift, the Bull, and the Bee; written by JOHN HARRIS, Master of the Bee, and after in the New-yeeres Gift; and lastly, came home in the James.

1617.



He fit of March, 1616. we set saile from the Downes. The seven and twentieth 10
1617. we saw the Canaries. Aprill the tenth, we met the *Tornado* in five leagues from thence to the twentieth, we observed a Current setting to the North. The thirtieth, the *Tornado* left vs, in latitude thirtie minutes North, longitude three hundred and fiftie degrees fifteen minutes, that night we crossed the Line. June the one and twentieth, we came to anchor in *Saldania* Bay, accompanied with the *Gift* and the *Bull*, having lost our Admirall the night before, by fogs and hazy weather. They came in the next day. There we found riding the *Hound*, wherein was Master *William Lourdaine*. Here we could get no refreshing for our sick men, wherefore on the first of July, some were sent to march up into the Countrey to get provision, which they did (without losse of any, onely two hurt) in great abundance. The thirtieth, we set saile 20
from the Bay. August the thirteenth, we anchored in the Road of *Alolida*. The fourteenth, we had both our Cables cut with the Rocks. The eighteenth, we set saile from thence.

The five and twentieth, in latitude at noone four degrees forty four minutes, longitude fiftie three degrees five minutes by judgement, we found our selves hindered by some Current: at six in the evening the water was changed white, and at eleven as white as any Whay, which made continued all night in the strangest manner that ever I saw, vntill the day light did alter it. It 30
continued together with the Current: the six and four and twentieth was but little white, and the Current also forsooke vs. The fourth of September, we passed by *Socatra*, but came not within fight by reason of the Monsoon, lett it should be done before we came to *Socra*. We found in the four days before that, by helpe of a Current, the ship had passed three score leagues more then otherwise shee could haue run; which now left vs. The seventh, a leake sprung in the Admirall (which Master Copeland, their Minister, hath with much feeling related how dangerous, either by villanie or negligence of the Shipwrights, as after appeared, when they came to careen her: being a great briele slightly stopped, and much hazzarding ship, goods and men: they had none other means there in deepe water to stop it, but by stitching a Bonet or piece of a saile full of Ockum or calking stuffe, which by force of the water running into the stop, being haled downe to the place, was sucked and forced in, and so stayed the leake till it self decayed in time, then the leake renewing, and againe stopped: which in the evening was found and remedied.) On the eleuenth, it was stopped. The 40
twelfth, we tooke a Portugall ship which came from *Molomboc*, laden principally with Elephants teeth, and bound for *Diu*.

In the sixteenth, we saw two Junks, one of them chased by two Ships, which were the *Francis* and the *Lion*, Ships set forth by () The Junke they chased was the Great *Amalg* Mothers, of the burthen of twelue or fourteen hundred Tunnes, having in her about a thousand persons, and nine and twentie Tunne of siluer (some report more a great deale) we chased the Chafers, and in the evening came vp vnto them with the *Bee* and the *Gift*, and followed the Junke, with whom and her two Chafers, we anchored on the twentieth, betwene the River of *Sour* and the Bay of *Sour*.

The thirteenth of March, we weighed: the fifteenth at night, we anchored to the South west of *Damon*. The fourteenth, the *Anne* departed from vs to the Red Sea. The feuen and twentieth, 1618. we espied many Isles and fetched them vp with the *Bee*, being five and twentieth saile (fourteen saile of Frigats men of Warre, eleven of Merchants the *Molucca* fleet) and two great Gallies of *Goa*, which exchanged some shot with vs, but alone as they could cleare themselves from vs, went away: and being to saile off at Sea, they all escaped vs, not without great trouble, in three Yellets, whence they beared Chutes and other things out-board, to make room for their Oares, and eight of them got into *Cochin*, thierett to *Goa*.

The nine and twentieth, came aboard a Boat with one Woman and foure Men from the King of *Cadawar*. The Woman was interpreter and spake *Portingugall*. Aprill the first, we came to anchor two miles to the North of the Road of *Brin John*. About two leagues to the North of *Brin John* is a red Cliffe, and to the South of it a low sandie shore, and the next high Land or 60
Cliffe is within a mile of the Road of *Brin John*, where on the second we anchored. Master *Coyne* and I agreed the next day with the Gouverneur for foure Rialls to water there, and fiftie men were landed to guard the watering place for feare of peyning; for they are treacherous people, which also came armed the next day very strong, and would not permit vs to vnder twentieth Rialls more.

Saldania Bay.

The Hound.

Alolida or Molobela.

Sea white.

Current to the South South W. N. W. Socatra.

A great Current to the North.

Danger by leakes, of this you hear Master Copeland.

owne it, or, in his relation wrote a notice this, which hereafter followeth.

A notice.

Eighty men of water.

Sour.

Damon.

1618. * This voyage you have here.

Brin John, Brin John or Brin John, How to know it.

The twelfth of Aprill, we had much adoe (the Current setting vs right on the Island of *Zelou*, halfe a league from Cape de *Galas*) to double it with tacking off and on that night. The thirteenth, the General came aboard the *Gift*, and established mee Master of her. The fourteenth, the *Bee* departed from vs for the Coast of *Cornamoud*. The fixte and twentieth, we were nere the Southely Island of *Nieboer*. The nine and twentieth, we anchored on the Mayne of *Samaratra*, the high Hill *Lumbar* (by some called *Tindie*) bearing South South east halfe East from vs, and the East point of *Achen* Road West by North halfe North, and the next day sent his Ship by the *Sabander* and *William Nicholas*, our chiefe Factor there: at whole parting we gave 10
twenty pieces of Ordnance to honour the Kings presence and his Women, which was well taken, and went the same night neerer to *Achen*: and anchored the first of May, a little to the West of the Court.

The tenth of June, we weighed to goe for *Teco*, but with foule weather were put backe againe. The nineteenth, we againe left *Teco*. The fourth of August, we came to an anchor in the Road of *Teco*. The first of September, we set saile for *Bantam*, where on the two and twentieth we anchored. On the five and twentieth, arrived there the French Pinnasse from *Lambe*, on the Coast of *Samaratra*. On the thirtieth, came in the *Viscorno* from *Manipulatun*. The fourth of October, we set saile for *Isagratra*, and then anchored on the sixte and thence againe on the twentieth to *Bantam*, with the *James*, *Viscorno* and *Bee*. The feuen and thence againe the *James* brake out againe, which did increase by report two foot water in a glasse, and five foot in the 20
leake, hold before they knew of it. The eight and twentieth, they stretched a Bonnet with Ockum, and halted it vnder her, which halving beene there a quarter of an houre, the leake stopped, so that the water increased not above halfe an inch in an houre. They refused to careen her, and we waited to get our Ordnance and Prouisions. The twelfth of November, shee was in like case, and men were sent from every ship to pump her (and halving the Bonnet againe to her keele, shee was straight as before, so that there was no need to careen her).

The fifteenth, the *Roff* anchored at *Palamban* point from *Teco*. The nineteenth, foure Ships out of England, the *Moone*, the *Samson*, and the *Pepper-corne*; Sir *Thomas Dale* and Sir *Tion Dale*; 30
Captaine *Jourdanne* being both in the *Clowes* the *Summe* being lost at the Island of *Ingano*, and the *Globe* lost their company betwene the Cape of *Good Hope* and *Saint Laurence*. They had most of their men sicke at their arrivall. The eight and twentieth, they anchored by vs at the Island, being in all thirteene saile, the *James*, *Gift*, *Viscorno*, *Clowes*, *Samson*, *Moone*, *Pepper-corne*, *Thomas*, *Bee*, *Ambie*, *Roff*, little *Francis*, and the *Price*. This afternoon the *Summe* Skiffe came aboard the *Moone* from *Ingano* with the Master and Cape Merchant, the Minister, and twentie men more, the Ship being split in pieces, and all her sicke men drowned, being eightie or ninetie of them. The Inhabitants of *Ingano* came downe on the ship, so there came fixtie or seuentie men in the Skiffe and this Boat; and nineteene or twentie were left on the Island sicke and hurt, which were after taken in by *Iowa* Prawes and brought aboard the ships, being in miserable case, with want of clothes, bruises with the Rocks, and burning with the Sunne and felle Water. The nine and twentieth, the *Globe* arrived.

The third of December, the *Bee* set saile for *Ingano*, to see if they could haue any thing, but was forced backe with croffe winde. The fourth, the *Blacke Lion* of the *Hollanders* arrived from the Coast of *China*, *Palatina*, and other places; her lading, Pepper, Rice, Sugar, and some *China* commodities, by report, to the quantitie of fixe hundred tunnes. This night Sir *Thomas Dale* could not men to goe aboard the *Blacke Lion*, which yielded on compulsion. Shee was, by report, of eight hundred tunnes, had in her eightie men, and two or foure and twentie pieces of Ordnance. The nineteenth, Sir *Thomas Dale* in the *Moone*, Captaine *Pring* in the *Gift*, with the *Viscorno*, *Clowes*, *Samson*, *Globe*, *Pepper-corne*, *Thomas*, *Bee*, *Roff* and *Blacke Lion*, set saile for *Isagratra*, where they found riding foure saile of *Hollanders*, ready to fight. The one and twentieth, came a *Holland* ship from *Lambe*, which sent their Boat for *Isagratra* with twelue men, two great morthers and eight small flou, with each man his sword: but we way-layed her and tooke her with the Barge, and the Ship put to Sea againe.

The two and twentieth, we thought to haue fought, and played to and againe as occasion offered. The three and twentieth, we began the fight, and the *Lambe* ship got amongst them. This fight continued about three houres, in which time we received in the Hull and Masts be- 40
twene fiftie and fixtie great shot, most in the Hull, yet had but one hurt in the right, and her died of it. The *Hollanders* and we came to an anchor all night close by each other. The next morning we set saile and played to windward: but the *Hollanders* seeing we would get up to them, weighed and fled betwene halfe way Island and the other Island to the East, and before a way to the East, betwene the Islands and the Mayne. And when they came thwart of their Island, they saw a little English Pinnasse, which in sight from them had run on a ledge of Rocks, 60
and

Master Harte, made Master of the New-yeeres Gift, Nicholas.

Leake againe in the leake.

English ships, thirteene saile together, Sea perillous.

Blacke Lion.

Fight with the Hollanders, Bet-Sue Cape, Pring and Nicholas, Sir Thomas Dale, four saile, Hollanders 8: 2 Little James, finkie.

and was there cast away. They saw other Boates, which by our pursuit they were forced to recall; and we flood after them any way, and chased them (being now by addition of another from *Iaquatra* nine ships) three or four miles to the East of *Iaquatra*, and night coming on, anchored. The five and twentieth, came a *China* Junke on fire driving thward our hulls, but we perceived it betime, let slip and avoided it, so that it did no harme at all. We made after them, but they were vnder fayle to the East, and the wind at South South-west. The same day we took out the *Thomas* Ordnance, being an old ship, and Junke her neere the *Hollanders* Island. The eight and twentieth, they aboard the *Blacke Lion*, cried out, fire, and fire was suddenly on a light fire, and nothing faied, but her company, which went into the Boat and Skiffe. This happened by some which had beene at Dice all night, and went and broke up a Scuttle where there 10 was Rackpoe, which is loone as they had broght, tooke fire with the light they had, as it is reported.

The third of January, Master *Jackson*, the Land Captaine of the *James*, dyed of a shot which had taken away his legges at *Iaquatra*. The fourth, Shot and Powder were sent to the King of *Iaquatra* to take the *Hollanders* Cattle. The ninth, we wayed from this place to the Westward. The twentieth, we eyed two Lyes to whom we gave chase in vaine, they falling better then wee: the next day were eyed four, which were chased as the wind would give leave till night. The five and twentieth, the *Bee* was sent to *Marough* for prouision; The one and thirtieth, we anchored in the Road of *Bantam*.

The three and twentieth of February, Sir *Thomas Dale* weighed to go for *Iaquatra*, with the 20 *Moone*, *Cloue*, *Globe*, *Samson*, *Pepper-corne*, *Hound*, *Bee*, *Rofe*. The feuen and twentieth, the Great *James*, the Gift, the *Vnicorne*, and the little *James* weighed from *Bantam* leauing in the Road the *Advice* and the *Mofawbee* or *Price*.

The first of March, the *Flemming* law vs and weighed, and we made all the fayle we could to get vp to them, and they keeping the weather of vs, their Admirall let fyve two Peeces at the Great *James* first: and then we went to it on all hands. As wee fought, one of the *Flemmings* raine aboard their Admirall by chance, and here over-board his owne Botfpreet and Beak-head, and the Admirall Accented. The other two *Flemmings* being thus, shooting a five or two, ranne away and the rest after. We tacked and chased them, but they going better, went from vs exceedingly, and wee gaue out. The thirteenth, the *Bee* came to vs in *Bantam* Road, from Sir 30 *Thomas Dale's* Fleet at *Iaquatra*.

The feuen and twentieth of April, 1619, there came a Junke amongst our Fleet from *Patan* with *Flemmings* goods and a *Flemming* in her, which we took. The eight and twentieth, the *Dragons* *Clawe* came to an anchor at *Palambam* from *Surat*.

The twentieth of May, we let saile in the Road of *Marough*, to goe for the Coast of *Coromandel*, being eleuen Saile in company, the Great *James*, *Moone*, *Gift*, *Vnicorne*, *Cloue*, *Globe*, *Pepper-corne*, *Bee*, *Rofe*, *Adams*, and the *Surat* Pinnasse. At five in the afternoon wee anchored betwixt *Besse* and * *Cracaw*. The one and twentieth, a Councell was held aboard the Admirall (the *Moone*) wherein *Owen Bodman* was condemned for burning the *Blacke Lion* and other treppicks, which was hangd the next day aboard the *Moone* at the Yards arme. 40

The thirtieth of Iune, we came to an anchor nine leagues East from *Mafiparan*. We stayed in these parts till the tenth of December.

The nine and twentieth of Iuly, the *Vnicorne's* Shallop was cast away at *Penna*, wherein M. *Rice* and *Harris*, and four men more were drowned.

The five and twentieth, we anchored neere *Teco*, and saw three shippes, which the next day came to vs, being a new Fleet; the *Palfrance* Admirall, the *Elizabeth* Vice-Admirall, the Mercant's *Hope* Rerc-Admirall. We all wayed and went into the Road of *Teco*.

The fourth of March, we let saile in *Teco*. The fifth, the *James* met with a shoald, and they had much to doe to save her from grounding. This shoald lyeth from the *White* *Isle*, South-east, two thirds East, three leagues within two Glafes, the *James* and *Vnicorne* met with another shoald, and they dyed upon it at five fathome water, and within a Cables length of fiftie fathomes, and then the *White* *Isle* bore North-west by West eight miles and an halfe off. The ninth, we bore vp to goe to the South of *Nimian*. This Island is neere twentie leagues long, and lyeth South South-east, and North North-west. On the West-side is great shoalding, on the East deepe water hard by the shoare. The twentieth, at night wee had a great storme, and had many *Corps-Santos*, viz., at the head of the Maine-top-mast, and on the Mefon yard, the Fore-top-mast, and the Mizzen Top-mast. The next morning, this storme beganne to breake vp, and we saw the high-land of *Manning* *Cabo*.

The five and twentieth of March, 1620. we anchored neere the point of *Balamban*; where on the fixe and twentieth our Cable was cut a-lunder with a Rocke, which wee recovered the 60 the feuen and twentieth.

At the South-west point of *Sumatra* lyeth the Island *Pala Tellore* in five degrees fiftie feuen minutes of South latitude, South South-east from which is *Balamban*, where is good refreshing and

Thomas Junke:
Blacke Lion
burnt.

Rackpoe or
Arceps a hot
Drinke.

Another fige.

Marough.

* The Blackes
call the Salt hill
so.
Owen Bodman.

A new fleet.

Shoalds:

Nimian.

Four Corps-
Santos.

Pala Tellore and
Balamban.

and watering, thence to the South point called Cape *Buklahore*, is two leagues South South-east three quarters East, and from thence to the next Easter point is three leagues, and in the second Bay from the said point is a River where we watered, but the water not very good.

The sixth of April, 1620. we weighed to goe for *Bantam*, with a full resolution to make an end with the *Hollanders* one way or other, they being eighteene Saile, and we ten, little and great. The eight, betwene two and three of the clocke in the morning, being short of *Sangang* we met with the *Bull* and two *Hollanders* bound to looke vs to bring news of the peace betwixt vs and them. The eleuenth, their Fleet being thirteene besides the former two came vnto vs from *Iaquatra*: and wee saluted each other with many Peeces of Ordnance. The 10 twelfth we went for *Bantam* where we found two *Hollanders* more. The feuen and twentieth, the *James* and the *Vnicorne* departed from vs for *Lapan*, to careene there. The thirtieth, we anchored in *Iaquatra* Road.

The one and twentieth of May, the *Elizabeth*, the *Bull*, and the *Hope*, let saile with the *Harlem*, and the *Dutch* *Hope*. The *Elizabeth* and *Harlem* were bound for *Leque Pequena*, there to stay for the *Bull* and the *Dutch* *Hope* which were appointed to goe for *Mococo*, and the *English* *Hope* for *Patan*, and then to meet with the other foure at *Leque Pequena*, thence to goe all for *Lapan*, there to meet the rest of the Fleet for the *Masikar*. The thirtieth, peace was published at *Iaquatra* on shoare and aboard the ships.

The fourth of Iune, the *Moone*, the *Palfrance*, the *Bantam* and the *Praw*, set saile from *Iaquatra* for *Lapan*, and the *Manila*. The thirteenth, we let saile to goe to *Cracaw* to cut new Malis and Timber to thence our ship, and being a league and halfe from the Road, we met with a shoald where we had but two fathomes water (being suddenly on ground) at the shippes head, and five at her sterne: but prayd be God, got off without hurt. It is Rockes and Corall and lyeth half way betwixt *Iaquatra* Road, and the Sand to the East of *Hellers* Island. If you keepe the *Flemmish* Cattle and the top of the highest hill our right over the other; you shall goe cleare in or out. If you cannot see the hill keepe the Cattle South South-east, but if you keepe it South by East, you will be neere it, or on it. On the neereest part of the next Island to the East of *Pala Lucke* is a dangerous shoald two miles off, and feldons throweth it selfe. The one and twentieth, we each and each moored our ship a Cables length North-west of the little 30 round Ile, and rode till the one and twentieth of Iuly, in which time wee cut about fiftie pieces of square Timber for our decayed ship, and to pay the *Hollanders* two and twentie hundred, for their holke at *Iaquatra*, by our Merchants. This place is so infectious that most of our men were taken with wolne legges, or bodies, some breaking out with Sores and Byles, others taken with dizzinesse and dimmesse of sight, almost euery one losing his stomacke, and given to vomiting with a Brange collicuense: fixe dyed, and thirtie leuen were sicke and lame, all weak, vomiting, facke, racke, beuerage; nothing theyd.

The feuen and twentieth, we anchored in *Marough* Road neere the shoare, which is no good Road, but we were forced, so to command the Towne with our Ordnance in succour of our Boats, if the people should haue betrayed them, as they had done the *Hollanders* of whom they flew eight men. We loit an Anchor there (they cut off the Boyes that we could not after finde it) and could get little refreshing, or none.

The nineteenth of August, we anchored at *Iaquatra*, having beene from thence two moneths, and one moneth wherein we were returning from *Cracaw*, which we left the former fixe, and one foure men, besides fortie fixe sicke in the ship; nor had we about twentie of our owne Company that could goe vp and downe the ship. The eight and twentieth, the *Hollanders* surrendered the *Surat* againe to the *English*.

The first of September came in a *Flemming* from *Holland*, which told vs of the *Lion* arrived at the Cape from *Surat*; and of fixe *English* ships with her in *Soldania* from *England*, two bound for *Bantam*, and foure to *Surat*, which were to stay in *Soldania* for foure *Flemmings* to goe to *Surat* with them. The one and twentieth, the *Dragons* *Claw* arrived from *Achen* with news that the *Charles*, the *Rubie*, and the *Diamond*, were all at Sea coming for *Iaquatra*; and that the *Bee* saw a French-man of Warre on the Coast of *Sumatra*, which would by no means speake with her. They were in all foure ships, but the last lost her consorts.

The first of October, the *Schedam* arrived with newes of three *English* ships in the Straits of *Sunda*, the *Royal Exchange*, the *Unie*, and the *Bears*, the *Bee* also with them, which on thiefe, cond, and the tenth arrived here. The foure and twentieth, the *Dragons* *Claw* departed hence for the *Alouacca*. The fixe and twentieth, one of our men suspected for heeling Clowes, was drowned. He had withed before mee a little afore, if he knew of the Clowes, that hee were so faire vnder water that he might neuer rise againe; and going cut the ships side, a step of the ladder broke, and he fell over-board, & neuer rose againe. The thirtieth, the *Bears* and *Diamond* were sent for *Lande* in hope of Pepper. The eleuenth of November, the *Globe* departed from *Iaquatra* for *Lapan*, to fetch heathing board and cattell: and the fiftieth, the *Vnue* let saile for *Achen*.

The second of December, the *Roe-bucke* arrived from *Teco* with Pepper. The third, the *Samson* arrived from *Patan*, and brought in her the *Purser* and three others of the *Vnicorne*, *Vnicorne*, which

Peace betwixt
vs and *Hollanders*.

Leque Pequena.

Fleets for *Lapan*
and *Manila*.

Shoald.

Cracaw a very
sickly place;

Marough.

Store reedred;

Newes of *Engl*;
ship this.

French man of
Warre.

New list.

Isare.

which was cast on the Coast of *China*. The fifteenth, the *Globe* arrived with boards and planks from *Iapara*. The sixteenth, arrived a Lunckie which brought home of the *Samsen* men, some of the *Puicomes*, and those which were left on shore at *Patania*, when the *Samsen* and the *Hond* were taken. The one and twentieth, the *Rubie* departed for the *Moluccas*. The six and twentieth, the *Globe* arrived from *Lambé* and *Patania*. The nine and twentieth, the *Royal Exchange*, the *Starre* and the *Roe-bucks*, set sail for *Ambuiss* with a *Holland* ship in their company.

The second of January, the *Boe* went to *Heitors* land to careen. The fime day they *Hollenders* laid four ships that went for the *Alouetius*, the *Dragon* being one, and the next day the *New Zealand*, and in the afternoon the *Boe* careened. The *Boe* was careened by the *Hollenders* carried a float with eight or ten Demicannos, and forty great Pravelles, for the *Hollenders*; who were the company of Souldiers. The eighteenth, the *James Rogge* arrived in *Laguna* road, and the great careened both sides to the keele. The one and twentieth, arrived the *New Zealand* and the *Malapoutar*, and in the afternoon the *Boe* careened. The thirtieth, the *Boe* careened, and the *James Rogge* began to take in Pepper to go for *England*. The first of March, the *Boe* returned from *Heitors* land, careened to the keele, and the *Globe* four or five fathoms on a side. The *Boe* was careened by the *Hollenders* and the *James Rogge* bound for *England*. The fixe and twentieth of February we first left the

The nineteenth of May, we anchored in the Bay of *Saldania*: where we layt layle the second of June. We found there riding the *Anne*, wherein was Captaine *Walter Bennet*, and the Portaine a *Victhualer*, and three *Hollanders* bound for *Bantam*. The one and twentieth of June, we faw the land of *Saint Helena*, bearing West by North sixteen leagues, and on the twene twentieth anchored there. There weooke store of fresh fish by the shippes side. The nine and twentieth, wee set layle, and the eighteenth of September anchored in the *Dumner*:

CHAPTER V.

*The Voyage of the Anne Royall from Surat to Moha, in the Red Sea, for settling an
English Trade in those parts: Anno Dom. 1618. extracted out of Ma-
ster EDWARD HEYNES his Journall, writ-
ten thereof.*

RS Ir *Thomas Rea*, Lord Embassadour for his Maiestie with the *Mogoll*, hauing giuen diuers Articles of infuibrations vnto the Captaine *Adrian Shilling*, Master of the *Anne Royall*, together with *Ioseph Southam*, *Edward Heyns*, and *Richard Barber*, Merchants; for Trade at *Dabul*, and to receiue any law occasion in the Red Sea: it was thought meet by Captaine *Marin Priu*, George *Wentworth*, and *Thomas Kerridge*, and *Thomas Ratteill* (the twelfth of March, 1600) the *Annes Royall*, the time being too farre spent for *Dabul*; that the said ship should sayle directly for the Red Sea, thence they sayled from the Roade of *Swally*.

The tenth of April, we had sight of *Aden*. The thirteenth, we past the Strait of the *Bab* or *Babel Mandel* (an Iland in the entrance or mouth of the Red Sea, which causeth the Strait) about seven in the morning: and about five in the evening, we had sight of *Mocha* five leagues off. Night coming on, we anchored, and a Canon came aboard vs from the Gouverneur to know what we were and our intent, which we answered, and they having begged a few Biskets departed.

The next morning we: anchored leagye and halfe from the Ihoare, and saluted the Towns with nine Peeeces. The Water-Bulley brought vs a Pretious from the Gouernour, a young Bullocke, two Goates, Mangoes, Limes, Cucumbers, and Water-Melons, welcommed vs, and desired to fend one on Ihoare to acquaint the Gouernour with the cause of our coming. We answered, we were *English-men*, which came to fecke Trade there, but durst not adventure on Ihoare without fufficient pledges. About three in the afternoon, came a *lean Abord* (borne in *Laybore*) together with an old *Venetian* turned *Turke* (one in good respect with the Gouernour) which from the Gouernour assured vs of all content.

[illegible]

CHAP. 5.

in which the Gouverneur take on the fates others of like bignesse, looking vnto the Wharfe or landing place. The Fore was coated with fine Mats, and neere the Gouverneur, with faine *Tar-*
carpets and *Perjan* Felts. There where himselfe late was a partie coloured Sattin Veile, with
 which Damaske and Veluet Curtaines. Hee was clothed in a Violet colour Sattin Veile, his
 vnt-coats fine *India* Linnen, hauiug on a Sattin Cap wreathed about with a fine white *Sin-*
dh. He was accompnied with the *Chiefe Scruiants*, the Principall Customers, fow *Turkes* of bet-
 ter faction, many *Indian* Merchants, and one hundred seruants. He is about fiftie yeeres old,
 of name, *Mahmud*, *Ass*.

When we came near, he bowed himself and we did reverence: then bade vs sit downe: and demanded our Nation and businesse. We answered, we were *Englishmen*, of London Merchants, who by command of the Ambassadour of His Maiestie of England, reit with the *Great Mogoll* (with whom we hold league and amitie) are come to this Towne to treat with him of free Trade: That we were friends to the *Grand Signior*, and had traffique at *Constantinople*, *Aleppo*, and in other places of his Dominion, and hoped like here: that we were come to deliver his Subjects from bondage, for like libertie here as is granted vs by the *Grand Signior*, both for present and future times, as intended to visite his Ports yearly with plenty of *English* and *Indian* goods: that we had likewise in command from our King to deliver (which had heard of divers Pirates, *English*, *Dutch*, *French*, *Portugall*, *Malabar*, and others who had infested the coast: Trades of this Port, and principally the *Ginsengs*, our friends) to take them, and

to free those Sees of such incumbrances, protecting all honest Merchants, ships and lunkes from iniurie: and these were the true causes of our coming. Here then role vp and bad vs welcome; applaud: our deigne, and demanded why we were so fearful to come on those without shippe. We answered, that about six years since, some of our Countreymen were here with kind thewes and promises entred ahoare, and by the then Gouernour betrayed, emprisoned, and many murdered: whose hurtles made vs cautelous for o. ourne safety. But that we were no otherwise then we professed, they should therly know by the testimony of two *Guzerat* Iunkies, one of which had not come this yeare, but for the palke and promise of the said Embsadator that he should defend them home-wound from Man of warre in their Seas, hauing elicited them by a greeter by the Nation, through our Oppression concerning to our rescue; who deliuered his life for a hurt Port, and sent their chiefe Commanders into *Englad* to answer those wrongs to our King; therefore. Here acknowledged our Nation good and friendly, promised that we should lue on those and negotiate as freere as in our owne Countrey, that hee would also procure the *Patents* to confirme the same, and would giue vs any content, That for the ill vantage forme ly, the Gouernour then was an ill man, long since removed, and now living in disgrace at *Stambled* and sware by his *Mohomer* and by his Beard, that hee would not one haire of vs should be diminished, nor any wrong offered: that he would therefore proclaime our liberties that none might pretend ignorance to discoutreffe. Hee withheld vs also to make oute a house in Towne fitter for our persons and goods, commanded vs to his principall *Chaffer* to attend vs, and till we could hee our felices better, recommended vs to the *Lepp* Merchant his entertainment, desiring him to assist vs in all things.

Thus after our Prefent deliuered as from our Captaine and many kind thankes, we went by the *Swine* perfwal to visit the *Serrano*, who is likewise chief Customer, whose tenants, *Serrano*, (himfelfe not being then at home) entertained vs with much civilitie, and brought vs into a faire room, where, after inferior in building, or furnitue to that of the Gouernour, where we had a lift him, and whence we went to see the Commodities, and much courtefie, affuring vs of whattsoever the Gouernour had promited, and that he himfelfe would be ready to performe, and power allo to right vs. We were informed that this mans authority was nolle in the Towne then the Gouernours, who was by him directed in matters of weage; he feared a heartie old man. After he had made vs Drinke Coho and Sherbet, we tooke our leave and retied that night with 948.

They still suspected our ship a man of War, by reason of some excesses of some of our Country-men in those Seas.

Constantinople

The visit the
Settimana.

They view the
Towne.
The description
on the top of

Heat at *Mocha*,
Their heatness.

Fiff

uermed Towne then this of *Mocha*. Betwixt the *Gouernours* and *Serinaunes* is the Wharfe, about twelve fcore square, neere which adioyning to the *Gouernours* house is a platforme rayted, built with hewen stones, with Battlements towards the Sea, about fortie paces square, in which are mounted thirteene or foureteen small Peeeces of little force. Against the landing-place are two faire *Braile* Peeeces about five foot in length on the other end is the *Alfandica*, and a *Braile* Peece of five foot, which carryeth a Bullet as bigge as a Canon. This is their strength for defence of the Towne. Yet at the North end is a stone house in manner of a Fort, and in it some few Peeeces, but they put small trust in their Ordnance, relying most on their Soldiers, of which two hundred reside continually in the Towne, the rest (being in all to the number of five hundred) lye within a day or two dayes Iourney, and are in readinesse vpon any occasion.

His *Nassari* (sonne, the principall *India* Merchant of the Towne, protested and promised all kinde (for we went to his house) and after a cup of *Coho* and *Tobacco* (which is vsually amongst these people) we went againe to visit the *Gouernour* before we went aboard, who role and met vs, caused vs to sit by him, welcomed vs, promised as free Trade here, as in any other place of the *Grand Signior*'s Dominion, nor would demie vs any thing reasonable: said that another *Gouernour* should shortly succeed him, but one as his brother, honeste then himselfe, who should performe all the promises which he had now made; our request, commanded the Water-Bayle to furnish vs with Boats at all times to carrie vs, or water from shoare for the ship aboard. After this we visited the *Serinaune*, and found him very courteous, promising to come aboard to see our ship, and bid our *Captaine* welcome, and after a health of *Coho* dismissed vs to returne to the ship, where our two pledges approoved their kind viages, whose departure was honoured with five Peeeces.

On the fourteenth, the *Serinaune*, our pledges, the *Jew*, and twentie persons attendinge came aboard, brought a Bullocke, Bread, Quinces, and other Fruites, and a Cake of great roundness and thickenesse like puff-paist, wherein were baked Hennes and Chickens very well dressed, and pleasing enough to a daintie palate: we also with a Quince Pye, Crabs, Sacke and Strong-water, added our best welcome. He would needs be frowne brother to the *Captaine*, which was solemnized with a Cup of Sacke, and after much mirth and view of our ship, he departed with great content.

We had water brought by poore people at reasonable rates. We also had giuen good reason to the *Gouernour* and *Serinaune* (who approoved it) to make eury Luncke that should arrive to anchor by vs, and there to ride till they had discharged their goods. The *Gouernour* was willing, we should examine and compell them hereto, because some Lunkes passed by their Towne to other Ports for Trade, to the losse of this.

The one and twentieth, fixe at night, we had a storme of wind off the shoare with Thunder and Lightning very vehement, but no raime, which continued halfe an houre, the rest of the night extreme hot. This storme brought fane and dust aboard in abundance, notwithstanding, we made a good league from shoare. The five and twentieth, we had a message from the *Serinaune*, that the *Gouernour* and himselfe had received Letters from the *Basha* of *Sinan*, commanding them to receive and entertaine vs with all kinde, to permit vs to lue and Trade amongst them freely and quietly.

Ignorance of a new *Gouernour* must excuse vs of the charge of a new Prefect to him. His arriuall was on the seven and twentieth, the Ordnance of the Towne, and Lunkes, and of our ship welcoming him. Hee sent our former Pledges aboard with thanks, and a Prefect of Plantans, Limes, Mangos, Melons, Bread, and one Bullocke, promising in the *Basha* name like trade here, as at *Constantinople*. The two Pledges remained aboard all night, and went with vs on shoare the next day, where we found the new *Gouernour*, and the old sitting at the end of a large roome, adorned much what as at our first arriuall, or better. He is about foure years old, named *Raiah Aga*, was accompanied with diuers principall *Turkes*, and all chiefe Merchants in trade of *Swat*, *Diu*, *Dahol*, *Sinde*, *Cadix*, and *Canonor*. At our approach he onely moved, so did the *Turkes*: the Merchants rose, and saluted vs. He caused vs to sit downe by him, told vs that the *Basha*, the Vizer of the Prouince, informed of vs, had commanded to giue vs content: and besides his Lords command, he knew vs to be friends of the *Grand Signior*, and to haue Trade at *Constantinople*, *Alippo*, and other places of his Dominion, a Nation of friends and honest disposition, and therefore we should find him our good friend, and ready to doe vs any courtesie, and giue vs as free Trade, as we any where had vnder the *Grand Signior*, or Great *Mogoll*. We told him we were Merchants, and our ship *Pice* admiral to a Fleet of three ships, one of which, was departed from *Swat* homewards, three from *Batuman* and other places to the South, and our ship by his Maiesties Embassador employed hither (with such circumstances as before are deliuered) that if our wish requests of free Trade be granted, we purposed at our next comming to lesse a *Factorie* here, and yearly to frequent this Port with shipping with *English* and *Indian* goods: signified our intents against *Roulers*, and what already we had done in that case against our owne Countrymen: intimating that it was needfull to preste with the inconueniences which might arise from denying vs Trade, who were able to force it, and

hinder others from comming; the feare of which had caused some already to passe by this Towne to *Gadda*, the Port of *Africa*, one hundred and fifty leagues farther vnder the Towne of great Trade, and others to other places. He replied, we should be as welcome as to any place in our owne Countrey, and vowed by *God*, *Mahomet* his head and beard, we should lue as secure from hurt as in our owne Land. We asked what securitie he would giue vs; besides his oath (he answered) his *Firman* vnder his Chap, and procure the like from the *Basha*. With this we were content, and gaue him thanks: nor did euer people seeme more willing to giue content then they: which, I thinke, ariseth not from confidence, or lye, but feare, seeing we were to inuier their Trade. After some questions of our Embassador, now residing at *Constantinople*, and touching the *Portugals*, and *Spaniards*, (which he said were proud and vnfaithfull Nations) some speech happened of Sir H. Middleton, we demanded the cause of that treacherie towards him: hee answered, the Vizer at that time was a bloudie, cruell, and ill-minded man of himselfe, and made worse by the infestation of others, *Turkes*, and *Arabs* of this Towne, who chiding the vncuill behaviour of our people, as pissing at the gates of their Churches; forcing into mens houses to their women; and being daily drunk in the streets, would fight and quarrell with the people; things hateful in these parts: their things were in part, but the *Gouernours* couerous (hoping to get their ship and goods) was the maine cause of that ill dealing, for which and many other bad actions, he was not long after sent to *Constantinople* to answer it, and is either dead, or lyes in disgrace to this day. We dined with the *Serinaune*, and hired a house of *Hassana* *Ga*, one of our Pledges, at seuentie Rials of eight the Month, (which is all one with the yeerely Rent.) The *Serinaune* would needs inuere himselfe our friend on his *Alchoran*: yet denied this *Gouernour* to be the man which captured Sir H. Middleton, which was after found *Turk*'s faith. We agreed for Customs three by the hundred, both inwards and outwards (which he vowed all others paid vs) and for siluer, and gold, and mency, to pay none. We lipped with him siluer, and giue him a Prefect.

The nine and twentieth, we had thought to haue had our *Firman* sent before all the Merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but the most part of the day was spent in a ceremony by the *Gouernour* and Chiefe at their high Church for the death of the *Grand Signior*, and the establishing his brother in his room. They came riding about our house, we sitting in our window open to the street: they leing vs, bowed themselves, and we did reuerence: their horses were accommodated with rich furniture. At foure of the clocke, we were lent for, but our Linguist had got to a *Jenes* house that fold Racks, and was drunken, and wee pretending Master *Sallaker* present in disposition, promised attendance the next day. On the one and thirtieth, the *Gouernour* sent for vs, and made knowe to all the Merchants our welcome, causing his *Serinaune* to draw a *Firman* as large as we could require, which he would signe with his Chap, and at his principall *Serinaunes*, in the afternoon we should haue it. The Copie whereof is as followeth, translated out of the *Arabicke*.

Death of the Grand Signior Achmet.

The nine and twentieth, we had thought to haue had our *Firman* sent before all the Merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but the most part of the day was spent in a ceremony by the *Gouernour* and Chiefe at their high Church for the death of the *Grand Signior*, and the establishing his brother in his room. They came riding about our house, we sitting in our window open to the street: they leing vs, bowed themselves, and we did reuerence: their horses were accommodated with rich furniture. At foure of the clocke, we were lent for, but our Linguist had got to a *Jenes* house that fold Racks, and was drunken, and wee pretending Master *Sallaker* present in disposition, promised attendance the next day. On the one and thirtieth, the *Gouernour* sent for vs, and made knowe to all the Merchants our welcome, causing his *Serinaune* to draw a *Firman* as large as we could require, which he would signe with his Chap, and at his principall *Serinaunes*, in the afternoon we should haue it. The Copie whereof is as followeth, translated out of the *Arabicke*.

A Faithfull and perfect *Firman* giuen by the grace of *God* to the warlike *Captaine* of the *English*, Andrew Shilling, to the Merchants, and to all such as are come with him at this present; and to all the Nation of the *English*, which shall come to this Port hereafter: For their good usage, and friendly entertainment by the grace of *God*, and by the Faith we haue in our holy Prophet *Mahomet*; the fidelitie, truth, and authoritie of the great Vizer of *Sinan*, *Mahomet Basha*; whom the Great *God* giue strength, and power in his Kingdome: and by the faithfull, and in no manner, and command of the *Raiah* Aga, now *Gouernour* of the Towne of *Mocha*; to be giuen to the Great Nation of the *English*, with all faithfullness.

The *Gouernour* *Raiah* Aga, doe giue libertie and licence to the *English* Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receive friendly entertainment, to bring aboard their goods, to buy and sell with all freedom, to carrie such goods as they buy aboard, without let or hindrance: and haue made contrail with them, that for all goods they load, they shall pay three by the hundred, not in ready money, but in goods; and if when they carrie any aboard, so it be Merchandise, and not provision for their ship, as *Vizards*, or such like, that they shall pay ready money at three by the hundred: neither more nor less, but as it is contrailed by our agreement. That no inhabitants of this Towne, nor People of the Countrey, neither *Turke* nor *Arab*, shall inuere them, but they shall haue their libertie to their contents. And that this my *Firman* and Contrail is giuen them with a good heart, and true meaning to see it performed, I witness the truth before the most high *God*, and our holy Prophet. Signed with my Chop, the fourteenth day of *May*, in the yeare of our Prophet *Mahomet* 1027.

F fff 2

I haue

Cause of Treachery towards Sir H. Middleton. See English Christians with Christians, and amended.

Death of the Grand Signior Achmet.

Mahomet Basha, Raiah Aga.

* Either the difference is from their different computation; or that the *Sick* was deferred to this day.

I have thought good to adde the *Basha* of *Sinan* his *Firman*, translated as before.

IN the name of God. This Letter written with the word of truth of the most high God : To all Nations, Governours and Officers over the people under my government : God keep you all. Know ye, that we have given our faithful Firman unto the hands of Signior Andrew Shilling Captain of the English, Joseph Salbank his Companion, and to their friend Edward Heynes Merchant, which are come to the Port of Mocha, for them to goe and come with their ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandise freely, and with all content. And we doe further give themby vertue of this our Firman in the Faith of the Great God, and our holy Prophet Mahomet; in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom God preserve; and in the Faith of Our selfe, Governour of the Province and City of Sinan; free licence for to sell and buy there, here, and in all other of our Ports, and Townes of Trade within our Government, as secretly and quietly, without intrie, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of Mocha, or any other, of what Nation soever. And doe consent and agree with them, to pay for Customs of such goods as they bring, three by the hundred, and for what they buy and carrie forth, three by the hundred likewise. And doe promise and sweare, in the true way of an Oath, to keepe our word with them in this Agreement; and give you all hereby to know that they shall pay neither more nor less. And further, that they shall receive neither iniurie, hurt nor danger, nor any discontent given them, either to their persons or goods, but they and their Nations shall have, as from their first ship that came to this Kingdom, now this, so ever to the last ship that shall arrive hereafter, the like friendly entertainment, and good usage, as we have commanded to be given them at this present. And that this is my faithful meaning. This our Firman which comes to your hands shall be a witness of the truth. Written and signed with my Royal Chop, from our Court of Sinan this eighteenth day of Iulie, in the yeere of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

The Copie of the Governour of Mocha his *Firman*, given to Master Salbank for good usage in his way to Sinan, is this.

IN the Name of the great God. This Letter of commandment in the name of our great Lord (whom God keep) to all people, Governours of Townes and Cities. Know ye, that it is our will and commandment, that when the Bearer hereof Joseph Salbank, or any of his people, or any of the Nation of the English, come to your places of Government, you use them him, and all whomsoever, friendly and with all courtesie: that you make them pay for vittall, or other necessities, no more then ordinary; but rather make provision for them, and assist them. And for what goods they shall carrie away, or bring up into the City of Sinan, you shall take no duties of them, as is the custome to other men, but let them passe free, doing them neither wrong nor iniurie. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Commandment shall come, which I have given into his hand, I command you all, in the name of the Basha, (whom God bless) to see this performed with all diligence. Given at Mocha, the twentieth of Iune, A. 1027, of our Prophet Mahomet.

It was agreed betwixt vs, that Master Salbank and I should follow the business on land; and Mr Barker should remaine aboard to pre- pare such things as should be sent for. The first day we went to the *Serivano* to get leave for Racker to be made for our sicke men: for by reason that our Linguist, and others of our companie had beene drunke in a *Jemes* house, we complained and desired the *few* might be prohibited to sell them any: whereupon the Governour forbade the *Jemes* and *Turkes* the selling of Wine or Racker in the Towne. The Governour, at our and the *Serivano*'s request, gave leave only that a *few* by I is appointment should brew it in our house; but to prevent disorders, would permit none elsewhere. On the eight in the afternoon, understanding the Governour and principall men were set in the Custome house, expecting the *Serivano* Captain then coming ashore, he went also to see the manner of his entertainment. At our coming, we found the Governour sitting at the upper end of a long room upon a Bench of stone, on a Carpet by him in a row, on the same Bench covered with fine mattes diuers Merchants, and men of qualitie about twentie; on the other side against him, were about as many set in Chaires: betweene them was made a lane reaching downe to a square place, three steps high from the floor raised in and matted, in which the *Serivano* and Officers of the Custome house fate on Carpets. The Governour bade vs welcome, told vs he had given the chiefe Broker order to come to see our goods, and procure their sale; caused vs to sit downe, two Merchants offering their places, and called for Cohob and Tobacco. After halfe an houre thus spent, the Captain came ashore, in his owne boat curiously painted, rowed by twentie of his own servants, all in white linnen, with a Tilt of red silke, many fike Screemers, his Sails of fine Callico, with diuers Drummes, Waits, and ill Trumpets; his owne Junke, and the Towne-Giambers adding their reports to make up the musicke (if such confused sounds may be so called) Attended by a few slaves trimmed vp with Silkes, and course Sattins, he entered the

Racker is a wine or strong drink made of Rice.

Entertainment of the *Serivano* Captain.

the place where we fate, where the Governour rose and saluted him, and placed him next him: and many compliments of welcome passed from him, and from the rest of the Merchants: only he in the height of his pride, neglected vs, and were accordingly him, though we thought, the Captaine courtesie to him, lending his long-boe and men to free his Junke (being foure or five hundred tunnes, and aground) with his kind entertainment aboard our ship, had deserved better respect. After a little time in compliments, Cohob was againe brought to all the company, and after it six Veils, two given to the Captain, and foure to his foure Merchants, which being put on, and Salams given, they againe tooke their seats, fitting like so many painted Images, their Coats being of course Gold and Silver Veluet. One thing we observed as the viall custome of this Towne, at the arrivall of any Junke, and the landing of the Captaine, there is free libertie to all the Mariners and Passengers of the same Junke, to bring aboard as much of their goods as each man can carrie on his backe, free from paying any Custome: in which manner passed by at this present, three hundred persons of that Junke, with their luggage, to their habitation without molestation. On the ninth, our Landlord and the *Serivano* told vs of three Junkes of *Diu*, and foure *Malabars* that stayed at *Aden*, bearing of our ship, and would not come without our Pass, which they intreated vs to grant. The forme of our Pass subscribed by the Cap. aine and three Merchants, was this.

WHEREAS the Governour of the Towne of Mocha, understanding that there are diuers Junkes now riding before *Aden*, fearing to come to this Port, as doubting good usage from vs the English; hath intreated us to give unto him, our Certificate or Pass, for the said Junkes; or for any other that usually trade to this Port, to come in freely, without any iniurie done unto them, either in bodie or goods by vs, and to have good and friendly quarter, as loving friends and Merchants amongst us: Wee finding good usage by the Governour himselfe, and forwardnesse by all men to give vs free Trade and commerce, and as well out of our good disposition, and inclination to peace, as for the satisfaction of the Governour, in his request; Wee, by these presents, doe promise and give them all freedom to passe quietly, and assure them friendly usage, to their content: so as they be not enemies to our dread Sovereigne, the King's Majesty of England, or his Subjects. In witness whereof, wee have put to our Signet, &c.

A larger Pass at the Governours request, and more generally, for the quiet departure of all Junkes, &c. was after made, which I foreare to transcribe.

The tenth, the Captain of the *Dashed* Junke invited vs to his house to a Banquet, where we found the Governour with fiftie principall persons, besides Attendants; All rose and bade vs welcome: wee fate not long but Cohob and Sherbet were brought, Tobacco, and diversitie of Fruits, as Plummes, Apricockes and Mangos, we thinking thee to be our Feast, and ready soone after to depart. But the Governour and Captain desired vs to stay, and eate Bread and Salt with them, which we did; at last, though late, our greatest cheer coming, being about fixtie Dishes of sundry sorts of meats, baked, roasted, boyled, stewed, and solde, but all mingled with Rice, with diuers sorts of Sallers, in manner as in *India*.

Our Rargalon was of bad wares for the most part, which had been in *India*, till they were neere spoiled, and so hang on our hands; wee therefore importuned the Governour, and he charged the Broker to procure our sale with great earnestnesse: we obtained leave also, contrary to the custome and usage, to goe aboard and alioare at our pleasure without demanding any leave, and charged the Water-Baylife not to molest vs. On the twentieth, it was observed in generall that the Monsoon changed.

The foure and twentieth, the *Serivano* told me that he understood that our men of the Ship, at their coming ashore, sold in the *Bazar*, Baftas and Sword blades: he said, the Governour had promised for the poore mens goods to demand no custome, and therefore they should not feare to bring it ashore, but to sell it at the house; for at the *Bazar*, was a disgrace to vs and our Nation. On the one and thirtieth, the ship was in danger to have beene burnt, one taking Tobacco in the spirit-faire yard arme, and the cole falling in a fold of the saile, which there burned two or three breathly, and was long time before it could be found: and Tobacco taking was prohibited, except in the Cook-house or Captaine's Cabin. In regard of recovering our sicke men, discouraging the coast, and procuring ballast in stead of Lead, taken out of the ship, it was concluded, that the ship should goe over to *Affric* on the Coast of *Affrica*: and Master Baffin Masters Mate, was sent to lound and discour before.

The tenth of Iune, we had speech with the Governour, and in other discourse learned of him, that hee was Governour of *Aden* when the *Ascension* came thither, where hee imprisoned the Captain and *Ios. Salbank* two dayes; as hee laid, doubting they were not Merchants, but a man of Warre: that hee was Governour here at Sir H. Maddens apprehension, which he excused by the ill rule of our people, and bad disposition of the *Basha*; that hee was blamed for the fact; but the *Basha*, while hee was then was, commanded that and a great deal more. God knew his unwillingnesse to it, and forrow for it: but these things are past, I feare you nothing. Here wee knew how farre he and the *Serivano* were to be trusted.

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On

Ferre of the English.

Dashed Captain hisselfe.

Freedom & egraffe and registre.

Peddling of loose.

Danger by Tobacco.

The ship goes over to Affric.

Loss of a
Monion, how
dangerous.

M. Salbank
journey to
Sinus.

The Govern-
ment seal.

Cards, cheffe,
jugglers.

Good free
wike, figures.

Gold of great
Trade.

Religion.

Alimbi.

Portugall junk.

Returne of the
Ship.

M. Salbank
his returne.

Relation
of his voyage
and entertainment

On the thirteenth, the Gouverneur sent vs, told vs that he had acquainted the *Basha* with our purpose, to send vs one to him for his *Firman*, who had promised his welcome whether we came or went; he thought it our best course that one should goe, and we should have *Horle*, Camels and Servants of his to attend vs; and he would write in our behalfe.

The nineteenth, arrived a Junke expected from *Gudda*, which brought *Chamlets*, had *Corral*, Amber beads, much Silver to invest in Spices and *Indian* Linnen, many passengers from *Mecca*. Shee brought newes of a Ship laden hence the last yeere for *Grand Cairo*, by litle of her Monion through contrarie winde, forced to stay a little about *Gudda* till next yeere. By this Junke the Gouverneur received letters, that the *Grand Signior* had sent diuers ornaments of State to the *Basha* of *Sinay*, and had confirmed to him his government for seven yeeres longer, 10 and himselfe in this Towne of *Mocha* under him for the like time, whereof hee seemed not a little proud. In regard of my continuall indispoliticie, it was thought fit Master *Salbank* should goe, and a Present for the *Basha* to be prepared, with some merchandise also to carry with him. The *Serascene* offered Master *Salbank* his Mule to ride upon, which he accepted with thanks. He was furnished with two Camels, one Cooke, one *Horle*-keeper, three Servants of the Gouverneur, whose wages he had compounded to pay, with *Alberro* a Linguist, and taking leave and letters of the Gouverneur. On the three and twentieth, he departed about fixe in the evening, the nights being the accustomed time of travel. That morning we received a Letter from our Captaine of his safe arrivall at *Affab*; of their good health, and finding ballast and other provisions. 20

On the fixe and twentieth, the Gouverneur sent me a Horse by one of his Servants; desiring mee to ride with him in company of other Merchants to his basketting heule, some halfe mile out of Towne, thence to spend the day in mirth. About halfe an houre after came the chiefe *Serascene* to call me, with whom I rid and met the Gouverneur in the way, whom we accompanied to the place. It was in the middle of a groue of Date Trees, in which was a faire house, and within it a large Tanke, and other rooms of pleasure to fit in. After a little while, He with diuers others went into the Tanke, and sported therein halfe an houre. Then was *Cohob* brought and given the company; after that, Grapes, Peaches, Muske, and water Melons, Almonds blanched with others, Raisins in great abundance (for he had at least fittie or sixtie Ghells, besides attendants) and always betweene whiles *Coho* and Tobacco. Thus with Musick, indifferent 30 good, he spent the forenoone. After prayers he went againe into the Tanke with others, where, in his spent an houre in sport with his companie; after which, the rest of the time was spent, some at Cards, some at Cheffe, himselfe bolloving juggling tricks untill foure at evening. Then were brought in at least a hundred dishes of diuers sorts, good meat, but cold and ill dressed. Every dish might well have served foure men with good stomacks. He vied me well, and was earnest to haue me into the Tanke, which I excused by my late sickness. He answered, if at any time I had a desire to wath, he would haue me come hither and take my pleasure, and the Keeper should permit me and vte me well.

The twelfth of July, at evening was a great shew made by the *Surat* Captaine before the Gouverneur, being the time of the New Moone: Many figures artificially made in fire-works, rare and excellent. The Gouverneur sent me to see them, placed me in a Chaire by him, told me of Letters that day received from *Sinan* of the *Basha's* *Firman*, granted before Master *Salbank* came, who hearing of his coming said it and made another, as he gave instructions, and deluded it him with his owne hand.

On the thirteenth, pulled by the Road of *Gudda* a Junke of foure or five hundred tonnes, bound for *Kuchina*, a dyes full within the entrance of the Red Sea; I suppose it not farr from Cape *Guadafu* on the Coast of *Affric*. Shee is reported to be rich in gold, Royalls of plate, and many sorts of Merchandise: yearly comes to *Mocha*, brings Myrrhe, Trunkes for *Coho* beds, at the first beginning of the weesterly Monion, and dispatching here, goes up to *Gudda* or *Alimbi*, 50 and there sells her *Coho* and *Indian* goods which shee taketh in at *Kuchina*, brought thither by *Portugall* Frigats from *Diu*, and other places. Her lading outward is *Indies*, all manner of *Indian* Linnen, Gumme, Lac and Myrrhe; it is freighted by the *Portugalli*, and the Gouverneur withed we might meet with her, which it is likely we had done, had not our ship bene absent, which returned into the Road on the one and twentieth. I went aboard, and was told, that the King of *Affab* with his brother and brothers sonne, had bene aboard and received good entertainment, in requitall whereof, the King promised to lend for foure or five Bees and Goats: but in the evening, by signe of a light given, fled with all his people up into the Mountaynes, pretending a pursuit of his enemies, and neuer returned so much as thanks.

The fifteen and twentieth, before day, Master *Salbank* returned in perfect health and content with his *Firman*. He related to me of his hard journey, good respect given him by the way in all places; being away met before he entred any Towne of note, with *Horle* and Foot, to guard him to the Gouvernours, and of them received with good welcome; his provisions provided by their Officers (but at his owne charge) the Gouverneur of *Mocha* tenant in the name of the *Basha*, procuring his good vilge. Before he came into *Sinan* he was met a mile without the Citie 60 by

by fortie or fittie braue *Turky* well horsed, sent by the *Basha* to bring him in; which conveyed him to a house full of silke and nelly furnished against his coming. He received friendly entertainment of the principall *Xeriff* and the *Basha's* chiefe Treasurers, which were both appointed to welcome him. And two dayes after, the *Basha* himselfe gave him hearing, of whom he received courteous entertainment and two *Firman*, both of one Tenor, but one written in a fairer Character then the other, to shew to the *Grand Signior*, if occasion required.

I find, by his report, that the Citie of *Sinan* with the Countrey adjoining, will vent yearly some quantitie of English cloth, those parts for three quarters of the yeere being cold; yea, in this Summer time a man might well haue endured a tured Gowne. Besides, there is a Court 10 kept, to which belong fortie or fittie thousand gallant *Turky*, most of which wore garments of *Persian* cloth of great prices. Also not farr from thence lyeth a Leskar of Soldiers, to the number of thirte thousand, that continually are in the field against an *Arab* King not yet conquered, which lyeth in the Mountaynes adjoining, all which, he faith, are reported to wear Coats quilted of Cotton made of *India Pintado's*, which is deare and litle fraineable, for want of cloth to keep them from cold, which there is extreme. To this I may add: the Citie of *Tyris*, and the Leskar of thirte or fortie thousand Soldiers, governed by an *Almeane* turned 20 *Moore*, subject to the *Basha* of *Sinan*, where is much cloth worse, not about five dayes journey from *Mocha*, yet very cold.

The second of August, the Gouverneur sent our Captaine a vest, a rich one, by his chiefe *She*-*bander* with Drammes and Trumpets, his Boat bedecked with Flags and Streamers in great vited brauerie, which was deluered with great reuerence, and received accordingly.

The eleuenth, the Captaine of *Dabul* *Melle Marner*, and *Nakida* *Kosfian* the *Chenal* Captaine, sent vs their letters of recommendations to their Kings, according to our desire, certifying of our friendly vilge here, and promise to defend them howerward bound from Pirates, and therefore beseeching, in our behalfe, freedom of Trade and friendly vilge in their Kingdomes. The fourteenth, we gave our Passes (as at other times to others) unto two Captaines of the *Almeane*, *Ames Ben* *Almeane* of *Cannanor* vnder *Sultan Ala* *Rais*, and to *Am* *Baker* of *Cannanor* vnder the *Samirine*.

This day came into the Road a small Galley from *Cairo*, with many passengers, *Turky* and 30 *Leues*, rich in Royalls, Chekines, Corall, Damaskes, Sattins, Chamlet, Opium, Veluets and *Taffata's*. Shee had bene in her voyage but thirte dayes. I had conference with the *Leues*, one of which had bene of my acquaintance in *Barbarie*. They report, that the *Grand Signior's* brother, being made Emperour, had imprisoned his two Nephewes, done to death some *Grandees*, and otherwise discontented the great Ones, and that he was deplored, imprisoned, and the eldest of his Nephewes created. That there were two hundred thousand Soldiers sent against the *Persian*, for the conquest of *Gurgistan*, with other things, whereof some proved true, others false, according to the fate of Merchants newes. Some *Leues* and *Turky* desired passage for them and their goods in our ship to *Surat*; and it is likely when they know vs better, much profit may be made this way, their Lunkes being so pestered vially with vncuill people.

Thus hauing told and bartered our goods as well as we might, hope of such a Cargazon, and dispatched our business, we visited the Gouverneur and desired his Letter testimoniall to the Lord Embassador, which he gave vs; we took our leave the nineteenth of him, the *Serascene* and principall men of the Towne, from whom we received pretensions of much kindnelle alwayes, came aboard, intending the next day to set sail for *India*, in company of the *Surat* Junke, according to our instructions.

CHAP. VI.

50 Briefe Notes of two Voyages of Master MARTIN PRING into the East Indies; the first with Captaine NICHOLAS DOWNTON, General of foure ships, in which he went Master in the New-yeeres Gift Admirall.

60 **R**om England to the Canaries, we vied our Chanell Compasses, and from thence our Meridionall. Whiles we vied our Chanell Compasses, we gave not any allowance for the variation; which afterwards we did in all our Courses. Wednesday, the fiftenth of June, 1614. we anchored in the Road of *Soldania*, the latitude whereof is foure and thirte degrees, the longitude from the Lizard eight and twentie degrees, of a great circle East, the variation one degree, thirte minutes, North welling.

The fourth of July, we had the Cape of *Good Hope* East seven leagues off. On Saturday the sixt of August, we descried the Land of *Saint Lawrence*. The River of *Saint Augustine* hath in latitude

Sale of English
clothlike.

Arabia, not
wholly
to the Tanke.

Many passen-
gers both for
Merchandise
and Pilgrims
to Mecca.

Soldania.

The River of
Saint Augustine
latitude

Weymouth
Hall.

Sally.

Whirlwinds.

Eclipse.

Zilias.

1611.
Currents.Salt-Ilands.
Pumice-stones.
The Marine
discourer
are here
discourer
and cut
partly
discourer
I think
will much
affect
that part
and many
discourer
In with
experience
and in the
discourer
of the
discourer
I was
discourer
to be
discourer
of the
discourer
which was
discourer
me. Yet
discourer
in on
and another
discourer
the
discourer
the most
discourer
in this
kind.

latitude twenty three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope twenty three degrees, of a great Circle. We left it on the twelfth; and the thirteenth we had Westminister Hall (which is a flat Hill, lying North-east by North from the Road of Sumatra) South-east by South nine leagues off, being in latitude three and twenty degrees, variation thirteene degrees and twenty minutes, North westing. On the fourteenth and fiftieth, we found that the Current had set vs to the North, of our account, fixe leagues.

On the eighteenth, by observation of the Sunne at noone, we found the cleuation of the South Pole to be thirteene degrees and twenty six minutes. The three and twentieth, we deferred the land of Sumatra.

The second of September, we passed the Line: the ninth, we anchored in Delphis Road on the North side of Socatra, in twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, variation eight degrees and thirtie minutes, longitude eleven degrees and twenty minutes, of a great Circle to the East of Saint Augustine.

Then anchoring, and what passed at Swally, see had before in Captaine Davison. The second of March, we left the Road of Swally. On the fourth, we were as low as Damon, and saw the Vice-roy with his Padresca Armada, which chafed vs till the sixt at noone, and then left vs. The night before we came in sight of Damon, we had many Whirlwinds, the weather being clear, as if the two Monarchs had beene striving for victorie. The sixteenth, Cochon bare three leagues off East-North. It stands in ten degrees close by the waters side; the Land follow that we could see nothing but Trees: but vp in the Country are Mountaynes: variation fifteen degrees North-North-easting, this evening.

The nineteenth, at noone being Sunday, there was an Eclipse of the Sunne, the end whereof by my observation, continued till one in the afternoon and fortie five minutes. The dusk whereof the Sunne from the Zenith, was twenty seven degrees and thirtie minutes, just as the Eclipse was ended. Munday, by observation of the Croisers we were in fixe degrees, and by the Stars of the great Bear also. Tuesday, at five in the morning, we descried the Coast of Sylon five leagues off, which neere the water side rich full of small Hummocks, and vp in the Country are Mountaynes, whereof one like a Friars Cowle. Friday, Punta de Galia North-east half North eight leagues off, we perceived that the Current set westward. By observation of the Stars in the great Bear also, we were in five degrees and thirtie minutes.

The fourth and fifth of April, we perceived the Current had set vs five leagues and two third parts to the North, being in one degree and fiftie minutes, when by our way we should have been in one degree thirtie three minutes. We found a like Current on the ninth. The two and twentieth, we found that the Current had carried vs in four dayes thirteene leagues to the South of our computation. The third of May, at noone, we were in foure degrees and thirtie minutes, and found that since the former noone the Current had carried vs foure leagues South of our computation. We had sight of Sumatra. The like we found at noone the next day. We saw the Ile of Engado, the North point bearing South-west eight leagues off. The sixt at noon, we were in five degrees and thirtie seven minutes, carried to the South of our accounts five leagues by the Current. We saw the South point of Sumatra East South-east low by the water.

On the fourth, we were at noone in fixe degrees and ten minutes, the Current having set vs six degrees and an halfe to the South of our accounts.

The morning we saw the Salt-Ile, which is in the entrance of the Straights of Sumatra, bearing East, two third parts North. The tenth of May, the South-east winds began to blow fresh, onely now and then a gust which would sometimes alter it, and that about the change or full of the Moone, or else we had it alway between the South South-east, and the East South-east: but most commonly at South-east. On the tenth, the Generall (we being able to doe no good the other way) thought best to bear vp to the North of the Salt-Ile, where under the North end of the Northernmost, we anchored in twenty fadoms oaze, within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, finding the lake depth all along the North end of this Iland in that distance. Between the high Salt-Ile and this, is Pumice-stone-Ile, which alwayes burneth, and casts forth Pumice-stones like to Eggs. The Northernmost we called Geo, of the fruit found there. These Pumice-stones we cast into the water, which swam like Corks. The twelfth, the Pinnasse was sent to Pulo-Bood for water: it was brackish. On the sixteenth, our men found a Pond of fresh water, on the North end of the Salt-Ile, in the flat ground by the waters side, and filled water there. We set sail thinking to have gotten to the South of the Salt-Ile, the winde being at North-east, but could not preuaile against the Current. The nineteenth, we were in fixe degrees, five minutes of South latitude.

The twentieth, the Current North-west and North-west, whereas before for ten degrees it had set directly West betweene those Ilands.

After much contending with the weather and Current, having very good water from Palmo Ile, half a mile within the East point in a sandy Cove.

The first of June, we set sail and stood to the South, making a South-west way by meanes of the Current that sets West South-west, along the shoare. On the three and twentieth of June, Master

Master Jordan came aboard: and the next our Generall sent a Present to the King of Bantam. Note, that while we rid in the Straits-mouth, we found the Current from twelve at noone, till five in the morning to runne very swift, and from thence till noone very easie. Sunday the sixt of August, our Generall departed this life.

The tenth of October, Captaine Jordan came in the Luncke from Iacatra, and related his kind entertainment, the King being wholly deuoted to vs, and having the Dutch.

The feuen and twentieth of Nouember, the Flemmings let vpon Kruee his house (he was our Merchant to buy Pepper for vs) with intent to keepe him Prisoner in their owne house: But Captaine Jordan hauing notice thereof presently went and rescued him in despite of the Flemmings, and brought him to the English-house. The two and twentieth of December, hauing rescued our lading, we left the Road of Bantam.

The feueenth of January, we were in feuen degrees five minutes of South latitude, we found that the Current had set vs South South-east nine leagues in twentie hours, the variation this evening was three degrees fortie minutes North-westing. The two and twentieth, our Generall Master Thomas Elkington departed this life.

The first of March, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, our Company most part in good health. The next day we set vp our Tents aloare, landed our sick men and our water caske. On Sunday the third, Cary came downe vnto vs, who told vs of one Captaine Croffe, which liued

upon Penguin Iland with eight men and a Boy: to whom Master Delfporth had giuen a Boat. I sent the Pinnasse which brought three, and left there other three. These reported, that on Saturday last, Captaine Croffe with two others, their Boat being split in pieces, made a Gangado of

Timber, and had gotten halfe way betwixt the Iland and the ship, when two Whales rose vp by them, one of them foore, that they strooke him on the backe with a wooden spit; after hee hummed with the water, returned to the Iland, and hauing thirped a shur and refreshed himselfe, aduertured the second time, giuing change to one of the Company, to haue an eye on him so long as he could see him. This fellow saith, he saw him a great way from the Iland, and on the sudden lost sight of him; which is the last newes of him.

The eight of March, (all things ready) we departed, hauing gotten good store of sheepe and some Bullockes. From the Tropick till we were in one degree eighteene minutes of South latitude, we met alway with a Southerly Current, which set vs to the South about feuen or eight miles in foure and twentie houres. The reason I guesse to be, because we were alway to the Eastwards of that Current, which sets towards the North-west from Saint Helena, so that wee went in the edge of the Eddy of the North-west Current. The five and twentieth of June, 1616, we arrived in the Downes.

CHAP. VII.

- 40 The second Voyage of Captaine PRING into the East-Indies, Or a Relation of the fifth Voyage for the Ioynt Stocke, set forth by the Honorable and Worshipfull of the East-Indie Societe: consisting of fine Ships, viz. the James Royall, of burthen a shon and tunnes, ROWLAND COYT-MORE Master: the Anne Royall, nine hundred tunnes; ANDREW SHILLING Master: the Gift, eight hundred tunnes; NATHANIEL SALMON Master: the Bull, foure hundred tunnes; ROBERT ADAMS Master: the Bee, one hundred and fiftie tunnes; JOHN HATCH Master. All under the Government of MARTIN PRING.

§. I.

Occurs in the way, at Surat, Bantam, and Iacatra.



Nov 1616. The fourth of February, our Fleet departed from Grandford. Thurf. day the sixth, Master Maurice Abbot, Deputie with diuers of the Commissioners were aboard the ships, and mustered all our men and paid their Harbrough wages. The next day they departed, and all our men were carried into whole pay. After much foule weather. The fift of March, we departed from the Downes. March the feueenth, we had the Lizard North foure leagues off, which lyeth

Their returne.

Croffe with other condemned persons left to inhabit there. Croffe left.

1. eth in fiftie degrees ten minutes. From the Lizard we steered away by a Meridional Compass, giving allowance in all our courses for the Variation. The seven and twentieth, 1617, at noone we had in latitude twenty eight degrees ten minutes, the North-east point of the *Gran Canaries* West North-west five leagues off.

The two and twentieth of June, we had sight of *Soldania* point, and the same afternoon anchored in the Bay, whence we departed on the thirteenth of July. On the three and twentieth, we devalryed *Terra de Natal*.

The third of August, we devalryed the land of *Saint Lawrence*, in twenty two degrees fortie five minutes of latitude. On the eleventh, we saw the Ile of *Melinda*. The Kings name is *Fernao Mary O Femandez*. *Passos* the name of the Port where we rood: *Commoro* by the Inhabitants is called *Angaia*. The next land to the East is *Joanna*; and the next to the East-ward that is *Mozambique*.

The fixe of August, at night the Moone was totally eclipsed, when the foot of the Crossiers was nine above the Horizon: began at eight, and continued till it was past eleven, and was totally eclipsed for the space of an houre and halfe. The five and twentieth of August, at night between seven and eight a clocke in South latitude four degrees twenty minutes. The water of the Sea seemed almost as white as Milke, and so continued till the next morning; and then as the day came on the water began to alter againe. The next night we were in the same water againe, but not altogether so white. The thirteenth, before day we saw the fore-said white water againe: and likewise the next night, but could find no ground.

The eight of September, we mounted the rest of our Ordnance; this night at twelue of the clocke we had six foot and an halfe water in hold, which in four houre with both Pumps was freed, and after that the Pumps did sucke in much in the space of halfe an houre, that it would rise twelue inches water.

The ninth, in the morning, I caused the Chief Commanders of the Fleet to come aboard, where after that I had given them notice of the Accident, I willed them to send for their carpenters to have their advice in searching for the Leake, and some of their Companies besides to helpe our men to pumps; others to rummage in hold, and the rest to stich our sprit-layle with Ocom, wherewith we made yarr dunnies times vnder the bilge of the shippe, but could not find the Leake, yet by diuers experiments within boord, we found that the Leake was before the Mast, and therefore the next morning being the tenth, we fitted our sprit-layle againe, as before, and let it downe before the stern of the ship, and so brought it afterwards on only degrees, until by our iudgement it was vnder the Carke of the keele, and the stern, and there (God be praised) our Leake was partly stopped, for it rose not above six inches in a Glasse, where before it rose twelue inches. After this comfortable newes, we steered away our course, and within three Glasse after the Ocom was washed out, so that we came to our old sint againe; this night we sent for one of the *Bull* Pumps to free our water from before, where there was always till then a foot and an halfe water more than was in the Well.

The eleuenth, we fitted our sprit-layle with Ocom, and let it downe againe, in which action it pleased God so to favour vs, that within an houre after, our shippe was thighter then at any time before, which I pray God long to continue.

The twelfth, in the morning we devalryed a layle which the *Gift* did fetch vp in the afternoon: this was a *Portugall* which came from *Mozambique*, having about fix kintals of Elephants teeth. In the morning, the *Bea* came to vs from *Swally* Road, and gave vs intelligence of the rest of the Fleet, that they were all in safetie in the Road of *Swally*, which was no small joy unto vs. Likewise, we understood, that they had brought the *Juncke* and the two shippes, which they chased the fixteenth of this month, into the Road with them; the *Juncke* being a great ship of *Surat*, belonging to the Mocher *Queene*, the other two *Englysh* shippes which had her in chase, the one of two shippes was called the *Francis*, a ship of one hundred and fixty tunnes, belonging to (

the other the *Law* of one hundred and twenty tunnes, set forth by *Philip Bernardy*, an Italian Merchant in *London*. The Captaine in the *Francis* was *Neuer*, and of the *Law* *Thomas*, who in former time had bene *Bea*, ofaine of the *Histor*.

This evening (God be praised) we arrived in *Swally* Road without the Smale, where we found the rest of the Fleet; the fore-said *Juncke*, and the two *Englysh* men of Warre; the *Bull* and the *Lion* being got in on the barre. The five and twentieth, I gave order that the *Francis* should goe in also, that we might be more secure of her and her Consort; the same evening, the *Bea* and the *Price* went in also.

The ninth of October, at night, I sent vp one and twenty chests of Corall to *Surat*, which was landed from the *Anne* two dayes before; at night I sent eight tunne, four hundred of Elephants teeth to *Surat* from the *Price*. In the morning, we had a consultation about the *Elamers*, where it was determined that the *Anne* or *Gift*, should by Gods grace be laden for *Elam*.

This afternoon, twentie layle of Frigats from *Goa*, arrived at the barre of *Surat*, the Captaine *Maior*, *Don Pedro de Asfede*, from one of thole Frigats; five of the Countrey people came

* An Eclipse.

A great and dangerous Leake.

This ship did belong to the Portugall, Captain Neuer, and was, about arrival at Swally, we brought two Dutch ships, it was at Goa, and the *Retraitor* on a shou and tunne, and a small Pinnace, the one forced ashore, the 18. October. The 19. of the 1617, one sight of another.

Portugall spies.

ashore amongst our men, which being discouered, three of them fled and two were taken by our guard, who confessed that they came from *Goa* a month before, being commanded by the Vice-Regent to range the Coast, to discouer the *Englysh*, which found, they were to returne againe, if not deliueyed, to proceed on for *Cambaye* to wait the *Cassado*.

The fourteenth, in the morning, I sent fourteen tunne of Elephants teeth to *Surat*, from the *Price*, which were guarded by thirty six men that went for the Conuoy of our money to *Madagascar*. The fouteenth, we sent vp twelue tunne, and four hundred teeth.

The fouteenth Frigats aforesaid returned againe faire by vs, and stood to the South-ward, we sent the rest of our teeth to *Surat*. On the two and twentieth, and this afternoon we landed sixteen chests of Corall, and two of Moors teeth from the *Bull*.

The fourteenth of November, being Friday, we dipeided the *Bea* for *Iaques*, a monethes pay was given to all the Company in the Fleet, (the chief Commanders and the Merchants excepted) which amounted to three thousand three hundred and two Rials of eight. And after that, this afternoon we landed Cloth, Tinne, Cales of Wine, and strong Waters, with the rest of the Presents that were in the Cabbin.

The sixteenth of January, being Saturday, the *Bea* returned from *Perfidia* this day *Mallabar* lunkes Road in the ofing, to whom I sent out the *Francis*, who brought in two of them, and the *Bea* other two.

Thursday, the twelfth of March, we departed from *Swally* Road, the same evening we anchored neere the Barre of *Surat*. The fouteenth, in the morning, the wind veered vp Northerly, and in the afternoon the *Anne* departed from vs, bound for the Red Sea. Tuesday, the eighteenth, I dipeided the *Bull*. At noone we had gone South-east by South twelue leagues, latitude, eleven degrees twenty five minutes, the winds (as foure or five dayes before) at night a little breath off the shore, by day in the afternoon a fresh gale from the Sea; this day in the fore-noon we saw eight layle of shippes to the South-wards of vs, and three between vs and the fore-noon we saw eight layle of shippes to the North-wards, by the threethree more, two Gallies and ten Frigats, these were chased to the North-wards, by the *Bea* and the *Francis*, which I had sent the night before, to keepe faire the shore. The eight and twentieth, in the afternoon the *Francis* and the *Bea* being neere the shore, and thwarte of *Cad*, the King sent off a Boat pretending to be very desirous to speake with me, but I was too farre thot to the South-wards before that I heard the newes.

The second of April, 1618. in the morning, we got into the Bay of *Brim Lan*, where we anchored in fourteene fathome water, within halfe a league of the Towne, a high picked hill hke vnto a Sugar-loafe, bearing North-east by East by the Compass, which is the best mark if it be cleane, to know the places here is good refreshment to bee had, Hennes and Coco Nurs in abundance, Goates and great store of fish, also good fresh water springing from a Rocke; but we were faine to pay seuentie Rials of eight, a Vest of Cloth, a small Peece, a Looking-glasse, and a Sword, and all too little to gine her content. For after the Gouverneur had received the Present with the money, and granted vs leave, he came againe with seven or eight hundred men, and demanded more money, and had we not kept a strong guard at the spring, he would have put vs by it after our money was paid. Sunday, the fifth, at one of the clocke at night, the wind coming off the shore, we weighed anchor and departed. This evening we were thwarte of a headland, which lyeth South-east by East from *Brim Lan* eight leagues, from whence vnto the Cape East, two thirds South are seven leagues. Neere vnto the first headland lyeth two Rockes, a good height above water and a mile without them, there is a most dangerous Rocke, which is euer with the surface of the water, but if you come not within twentie five fathome, you shall goe cleere enough.

On the fouteenth, in the evening at fixe we had Cape *Commorin* North North-east one Cape, North five leagues off, being in thirte fathome. The nineteenth of June, *Captaine Ball* and *Master Pickham* came aboard. This afternoon (God be praised) we arrived in the Roade of *Bantam*.

The four and twentieth, I went to the *Pangram*, to compose the matter between *Captaine Ball* and the *Chimfey*, whose *Juncke* *Captaine Ball* had arrested for certain debts due by the *Chimfey*, where (according to *Captaine Balls* desire) I made proffer of the redeliuery of the *Juncke*, conditionally, that the *Pangram* would doe vs iustice; which he called his word to performe. Monday, the sixth of July, in the afternoon, I went againe to the *Pangram*, *Master George Ball*, *Master Rich*, *Master Pickham*, and diuers other Merchants in company. His malice was so great against *Master Ball*, that he would not grant him accesse, whereupon I sent him word that *Master Ball* had brought the bills of debt, and was only able to gine a reason of all passages betwixt the *Englysh* and the *Chimfey*, whereof I was vnterly ignorant, his Messenger returned the second time, and told me that *Master Ball* might not be admitted, and so we left the Court.

The first of September in the morning, the wind being off the shore, we weighed, and stood towards *Point Ayre*, keeping along in seven fathome vpon the maine, until we were within Point *Ayre*, and three miles of the said Point, where we had seven fathome wanting a quarter the one caft, and the

* This morning, the 17. fall of Frigats devalryed, *Cambaye*, paid (saue by vs).

K. of Calicut.

Brim Lan and the refreshment there.

Perfidious people.

Dangerous Rocks.

Cape Commorin.

Bantam.

Pangram of *Bantam* his malice.

standing off so far to the Northwards, that they got the *Burger boats* into their company, and then anchored to the westwards of vs, about halfe a league: there they rode all night.

The foure and twentieth, both Fleets weighed anchor, ours plying to the westward to gaine the wind; and the *Hollanders* ranne in to the shoare, towards Point *Aire*: in the meane time wee desired time. Sile coming from the westward after the wind, which coming nere, wee perceived to be the little *Lames*, the *Flound*, and the *Francis*; and after they were come nere vs, we ioyned all together, and chased the *Holland Fleet*, through the Bay of *Iacatra* into the Easterne point of the same; where wee all came to an anchor in the evening. This night there was a funke sent from the *Flemmings* at *Iacatra*, filled with combustible matter, and set on a light fire, which came so nere unto our Fleet, that we were faine to veyligh or anchor and be gone. The five and twentieth, being Christmas day, wee saw the *Flemmings* Fleet againe, standing to the Eastwards, and the same day, wee sent our barge to follow them all night, and see what course they tooke, because we had left the *Lames Royall* in the Bay of *Bantam* before vs; for there was no ship of defence, but the *Lames*, and these vnperepared, yet taking in of her goods.

The seven and twentieth after midnight, the *Blacke Lion* was set on fire by the wretched carelesnesse of three wicked fellows, and burnt downe to the water. The thirtieth in the morning, the President went ashore to the King of *Iacatra*, with Master *John Jackson* in company, to view their fortifications, where an vnfortunate shot tooke away his leg, and so content. 20

The first of Januarie, the *Lames Royall*, the *Advice*, and the *Prise*, arrived from *Bantam*. The second, *Sir Thomas Dale* went a shoare to visite the King of *Iacatra*, and to vnderstand his resolution concerning the *Dutch Port*: The King gaue both the President and him great content in words, promising to grant any reasonable request, if the *English* would assitt him in supplying provisions for relief of that worshopfull Gentleman, Master *Nathaniel Cortop*, and his company, where it was refused. That out of our greater ships we should land six Beeces, three Culuerings, and three D.mil-culuerings, with powder and shot, convenient to assitt the King of *Iacatra* against the *Dutch*, also that *Sir Thomas Dale* should remaine in the Road with eight Salls, to countenance the business, and my selfe with fixe ships to pley for the Straits of *Sunda*, to be in wait for the *Holland Fleet*. The five and twentieth, being Munday, wee got into the Road of *Bece*, and anchored in nineteene fathoms oze, about two miles from the shoare, the South point of *Bece*, bearing South-west one quarter West, and the North point of *Sabaio*: (the Wester Ile of *Poelo Tiga*, being but in vpon it) did beare North by West three leagues off. The twentie

seven and twentieth, we watered our ships, and cut wood; and my selfe with Master *Cortop*, and other *Malais* went ashore twice, to view the Harbour; which wee found to be an excellent place for refuge of a small Fleet against a greater force. The one and thirtieth, by order from the President, we put into *Bantam Road* with our Fleet.

The first of Februarie, Captain *John Jordan* the President came aboard; who acquainted me with all the passages betwixt them and the *Dutch*, in the Castle of *Iacatra*, during the time of my abience; which was that the *Dutch* had condescended to deliuer our their Fort vnto the *English*, vpon condition they might depart with bag and baggage, and a ship for two thousand Rials of eight, to carrie them for *Coromandel*. On the fourth, *Sir Thomas Dale* with fixe ships, viz. the *Moone*, the *Cloue*, the *Lames*, the *Peppercorne*, the *Flound*, and the *Advice*, arrived in *Bantam Road*. This afternoone, the rest of the ships came in. Here, after our arrual vnderstanding that the *Pangram* had dealt vnder-hand with the *Dutch*, to haue the Castle of *Iacatra* deliuered into his hands (who before had vniuilly disappointed vs of it) we thought it fitt, that the President, and the rest of the Principals should repaire aboard, and forthwith to gett all their goods and provision from the shoare. The tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth, we were employed in getting the Honourable Companies monies and goods aboard the ships: during this time, the *Pangram* sent diuers light messengers vnto the President, to demand (as from himselfe) the reason of his departure, he (as he said) giuing them no other iust occasion, so to leaue his Countrey: whereupon the President drew certaine Articles of the severall wrongs and grieuances, that the *English* had received from time to time at his hands, which were to be translated into the *Iana* language, and sent vnto him.

The seuenteenth, Master *Yfflet* aduised from *Iacatra*, that the *Flemmings* were fortifying daily. And also, that when the Messengers of the *Pangram* demanded the surrender of their Fort, with part of their Monies, Goods and Ordnances they answered, That it was their Masters goods, and therefore not fit for them to giue them away. About noone, wee heard of the arrual of two *Dutch* ships, in the Road of *Iacatra*. The same night, *Sir Thomas Dale* with eight ships, went for *Iacatra*, in quest of the said ships, and I remayned here with foure to attend vpon the President.

John Jordan
went ashore
at Iacatra.
Master Jackson
sleane.

Aide to the
King of Iacatra.

This agreement was a crafty policy by the *Pangram* of *Bantam* who gaue vs leaue to beat the bush, and thought himselfe haue caught the birds, but he was deceived.

dent. The fixe and twentieth, we had certaine intelligence that foure *Holland* ships were at anchor in the mouth of the Straights of *Sunda*: this evening we went out with the *Lames Royall*, the *Goff*, the *Vincennes*, and the little *Lames*; and the next morning anchored nere *Poelo-Pen-Lang*, to pryde vp our ships, and to take in water and planks that lay by our side.

The first of March in the morning, we weighed againe, and plying towards the mouth of the Straights, where we desired the foure *Dutch* ships afore said at anchor, nere vnto the land called *Tamporan*, which lyeth about three leagues to the Westward of *Vnu* or *Palmunham* point. So soone as we desired them we made towards them with all speed: and they in a carelesle fashion pleyed it to and againe with their top sails helme mast downe, and at length as wee drew nere vnto them, the Admirall and the rest bore vp with our ship, being the wider most of our Fleet; and gaue vs two shot, one through the ships side vnder the halfe decke; and the other in the Steridge side.

This I declare, because men may the better vnderstand the infolenie, or rather vniuolencie of this arrogant Nation, to come on with such a Spanish brauado, and to loose to run away. They had no sooner begun, but they were as quickly answered from our ship, in such a measure, that within the space of two houres (by the gracious assistance of Almighty God) wee made them as quiet as Lambs; the Admirall, that first gaue the on-set, being the first that ran away, and after him all his Fleet; whom we chased vntill night, and then sending them too light of foote, gaue our the chase. The night wee stood our towards *Poelo Tunda*. The second in the afternoone, we anchored againe in the Road of *Bantam*; this day we had news from *Iacatra*, that one of the two *Dutch* ships afore named, was fast on ground har: by their Cattle, and that they themselves at sight of *Sir Thomas Dale* bier, had let her on fire. The other ship which tooke in some rich goods out of the Cattle, was likewise cast away vpon certaine Rocks, ten leagues to the Eastwards of *Iacatra*. The fourth day, we received the Letter from *Jo. Powell*, residing in *Iacatra*, that *Sir Thomas Dale* departed from thence the first of March with the *Moone*, the *Flound*, the *Rof*, and the *Bee*, to search out the *Flemmings* that was cast away. The fourth

in the forenoone, we had news from *Sir Thomas Dale*, that hee had gotten almost in shore of these foure ships; and then they were taken with a calme the space of twelue houres, and after this calme there did arise a tempest in the night, which scattered them so farre asunder, that the next morning they were out of hope of their chase, and so returned to point *Ayre* againe, determining forthwith to come vnto vs with the *Moone*, and to leaue the rest of his Fleet to take in some provisions from *Iacatra*.

The first of March, we consulted aboard the *Unicorn*, of our best course to bee taken with the Fleet, where it was resolved, that we should goe for the Coast of *Coromandel*, which (as we were informed) is a good Countrey for the health of men, and abounding with Rice, Wheat, Butter, Graunces, &c. which could not here be for any money.

§. III.

Their departure for Coromandel: Occurrents there: *Sir Thomas Dale's* death. English ships taken by the Dutch. Consultation and provisions at Teco, and departure thence.

April 19. 1619. being Munday, all our ships being together that were in this place, and the three Larks at anchor amongst vs, were resolu'd in counsell to put the honorable Companies Commission in execution, which was to appropriate the *Chinys* goods vnto them for former debts. On Tuesday, *Kemes* came aboard to the President, accompanied with the three *Nachads* or Captaines of the Larks, to know his intent; who answered them, That if the young King of *Bantam* would displace the *Pangram*, he would then come and *Bier* with him, and deliuer our the Larks againe. The eight and twentieth in the morning, all our Fleet being ready to set sail, intending to goe for *Morogh*, there to take in water, and to discharge the Larks; we desired a faine comming in from the Westward about *Palam-ban* point, which we found to be a *Portugall* Frigate, taken at *Iaspur*, and having twentie *English* men aboard of her, and was sent from Captain *Bonner*, as an aduise to the President in *Bantam*. These men gaue vs to vnderstand, that *Sir Thomas Dale* the Lord Embassador, was gone for *England* in the *Anne Royall*, having quitted the Countrey with great honour and reputation, both for himselfe and the honorable Company our Employers. *Baidan*, who was the cause of setting the *Black Lion* on fire, was hanged. On the two and twentieth of May, this night wee felt saile from hence.

The thirtieth, we parted with *Sir Thomas Dale*, who hailed in with his Fleet, vnder the I. land, and we held on our course for *Messilapatan*, having in company the *Goff*, the *Unicorn*, and the *Bee*. The thirtieth of June in the morning, we anchored in nine fathome about two leagues of the shoare on the Coast of *Coromandel*; here we roade for the space of foure dayes, du-

Dutch brauado.

Uniuolencie
of the Dutch.
Their flight.

Dutch ship
burnt, and an-
other cast
away.

A Tempest.

Sir Thos. Dale
returne to En-
gland.

The craft that put vnto leeward of *Mesilaputan*, was the violence of the Westley winds, and the Current setting so strong to the Eastward.

From the place where we did anchor vnto the foresaid point, which we supplied to be nine leagues we had (euen fathome water, all along two leagues or two leagues and a half off) *Cape Comfert*.

Mullet Sound.

Previsions.

Vingeron, *Caranga*.

Men drowned
nereunto *Caranga*.

Previsions.

ring which time, we were hardly able to vifite one another, by reason of the West South-west winds, and the continuall Currents setting to the East North-east. The breach alwaies fo lofite on the floare, that we durst not adventure to put to floare with any of our boats. At length when we met together, *Maister Roberts*, *Maister of the Viceroyne*, gave me notice of a Bay, lying in fauenteene degrees vpon this Coast, about five leagues to the Eastwards of *Nassipore*, where there was good riding for a Westley Monfon, which was the only thing I know desired, feting there was no hope againt Wind and Tyde to recouer *Mesilaputan*. The fourth in the morning, we fet sail and flood to the Eastward, the Coast lying West South-west, and East North-east, and hauing run about nine leagues by iudgement with the Wind and Current, we found the Land to lye away North, and North and by West, which gave mee some hope of a good Road; by this point of Land there cometh out a great River, the first time whereof hath rated a great Rife or Shoald of the sharpe of the Point, extending it selfe halfe a mile into the Sea, which maketh the smoother Road about the point, for you may bring the said Land South South-west, and ride in fixe degrees and an halfe fathome Oze, two miles off the nereest Land. Two leagues from the Northwards of this point (which for distinctiones sake I call *Cape Comfert*) issueth out another branch of the former River, which maketh the head-land it selfe an Island, of the mouth of this River lyeth likewise a long ridge of land which is drie at low water; the Northmost point of this ridge beareth North-west halfe a degree West from vs, where we ride in fixe fathome and an halfe, three miles off; and the shoald of *Cape Comfert* beareth South South-west three miles from you, and the nereest land between them both about two miles off: The next point to the Westward of *Cape Comfert* is three leagues & a third part distant from it, and did beere from vs (whence we read) North North-west, halfe a degree West, two leagues and a third part off; to the Eastward of this point lyeth another shoald, the Eastermost, the part of it bearing North from vs about four miles off; in the setting of all these Points and Shoalds, I haue allowed the variation, which in this place is twelue degrees nereest.

The fourth of Iuly, in the afternoon, we went the *Viceroyne* Shallop into the second branch of the River (which we call *Mullet Sound*) to see if they could discouer any Towne, where they might procure a Guide to condukt *Robert Pickering* and *William Clarke* vnto *Mesilaputan*, by whom we had sent our Letter to *Maister Melbould*. Tuesday the fixt in the morning, the Shallop returned aboard, reporting that they had gotten a Guide to direct our Messengers at a little Village three leagues vp the River; they bought aboard twentie Hennes which cost two thilings. Friday in the afternoon, the Barge returned aboard from *Captaine Ball* with one and feteuente Goates and Shepes, and nine and twentie Hennes, leaving *Captaine Ball* and the rest at a Towne called *Nassipore*, which is five leagues vp in the Country. The twelth in the morning, *Maister Melbould* came from *Mesilaputan* in one of the Country Boats, and brought with him twentie Hogs, two great Larres of Rake, five Goats, and two baskets of Breal; hee brought vs newes of a Dutch ship richly laden, in the Port of *Mesilaputan*, and ready to depart for *Holland*.

The fixe and twentieth in the euening, I went in the Barge to seeke out some Barge which might lead vs vnto *Vingeron*, the chiefest Towne: that is nereest the Sea side: The same night I passed in ouer the Barre of *Caranga*, and about two miles vp in the River, I lodged in the town of *Caranga*, where I found the chiefest of the town very ready to enterteyne vs in the best manner they could, and gave the Gouverneur notice of my coming the same night. The next morning, hauing rowed vp about three miles in the mayne River, and two miles in a little creeke we had fight of *Vingeron* about twelth miles off. Here I landed and went towards the Towne, but before I came to the Towne end, the Gouverneur sent his Horse for mee with all the musique that the place afforded; amongst other instruments there were two huge ballie Hornes in stead of Trumpets: The Gouverneur receiued mee very kindly, but more kindly my Prefent, which was two pieces *China Veluets*, and fixe pieces *China Taffates*; our congratulations ended, I tooke my leave of him, who had then caused his *Pallanken* to be made ready to conuey me vnto my lodging, which was an house nere at hand, that he himselfe had allotted for mee.

The first of August, I returned aboard the *James*, where to my griefe I vnderstood, that the *Viceroyne* shallop was cast away three dayes before, nere vnto *Tonara*, *Maister Harris* being drowned with two of the *Caranga* crew, and one *Blacke*; *Captaine Spaulding*, *Maister Tord*, and the rest, very hardly escaping the danger. Saturday in the morning, the Gouverneur of *Vingeron* came aboard to see our ship, in expectation of some great Prefent; on whom I beloued a piece of *China Damcke*, and four pieces of *China Taffates*, which gaue him more content then the sight of a thousand ships, and so hee departed, when he saw that begging could no further preuaile. On Monday the three and twentieth, I caused our men to repaire aboard, intending to ply vp towards *Mesilaputan*: This euening wee got aboard two hundred and fiftie Goats for our provisions at Sea.

Tuesday in the afternoon, hee arrived a *Balleget* from *Nassipore* bringing in her twentie fixe Caudes of *Grammeer*, a Candee of Butter, and one hundred Gallons of Rake; this day I received

ciued letters from *Mesilaputan*, importing the dolefull newes of the death of *Sir Tho. Dale*, hee departed out of this life the ninth of August, 1619. in *Mesilaputan*.

Monday, the fixt of September, in the morning, hauing road most part of the former night about three leagues South South-east from the Barre of *Nassipore* in nineteene fathome, finding the wind so North-west we fet sail againe and plyd it vp towards *Mesilaputan*. This night we anchored four leagues to the Eastwards of *Mesilaputan*.

The sixteenth in the morning, we saw the English ships in the Road of *Mesilaputan* foure leagues off. This afternoon, the *Bee* being farre southerly, wee stretcht it along the floare, and in the evening arrived in the Road of *Mesilaputan*; where we found the *Moone*, the *Clew*, the *Globe*, and the *Advice*, which being found vnterueicable was here callt off, and her provisions put aboard the *Moone* and the *Clew*. Wednesday, in the morning, *Maister Spaulding*, *Maister Ball*, and *Maister Melbould*, came aboard the *James*, giuing mee notice of all matters that had passed in my absence, also of the state of the honorable Companies batinele at present. This afternoon I accompanied them ashore, that we might the better consult and determine how to proceed in these vnterueicall affairs; the first thing proposed, was the vntion of both Fleets, which was thought most necessarie, and therefore soon concluded, which businesse ended, they made choise of me to be Admirall and chiefe Commander of all their Ships and Men thus vntioned, according to the honorable Companies direction. The eighteenth of October, being Monday, here arrived a ship from *Meche* belonging to the Towne, who brought vs newes of the 20 *Lion* being at *Meche*, and a small Frigate in her companie. The *Tee* arrived from *Nassipore*, with provisions from the Fleet.

The nineteenth, the *Dragons Claw* came from *Nassipore*, almost laden with Rice and Paddie. Thursday, the ninth of December, in the afternoon, *Maister Ball*, *Maister Melbould*, and the rest of the Merchants, that were to remayne in this Country, went ashore.

Friday, the tenth, in the morning, we left the Road of *Mesilaputan*, and in the afternoon anchored off the head-land to lay for the *Papper-carre*, which came out to vs in the euening, betweene the *Ile Engava* and *Mesilaputan*; I made nineteene degrees and thirte minutes of great Circle in longitude, which although it giue not the true longitude in these parts nere the Equinoctiall, custome hath called it so, and so doe I, because I would not fauour of inuocation.

30 The next morning very early, we decried the Land of *Somatra*, the Hill of *Palfaman*, bearing East North-east halfe North twelue leagues, and the high Land of *Prismas* East halfe South fourteen leagues off. Here we met with two Shoalds, the one within a mile to the Eastward of the other; the *Gift* came over the Eastermost, and had no lesse then foure fathome and a halfe: ouer the Westier Shoald I sent the *Claw*, who found foure fathome: in the first place they crossed it, and had but two fathome as they returned, which was a little more to the Northward. This morning before day, the wind began to duller againe, which was the onely meane that pleased God to vife for our preservation, his holy Name bee praised for the same. This morning about nine, the wind came vp South-east, and so continued vntill three in the afternoon, which brought vs to the Southward of all these Shoalds againe, and so with little wind we spent all the next night betweene the foresaid Shoalds and the *Ile of Batroo*. A fagging Current setting to the Northwards, brought vs so nere vnto these Shoalds; for had the Current, as in former time fet away to the South-east, our course would haue lead vs nere vnto *Teco*, but contrary to our expectation, we found that it had carried vs to the Northward, and this decider our iudgement.

The foure and twentieth of Ianuarie in the morning, the Hill of *Palfaman* did beare East North-east one third part Northerly, and the high Land of *Prismas* East one third part South two degrees leagues: here we saw a drie Shoald in forme of the Hill of a great Boat, lying South-west by West of the Hill of *Palfaman*, about ten leagues from the floare, and West North-west from this Shoald foure leagues, we saw the breach of another Shoald, which by Gods gracious providence we happily escaped. This euening at fixe of the clocke, we had light of the *Iles of Teco*, and halfe an houre before eight, we anchored in foure foure fathome streame ground, the said *Iles of Teco* bearing East from *Nassipore* foure leagues off. Tuesday, the fixe and twentieth in the afternoon, with the bill of the Sea-rume, we weighed anchor and berred in towards *Teco*. As we drew nere we decried three hills, (standing to the Northwards of the *Ile of Teco*) which they call to anchor fire: by the floare the same night; and we with all our fleet about a league without them. Thursday in the morning, they weighed anchor and came vp with vs, which were found to be the *Pallgrave*, the *Elizabeth*, and the *Hope*; by these wee heard the dolefull newes of the taking of the *Dragon*, the *Boare*, the *Expedition* and *Rofi*, by fixe *Holland* ships, as they were at anchor within the *Iles of Teco*; also of the losse of the *Starre* in the Streets of *Sheda*, taken by the Dutch. Moreover, how they had sent foure great ships, double manned, in quest of the *Samson* and *Hound*, of the safetie of which ships wee are very doubtfull; so that the English ships which they haue taken, doe almost equal the number of our three Fleets, now ioynd in one.

Monday, the one and thirtieth of Ianuarie, we held a consultation aboard the *James* Royall,

The death of
Sir Tho. Dale.

Of the River
of *Nassipore*,
we found the
Current by
day to set
South South-
east by right,
North North-
east after halfe
a league and
a half.

Both Fleets vntioned.
Cape Fring,
Admirall of
both.
The *Lion* at
Meche in the
Red Sea.
Nassipore.
Nassipore.

The longitude
betweene *Engava*
and *Mesilaputan*,
Palfaman in
Somatra,
Two Shoalds,
and their e-
scape.

The *Batroo*:
Teco.

Three sail of
English.

The *Dragon*,
Boare, *Expedi-
tion* and *Rofi*,
taken by the
Dutch.
The *Starre*,
Samson and
Hound taken.

The *Lames* re-
ceived.

on shore. The nineteenth, the *Lames Royall* having all things taken out, but only certain barrels of Lead, to help trimme her oar was heaved downe almost halfe way to the keele. Thursday, the one and twentieth in the morning, the *Lames Royall* was brought downe to low, that we saw part of her keele, and so began presently to heave her. In foure dayes the Carpenter heaved out one side of the *Lames*, from the keele up to the lower bend. Wednesday, the feuen and twentieth, I sent a Cooper, two quarter Masters, and a Butcher to *Nangafaque*; to kill and salt such meate as was provided for vs.

Nangafaque
burnt.Their depar-
ture from Pa-
tania.Coming to
Batavia.Arrive at La-
cra.Phocionell on
the Coast of
China.Returne for
England.

Soldania.

Saint Helena.

Chappell Bay.

Thursday, the twelfth of October, we had the *Lames* downe to keele againe on the other side, on this side we found foure dangerous places, where the maine planke was eaten thorow by the Wormes; in each of those places were graued in a piece of planke, and in one of them we drew a trunnell, where there was neuer any before: it was named a piece of Lead vpon the end of the bolt, which was formerly diuised through the keele to stop our great leake; our ship was righted againe both sides, being finished vp to the lower Bends. Saturday, the one and twentieth, the *Mome* was finished on both sides. Tuesday, the foure and twentieth, we had newes that *Nangafaque* was burnt, that a fire beginning in the *Portugall* street, continued foure or five of the richest streets in the Citie.

The feuenth of December, Thursday, we departed from *Firando* and the same evening wee anchored in the Bay of *Coches*. Saturday, the sixteenth, Captain *Cleuenger*, and Captaine *Le Fevre* arrived in *Firando*, from the Emperors Court, with the ioyfull tidings of good successe in their business. Sunday, the seuenteenth in the morning, I tooke my leaue of them, and about noone, the wind being faire, and the weather cleere, we left the Road of *Coches*.

Thurs. day, the sixteenth of January in the morning, seeing foure ships in *Bantam* Road, we weighed, and stood in, a little within *Pan-lang*, at length there came the *Pepper* corse boate aboard our ship with the Master, one *Morton*, he told me that there were two *Dutch* ships in the Road, and one *French* ship; to whom the *Pangram* had granted Trade, and that the *Anglo* and *Dutch* had conferred with him to share the *Pepper* in this amongst them. I also understood by him, that the most part of our lading was ready for vs at *Lacra*.

Wednesday, in the morning, I set sail for *Lacra*, and the same evening anchored neere vnto *Antiky*. Thursday, the eighteenth, at night, we arrived in the Bay of *Lacra*, where we found the *Charles*, the *Gift*, and the *Cloue*, and two *Dutch* ships, viz. the *Leijden*, and the *Sm* and at *Her* Island, the *Globe*, and the *Bee*. Here I met with the Master of the *Unicorn*, and diuers of his Company, who came hither in a luncke: their ship being lost vpon the Coast of *China*. The *Lames* having discharged her lading, was ready to relate for *England*. Here was at this time in the *Charles*, the *Cloue*, and the *Gift*, about six hundred runs of *Pepper*, & the *Zeare* daily expected from *Lambou* with two hundred tunnes more, which gaue vs good hope that we should very neere make vp our ships lading with *Pepper*, *Benjamin*, *Cloues*, and *Silke*.

Munday, the sixe and twentieth of February, in the morning, I departed from the Road of *Lacra* in the *Lames Royall*, having taken in our whole lading of *Pepper*, sauing fiftie five *Pe* *culsalio*, certaine *Sapetas* of *Silke* and some *Cloues*. This business ended about ten of the clock this fore-noone, we set saile for *England*. I pray God in his wonted mercie to conduct vs vnto 40 our Native Countie in safetie, in his good time appointed.

Sunday, the twentieth of May, 1621. In the afternoon, wee arrived in the Road of *Soldania*, where we found the *Anne Royall*, and the *Fortune*, ships belonging to the Honourable Company of *London*, and three *Dutch* ships, viz. the *Ganda*, the *blacke Beare* and the *Herring*, all bound for *Bantam* and *Lacra*. The one and twentieth, we ranged our ship. Tuesday the two and twentieth, we sent five *Water-cockers* on shore, and set vs a Tent for our sicke men and Coopers, and sent five and twentie men on land to guard them. This night, I ordainyd sixtie men to goe in company with sixtie *Dutch* in quest of Cattle, who reurned the same night in vaine.

The second of Iune, in the morning, we left the Road of *Soldania*, with the wind at South South-east, South-east from the twentieth at noone, vntill the one and twentieth at five in the morning, West fifteen leagues at this instant (God be prayd) we decried the land of *S. Helena*, the bolie of it (to our iudgement) bearing West, two third parts North, about fifteene leagues off. This evening, we got within five leagues of the land, and there plyed it off, and on vntill five the next morning, and then we did beare in about the North point of the land, and the same forenoone, about ten of the clocke we anchored thowart the *Chappell Bay*, halfe a mile from the shore in five and twentie fathomes. The North point of the land bearing North-east two third parts East, one league off, and the other point South-west by South one league and an halfe off: betweene which two points there are Iuen Vallies, and the Southernmost of the seuen, leadeth vpright to the Limon Trees. Munday, the five and twentieth, we weighed anchor againe, and rood off the Valley, about halfe a mile from the shore, in twentie feuen fathomes, blacke sand and small Corall, the Northernmost picked point bearing North-east halfe East from vs two leagues off, and the Southernmost point in sight South-west halfe South, two miles off, this is the best Valley for refreshing that I know in all the land.

At this land we remayned seuen dayes, during which time we filled our water, and got at least

least fiftie Hogges and Goats, and about foure thousand Limons. Friday, the nine and twentieth of Iune, in the morning, at nine of the clocke, hauing very well refreshed our felues, (through the good providence of Almighty God) we departed from hence, and the time Evening at fixe, we had the bodie of the land South-east by South eight leagues off, the wind at South-east, the weather our-east.

The sixteenth of August, at noone we saw the high-land of *Pis* East North-east about fifteene leagues off. The fourteenth, at noone we had the top of *Pis* North, five leagues off, being in the latitude of thirtie eight degrees, twelue minutes. Whereby I perceiue that the South-side of *Pis* lyeth in thirtie eight degrees thirtie minutes neereff.

The fifteenth of September, we had the Lands end of *England* eight leagues off. Tuesday, the eighteenth, we arrived in the Downes.

p. V.

The Voyage from Bantam to Patania, and thence to Iapan, with his returne to Iacra; set by is selfe for the use of Mariners.

The feuen and twentieth of Aprill, being Thursday, we tooke leaue of this Fleet, and retired away to the North-wards, borrowing within halfe a league of the Easter point of *Paolo Tunda*, and in the evening, came to an anchor about a league off the North-east point of it in twentie three fathomes water ozie, where we roode vntill the Westerne streame beganne to returne to the East-ward againe, which was about tenne at night.

The eight and twentieth at night, we anchored in twentie eight fathomes ozie, *Paolo Antekero* bearing North-east three leagues off. *Paolo Antekero* lyeth from *Paolo Tunda*, North North-east halfe East about eight leagues off. The depth betweene them from sixteen fathomes to six and twentie, and to twentie three, twentie, eighteen, sixteen, fourteen, and twelue fathomes ozie. *Paolo Antekero* is the West-most of all the row of Islands, which extend themselves from the mouth of the Bay of *Lacra*, to the West-ward.

Saturday, the nine and twentieth, to the evening, we were in sixteene fathome. *Paolo Kero* bearing North by East halfe East of vs, two leagues and an halfe off. *Paolo Kero* lyeth from *Paolo Antekero*, North-east North North-east neereff, distant fixe leagues from the time that wee had *Antekero*, North-east three leagues off, we had twentie, eightene, sixteen, fourteen, twelue fathomes ozie.

Sunday at noone, we had the *Paolo Kero*, South halfe East six leagues off. Our depth continuing thirteene, twelue, and eleuen fathomes the Land ground.

The first of May, at noone, we had *Paolo Kero* South halfe West, nine leagues off, being as much as we could (sett at our top-mast-head, the depth twelue fathomes. Here by obseruation of the Sunne we were in South latitude foure degrees forty five minutes from noone, vntill five, North North-east foure leagues. Here we anchored againe in twelue fathomes ozie, hauing *Paolo Kero*, by estimation South by West from vs, thirteene leagues off. This night at nine, as we were at anchor in the same place, by obseruation of the Crofers, I made the ship to be in foure degrees, fortie minutes South latitude, allowing twentie nine, for the complement of the declination. Tuesday, the second in the morning, betweene foure and fixe of the clocke wee set saile againe, and the same day at noone we had runne about six leagues North North-east. The depth continuing as before, thirteene, twelue, eleuen fathomes. From the second to the third, at noone we came an East by South way, five leagues, finding such depths as the day before, at noone we made an East by South way to all ease. From *Bantam* for the space of two dayes wee had Sea-turnes and Land-turnes. From thence, vntill the second of May in the afternoon, the winds betweene the East and the South-east, and then the wind came vp North-ly, and so continued vntill the third at noone. From *Paolo Penang* vnto *Paolo Antekero* the Current did set vnto the West-ward, for the most part some-what strong, but from thence vntill wee drew neere vnto the Streights of *we* found but an eadie Current, which did runne almost vpon all points of the Compasse, euerie twenty foure houres. From the third at noone, vntill the fourth at noone North North-east eleuen leagues, the depth from twelue to ten, halfe a fathome ozie. From noone, thus day till ten at night, North five leagues and a halfe, where we anchored in ten fathomes and an halfe leefe.

Friday, the first in the morning, we weighed againe, hauing little wind and variable, vntill halfe an houre after fixe, and then the wind came vp at South-west and blew fierly. From foure to nine we made North-east halfe. Easterly three leagues; and from nine vntill noone North-west by North halfe a league, the depth ten fathome neereff. This day at noone, we were in three degrees and thirtie minutes South latitude, where wee decried a little land North North-east halfe East five leagues off, which appeared at first sight like a great Tree rising out of the Sea, from

The greatest
to station on
the W. side
of S. Hel-
na, which we
found was 5
deg. 30 min.
Eastly.

Paolo Tunda.

Paolo Antekero.

Iacra Bay.

Paolo Kero.

Latitude.

Paolo Penang.

A little land.

from noone to fixe North-west five leagues: here wee saw two or three Hummocks like Islands North by West from Isen leagues off. From hence until three after mid-night; West six leagues: at fixe we had nineteene fathom, which as wee stood to the Westward in the night increased to ten, eleven, and twelve fathom; and afterward it decreased unto eight fathom, where wee came to an anchor, the frame by night set South-east, by day North-west.

Saturday in the morning, we weighed at fixe againe, and steered away West North-west one league, and a third part; here we had light of many Hummocks rising like Islands, which at length we perceived to be all one Land, as we drew nere to it: after wee had gone one league and a third part West North-west, as aforesaid, wee came into seven fathom, a halfe leffe, and therefore tackt about to the North-eastwards, making a North North-east way vntill noone, 10 about two leagues and a halfe; at which time by obseruation of the Sunne, we were in three degrees and twentie minutes nearest South latitude, being gotten into eight fathom water againe; where we found the Current to set away North-west by West: here also about noone this day, a Lunk of *Iore* came up with vs, which had bene at *Clerber* upon *Iena*, and was now returning to *Iore*. This afternoon wee steered in with the Easterne part of this Hummockie Land, and making our way as the Easterne Point did beare from vs, which was North North-east halfe North, in this our course we came againe to seven fathom. And so increasing to foure and twentie fathom, and from thence decreasing to seven fathom a quarter leffe, where we anchored againe the said Point of Land, bearing North North-east, one third part North foure leagues off.

Sunday, the seuenth in the morning, we weighed and stood in neerer vnto the Point, in hope to haue passed through between this Point and an Island, which lyeth three leagues to the Eastward of it, but as wee stood in, we found the depth of the water first to increase from seven fathom vnto seuentene fathom; and from thence againe vnto fixe and foure fathom a quarter leffe. And about two miles of the Point in the faire way, we had but fixe fote water, which our shallop found as shce was founding of the Channell. To the Eastwards of this place there appeared many small Islands, and by the report of the people in the Luncke, the Sea is full of Islands betweene the South-east end of *Banco*, and the Ile of *Buraco*. Now this was the South-east end of *Banco*, which did beare North North-east halfe North about two leagues off; and the Land from this Point vnto the entrance of the Straights of *Banco*, did lye West by South nere half about thirteene leagues: there as wee were at anchor, the foresaid Point bearing North by East halfe East two leagues and a halfe, we found (by obseruation of the Sunne) the ship to bee in three degrees and eight minutes South latitude.

Munday in the morning, (having little hope to find a passage between the South-east end of *Banco* and the foresaid Islands, by reason of the fearful shoalings which wee had already found) we resolved by the helpe of God to goe through the Straights of *Banco*, and there without presently came to faile, steering off as nere as we could iudge, the same course that we came in: in which course we found more dangerous shoaling in our tanding off, then we had done in our coming in before. After we had gotten about eight leagues off South South-west from the South-east point of *Banco*, we steered away South-west by West, the Current setting North west, which made a West by South way nere; this course wee run five leagues, and anchored in eight fathom Ozie, about nine at night.

The ninth in the morning, we decried *Lucepara* North North-west seven leagues off, and steered in neere with it vntill we had it North two leagues. In this course we came ouer ship where wee had foure fathom and a halfe and five fathom a quarter leffe, but drawing nere vnto *Lucepara*, we had five fathom and a quarter, and when it was North two leagues off al Ozie ground. And so all this way before, now, and after that we had brought it North two leagues off, as I haue said, we steered North-west by North, vntill *Lucepara* was North-east of vs, and had five fathom the same ground; and there wee were West North-west, having alwayes Ozie ground till we were within two leagues of *Samatra* shoare in five fathom. Here we had our Ile of *Lucepara* East South-east three leagues and a halfe off. And a Hill vpon *Banco* with a deepe swampe North by West nere, being a fables breadth open of the Point of *Samatra*, which was then North by West halfe West from vs, about three leagues off: wee steered from hence away with the foresaid Point North by West, and had fixe and a halfe and seven fathom, soft ground, vntill we came within a league of the Point, where edging too neere the same, we had but five fathom and a halfe, and foure and a halfe in the Boat hard by vs: but had welkept a little further of that Point, we might haue gone away in seven, eight, nine, and ten fathom, and so all the Straights along, borrowing carefully with our Lead vpon the *Samatra* shoare; but here that keepeth any thing nere vnto *Banco* then vnto *Samatra*, shall haue very vncertaine shoalings, sometimes deepe and otherwhiles shoall, and commonly soft ground, whereas on *Samatra* (saie if you should come into shoall water, yet the ground for the most part is soft, ozie, and the sounding farre more certaine; all which will more plainly appeare by my description of this place.

Friday, the twelfth in the evening, having brought the North-west Point of *Banco* North-east, 20

Cherion,

Many Islands,

Sea full of Islands: twice Banco & Buraco.

Straights of Banco.

Current.

Lucepara.

east, we opened two smooth Hills with a little Hummock between them, the Northmost of them being the Northmost Land of *Banco*, and leauing from the North-west Point aforesaid, North-east nine leagues off. This night we steered North North-east, to goe through the Channell betweene *Lunga* and the North end of *Banco*, finding twentie three, twentie two, twentie, 10

eightene, and sixtene fathoms ozie, vntill we came nere the entrance, and afterwards fifteen, fourteen, thirteene fathoms, going through the passage. *Lunga* riseth at first in three Islands, the Northmost being bigger then both the other, rising full of Hummocks, being nere two leagues in length. The Isles of *Lunga* haue certaine fragments of Isles intermixt amongst them, shewing like Hay-cocks, which is a good mark to know them. From the smooth Hill, which is the South end of *Banco*, vntill the South Westmost Ile of *Lunga*, North by West ten leagues, 10

is the North-east halfe North. From the middle of the greatest Ile of *Lunga* (which is the North East North-east halfe North, from that there is another fire Island, and off the North Point of the round smooth Island, lyeth also a little fragment like a Rocke. In the way between this smooth Island and *Lunga* you haue fourteen and thirteene fathom water, also being in the mid-way betweene them, your course is North, to passe along by the Easter-side of *Banco*. This day at noone wee were in one degree South latitude, the greatest Ile of *Lunga* South-west five leagues, whereby we gathered that the great Ile of *Lunga* stood in one degree and ten minutes nere. This afternoon we saw a little Island to the Westward of vs, about eight leagues off, which lyeth North North-west nere from *Lunga*.

Sunday, the fourteenth at noone, hauing made a North way foure and twentie leagues, by helpe of the Wind and Current, which did set North, we had light of the high land of *Bintan*, rising with two Hills and a deepe swamp betwixt, being to our iudgement twelue leagues from vs. At this time also we had light of three or foure Hummocks, rising like small Islands, South-west by West eight leagues; here we found and had ground in twentie fathom. From *Lunga* vnto this place we had fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seuenteen, eighteen, and twentie fathom, as wee supposed, streamey ground; for wee had not means at all times to trie it. From mid-day the fourteenth vnto the fifteenth at noone, North a third part West, seven and twentie leagues. This 30

four and twentie hours, twentie one, twentie two, twentie three, and twentie foure fathom. 30 This day from twelue to three, three leagues and a halfe. Here wee saw *Poelo Loar*, bearing North-west halfe North from vs, by our iudgement about twelue leagues off, at this instant we had seven and twentie fathom, the ground like vnto Fullers earth; this night *Poelo Loar* being North-west by West eight leagues off, we had nine and thirteene fathom ozie. From the fifteenth at noone, vnto eight the next morning, we made a North North-west halfe West way fifteene leagues. The sixteenth at eight, *Poelo Loar* did beare South-west by South off vs six leagues, distant the very body of the Island *Hermano de Lago*, West South-west halfe West seven leagues off; and *Poelo Tymon* the South end West halfe North ten leagues; and the North-east end West North-west halfe west ten leagues off. This evening wee anchored within foure miles off the North Point of *Tymon* in foure and twentie fathom, streamey ground, the Point it self bearing 40

West by South halfe South. This evening, I sent our shallop about the Point, where they decried a Towne and a Luncke, riding close by the shoare, and diuers Praws a fishing, whereof one good fresh water, and Buffels, Goats, and Hennes.

Wednesday in the morning, about foure of the clocke, wee sent the *Pincorne* long Boat with ours to the said Towne, who returned in the afternoon with foure Butts of water a piece, not willing to fill more because it was brackish. At the watering place they found a Lunk of *Ior*, which was set out for a man of Warre, and hauing twentie small shot besides Lances and Iaulins; he reported to our people that he had taken a China Luncke, and sold her on the Coast of *Ior*. And sent me word, that he would take my part against the *Portugalli*, as long as his life did last. In the next Bay to the Southwards of the North Point of *Poelo Tymon*, we found very good fresh water, but we could not conveniently take it in with our long Boat, for here drew the foor water being laden. Thus hauing spent our day in this place to little purpose: I let the first of the night, directing our course for *Patania*, steering away due North with little wind all night.

Thursday at noone, we were in three degrees and fortie minutes South latitude, hauing made a North halfe West way, by means of the Current, which did set a way North by West about a mile an houre. This afternoon at foure, hauing made a North halfe West way about eight leagues, we decried the Ile of *Tingoran* North North-west fiftene leagues off: This night wee passed along by *Poelo Tingoran* from fixe leagues to the Easterward of it hauing twentie eight, 60

thirte and thirte fathoms soft ground. Friday, at fixe in the morning, we had *Poelo Tingoran* West South-west seven leagues off: here we had five and thirte fathom the same ground. This day at noone wee were in five degrees and thirte minutes. *Tingoran* bearing South one third part East foureene leagues off, whereby we conceived that the Ile of *Tingoran* standeth in foure degrees and fiftie minutes. This day at 1000

Lunga.

A little Land.

Bintan.

Poelo Loar.

Hermano de Lago.

Poelo Tymon.

Ior.

Patania.

Poelo Tingoran.

Polo Rowdon.

noone we had likewise the South-ile of *Polo Rowdon*, North-west by West feuen leagues off; and in the same night at eight of the clocke, I observed the Croifers, and made the ship to be in five degrees forty eight minutes, the Eastermost (which is the greatest of the Iles of *Polo Rowdon*, bearing West foure leagues off. From eight at night untill noone the next day, our way was norerth North-west by West nine leagues; in this course the depth we had from twenty eight to fouenteene fathoms; being a round Hummocke much like to *Pomo* in the Gulph of *Venice*, but somewhat higher, and more complect: these Iles of *Rowdon* are good high land, and a faine depth from the one end to the other, on all the Easter side, and as I am informed a faire Channell betweene them and the *Maine*, there are in all, thirteene or fouenteene Ilands great and small. Saturday from noone, untill Sunday, eight in the morning, our way was West North-west nine leagues: here we saw two hills by the water side, bearing West of vs feue leagues off, rising like two *Tortugas*. From *Polo Tingor* vnto *Potania*, is very high land alongt vp in the Countrey, and low land by the waters side with a sandie Strand at least twentie leagues to the Southward of the Point of *Potania*, and how much farther I know not; but so farre I haue scene. This Saturday in the afternoon, as we stood in West North-west to the two hills aforesaid, we came from fouenteene vnto fouenteene and thirtheene fathoms, hard ground; and as we drew neerer the hills, the depth encreased againe to nineteene fathomes oze, and thence to eightene and fouenteene fathoms, the same ground.

A Rocke.

Gurnets Head.

Sunday the one and twentieth, from eight in the morning vnto feuen at night, our course was North-west three quarters West thirteene leagues, keeping for the moit part, within foue leagues of the low land shoare, the depth all the way thirteene, fourteen, and thirteene fathoms: here at feuen wee anchored in thirteene fathoms and a quarter stream ground, the Northernmost point in sight (falling downe from a reasonable high land at the end of all the low land) did beare West North-west halfe North, nere three leagues and an halfe off. Sixe leagues South-east by South from this Point lieth a Rocke, as high about the water as the Hull of a firr all ship: we passed along about a league and an halfe to the Eastward of it, finding no alteration of our former depth: this point aforesaid I call, the *Gurnets Head*. From this Point, the land trencheth away West North-west, and West by North, vnto the entrance of *Potania* Road, being all low land from the *Gurnets Head* vnto the very Point of the Road, and lowest of all at the lame Point, from *Gurnets Head* vnto the said low Point, the distance is sixe leagues; and all the way of faire depth, untill you draw neere the low Point of the Road; but there you must giue a good bitt, because there lieth a shoal from it halfe way ouer vnto the Wester shoare: therefore you must not borrow too neere it, before you haue the shoaling of the Wester shoare: and there you shall find the softest ground. From the low Point, as you range ouer the Bay vnto the Wester shoare, you shall not haue about feue fathoms, and foue fathoms and an halfe, when you are in the Road; where you shall haue the low Point East North-east one third part East, and the highest mountaine on the Wester side of the Bay will then beare South South-west one third part West.

Anchor at Potania, or Potania.

Lamb.

Racke, and

Racke-apee.

Thursday, we anchored in the Road of *Potania*, where we found the *Samson*, and a *Dutch* Pinella. The day before we came into the Road, I went ashore to the *English* Factorie. Where I found Master *Adam Denton*, and Master *Richard Welding*, lately come from *Sambe* in a Praw with diuers *English* of the *Samson* company, who were all glad men to see such *English* ships in that Port. At my coming to the *English* house, I acquainted Master *Denton* with the cause of my coming, which was, for Racke and fresh Victuals, whereof wee stood in great need; whereupon he presently gave order, to lay out for all things necessary: that within three dayes, we were furnished with fixteene Batts of Racke and Racke-apee, whereof three Batts of Racke-apee, we had from the *Dutch*, which curtesie they did vs, to haften our dispatch. Breues, Goats, and Hennes, we had here in plentifull manner. Here also we bought *Dammur* and *Oyle* for the trimming of our ships, because I vnderstood it was very deere in *Japan*. Heere also I found a small Frigate, bought by the *English*, which being of no great vse in this place, by generall consent it was thought fitting, that three with moit of the *English* Sailors should goe along to attend vpon the *Lames Royall*.

A Rocked in-

petuous,

Caboia.

The last of May, we departed from *Potania*. The first of June, at feuen in the morning, we descried a small Rocke, which appeared but little aboue water, lying very dangerous for ships that goe from *Potania* for the Head of *Camboia*: when this Rocke did beare North North-east halfe East, a league off, then the high-land ouer *Gurnets Head* was South South-west halfe West, thirteene leagues off, and by computation, the low point of *Potania* Road was eighteene leagues off. West South-west halfe South from vs. After we were out of the Road of *Potania*, in feuen fathoms, the depth encreased orderly to eight, ten, twelue, fouenteene, sixteene, eighteene, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foue fathoms, untill we had sight of the Rocke; and about two leagues from the Rocke, five and twentie fathoms oze: and such was all the ground from *Potania* to this place. This day at noone, this Rocke being West from vs about foure leagues off, we found the ship to be in feuen degrees twentie minutes.

From

Polo Hake.

From hence vntill the third at noone, East halfe North fortie feue leagues, here we saw *Polo Hake* East North-east halfe North, eight leagues off, hauing fouenteene fathoms oze: all this eight and fortie houres we had oze ground, the depth from twentie feuen to thirte sixe fathoms, and from thence decreasing againe to fouenteene fathoms, which was the depth we had when we saw this land. This *Polo Hake* riseth first with one round hill, then as you come neerer, you shall see a shoulder of somewhat high land rising in hummockes; but not about two third parts as high as the round hill, being all one land with it, and then shall you see another lesser round land rise, which is neere about the height of the hummockie land, and lieth close aboard the greater land. At the East end of this lesser round land, there are two little Ilands very neere it, and a mile to the Eastward of them lieth a long Rocke like the Hull of a Galley. This night wee anchored in thirteene fathoms and an halfe oze, about three leagues off the greatest land, which was also the highest. The next morning wee weighed againe, and stood away East by South, and East by East, hauing but little wind. This evening at sixe, we had the bodie of *Hube* West by North, foure leagues off. From hence we steered away East by South, and East, vntill fixe the next morning, but the Current checked vs to the Northward, by which means we made our way to the Northward of the East.

Two little Ilands, and a Rocke.

Current.

The first, from fixe at night untill fixe in the morning, we ranne fiftene leagues, the course afore-said, and here we had sight of a very little round land, bearing foue leagues off; and to the Southward of it about a mile distant, a long flat Rocke a good height aboue water. *Polo Hake* vntill we came three leagues off this little round land, we had thirteene, fouenteene, fiftene fathoms, and fiftene, fourteen, and thirteene againe, all oze ground. When we were within two leagues of this small land, we had thirteene fathoms landie ground. Here we descried *Polo Candor*, the Northern end of it bearing East by North, from this land about feuen leagues off. This day at noone wee found the ship to be in eight degrees forty two minutes North latitude, the highest land on *Polo Candor* being East from vs sixe leagues off: from *Potania* vntill wee were in sight of *Polo Candor*, the winds for the moit part were at South South-west. This day at noone we steered away North-east, North-east by North, and in the night North North-east; so that we made North-east by North in all vntill the next day at noone, about foure and twentie leagues: In this course we vpon thirteene and fouenteene fathoms oze.

Polo Candor.

Tuesday, the fixt at noone, we had sight of two Hummockes vpon the Coast of *Camboia*, bearing North by East, and to the Westward of that low Land. From *Polo Candor* vntill we came in sight of this Coast, we found the Current setting East by North: here also when we saw those Hummockes bearing North by East nine leagues off, we had twelue fathoms streamie ground. Wednesday the fourth at noone, we found the ship to be in ten degrees forty two minutes, hauing runne from the former noone vntill this present, North-east a quarter North five and twentie leagues: hereby we found, that the Current setting East by North, had carried vs ten miles to the Northwards of our computation, our depth from twelue to sixteen, twenty, and twentie foue fathoms; and so to twentie, eighteen, sixteen, fourteen, againe, landie ground. From the afore-said two Hummockes, as we did coast it along within eight leagues off the shoare, and sometimes more, sometimes lesse, we saw high land all along the Coast, with many plots of white sand vpon it, as well as by the waters side. The first white spots that we saw vpon the smooth Land, was vpon the very Point that is ten leagues to the Westward of the Cape *Coffier*, which at first seemed to be a Towne with faire houses and white walls: this Cape did beare West North-west halfe West from vs, about fixe leagues off, this present day at noone, when we were in ten degrees forty two minutes. Thursday at noone, we were in eleven degrees thirte minutes, hauing gone twentie leagues North-east halfe North, from the former noone. The night before, at eight of the clocke, we came to anchor in twentie two fathome streamie ground, where the Current did set East halfe North, vntill twelue; and then finding that it had recourse to the Westward, we weighed anchor againe, and steered away North-east, and North-east by North, all the night; and so vntill the eight at noone afore-said: in which course we had from twentie two to twentie eight, thirte two, thirte sixe, fortie, fortie foue fathoms; and a little before noone, fortie feuen, and after that wee had no ground. The cause why we anchored that night was, that we found very vncertaine shoaling, hauing had eighteen, twentie, twentie two, and twentie foue fathoms: and after noone of the sodaine we came into sixteen, fourteen, twelue, and the *Umorne* being faire by vs had but nine fathoms and an halfe.

Cape Coffier.

From the eighth vntill the ninth at noone, we steered along the shoare North North-east sixteen leagues, North by East six leagues, North fix leagues, and North by West nine leagues; which made in all a North by East one third part Easterly way, thirte six leagues: here we had Cape *Parrella* West South-west eight leagues off; being in the latitude of thirteene degrees thirte minutes: this Cape is called by the *Chinese* (*Lentam*) which in their language doth signifie a Chimney, because it hath a sharpe Hummocke on the top of the hill, much like vnto a Chimney.

H h h

Chim-

Anam.

Current.
Rippings.Unicornes
leakes.

Chimney on the top of a house. From the ninth untill the tenth at noone, North two third parts West twente fathoms leagues, the latitude fourteene degrees thirte minutes: here we were about ten leagues off the land; and the day before, we came not about fixe leagues off Cape *Farrella*, by which I gather, that the land trencheth away North by West from Cape *Farrella*. Sunday at noone, we were in fixteene degrees ten minutes, hauing runne from the former noone thirte three leagues and one third part, due North. Munday at noone, twente fixe leagues North North-east halfe North, latitude seuenteen degrees fortie minutes, the Current hauing set vs fixe miles to the Northwards. This evening at fixe, we descried the Ile of *Anam*, the high land bearing North-west by North twelue leagues, we hauing gone from noone seuen leagues North-east. From hence untill noone the next day, North-east by East twente two leagues; here we were in eighteene degrees and an halfe. This morning, we chaft a *Portingall* Frigate, but there was of light burthen that we could not come neerer her.

The fourteenth day at noone, we were in nineteene degrees thirte fixe minutes, our way from the former noone North-east twente fixe leagues; whereby we found that the Current had carried vs foure leagues to the Northwards of our account: and yet this day at noone, with our boats in seuentee three fathoms ozie, and found no Current at all. Here we saw many Rippings like over-falls, as though there had gone some great Tide, but found none as yet. This afternoon at fixe, we anchored againe, with our boat in sixtie eight fathoms ozie land, and found a small Current to the Southward. The fifteenth at noone, we had runne seuentee leagues North-east by North: here we were in twente degrees thirte minutes, the Current hauing carried vs seuen leagues to the Northward, here we had fortie fixe fathoms sandie ozie. The sixteenth at noone in twente one degrees and twente minutes, we had sight of three I. lands; the Eastermost bearing Nor. N. North-east, the Westermost North-west, the neereft land nine leagues off: here we had twente two fathoms ozie land; we met with the wind here at East South-east, which blew very rich: but from Cape *Farrella* vnto this place, we had the wind always, from the South South-east to the South-west. The next morning at eight of the clocke, we had twente eight fathoms ozie, hauing runne from the former noone South-west eluen leagues: where perceling the wind and weather to encrease, we thought it better to anchor, then to runne backe the way that we came.

Sunday the eighteenth in the morning, the weather somewhat faire, we endeauored to weigh our anchor; but even as our anchor was ayecke, the cable brake in the halfe, being new, and neuer wet before; by which accident we lost a good anchor. The *Unicorne*, as we were almost apeeke, shot off a Peece, whereupon I sent the Shallop speedily aboard her, to know what was amisse; who brought me word, that shee had sprung a great leake, which had almost tired all their men with baling: which as soone as I heard, I sent thirte men aboard of her, to save their men by spella, untill it should please God to discouer the leake: this day the wind at South-east, which flood to the Eastward, making of a North-east way untill fixe at night, at which time we saw the former high land againe. North North-east one third part East, ten leagues off, hauing twente three fathoms. This evening, our men returned from the *Unicorne*, and brought vs newes, that the great leake was firmly stop, whereat we all reioyced. From fixe to twelue at night, we made a North-east way fourteene leagues, where we had twente fathoms ozie. From twelue to fixe in the morning, we flood to the Southwards, making a South-west way three leagues and an halfe; here we had twente fixe fathoms againe, ozie ground.

The nineteenth, from fixe this morning, we cast about to the land, the wind at South-east; where with we made a North-east way: and at fixe of the clocke were within eight leagues of the aforesaid high land, bearing North by East from vs: and at eight this morning, *Master Roberts*, Master of the *Unicorne*, came aboard of vs, and told mee that they had another great leake broke out, and that they must needs seeke out some smooth place to ride in, the better to search their leake, and to fit their fore-mast better in the steeple: hereupon I refused to beare vp vnder the great land, which was now North by East from vs, in hope to find a smooth Road, the more speedily to effect their businesse. There were many more lands in sight, both to the Westward, and to the Eastward of vs; but this being the neereft to vs, and the luckiest, we steered with it, being within three leagues of it, the wind began to duller, and the night was at hand, therefore we plied it to and againe, untill the twentieth in the morning, and then the wind was so farre Northerly, that we could not cease the place. This day I went aboard againe of the *Unicorne*, to know what they intended to doe; where I found them of all very willing to stand it, altho, because the wind was North, not doubting but that they should be able to overcome it. When I heard their resolution, I caused all my Laskies to remaine aboard the *Unicorne*, to assist them as occasion should require, and so we stood away all that afternoon untill midnight, with a faire wind, and faire weather; but then it began to blow so much wind, that we were enforced to lie here a trie with her maine course all night.

The one and twentieth in the morning, we saw the *Unicorne* a league and an halfe assest off vs; hauing a fore-faile and a sprit-faile out; which, as afterward I perceived, was to flat her about

about for the floore againe: I presently caused our fire-course to be made ready to flat our ship after her, although we had little hope to alitt her in any thing, because the sea was so farre growne, as our men were losing of their fore-course, there came such a violent gust that they were faine to furl it againe: it not, our faile would have beene blowne away. After the gust was ouer, we let our fore-faile, and to make her weare the rounder, we brailed vp our maine course, part of it being blowne out of the bould-rope before they could furl it, after that the maine-faile was vp, we put the helme hard aweather, thinking that the ship would have come round, but all in vaine; for shee would not weare about two or three points, and then come to

10 againe. Now the sea was so growne, that we durst not let fall our sprit-faile; and the wind so violent, that we could not loose our fore-top-faile: and thus while the *Unicorne* was out of sight, when we saw that our ship would not weare, we steered away, as neere as we could lie South by East, untill noone; hauing made our way South by East thirteene leagues from the Southern most land in sight over-night, which I called the *Morocco Saddle*, by reason of a deepe Swampe on the top thereof. This *Saddle* land aforesaid lieth in twente one degrees fortie fixe minutes North latitude, it hath on the Westward side foure or five very small lands close by it, and on the Easterne side three lands in sight, lying all three next hand East North-east from it. From *Saddle* Ile to the Westward, there are many lands; some North-west from it, others West North-west, West by North; and the Southernmost of all thole lands in sight did beare from this West, about fiftene leagues off. This afternoon, our ship waxed very leake, hauing on the

10 Iodine foure foot and an halfe water in hold, which employed both our Pumps going a long time before we could see her. Towards the evening, it pleased God to discouer three or four great lakes betweene wind and water, which when our Carpenters had stopp'd: we found great ease and comfort, for then we could let the Pumps stand half an houre, and free her againe with one Pump in little more then a quarter of an houre. From this day noone, untill the two and twentieth at noone, fixe leagues South South-west, with a paire of Couriers; and nine leagues South-west by West a Hull: here we had twente seuen fathoms and an halfe ozie. The two and twentieth in the afternoon, the violence of the wind began to decrease, and consequently, the furie of the waves allayed, which caused our ship to grow the thighter, where- by we plainly perceived, that the most part of our leakes were betwixt wind and water, and therefore the first faire weather I caused our Carpenters to search the flues sides, where they found and stopp'd many bad places, some of a yard in length, where the Ocean was all rotten in the frame.

The foure and twentieth day, we had sight of a great land, bearing North from vs, about seauen Leagues off, hauing a high Hill on the Easterne end of it, which was the same land that did beare West from *Morocco Saddle*, fiftene leagues off or thereabouts. From hence untill the fixe and twentieth in the evening, our way was South by West twente foure leagues, the depth increasing from nineteene vnto fixe and thirty fathoms ozie ground: Here we had a little round land South-west by West two leagues off, which lyeth in twenty degrees and twenty minutes neereft. This land hath foure small lands in the South-west side of it, but none of them equal in height with this, we saw it at least ten leagues off, rising like a *Chinef* hat. From hence untill the seuen and twentieth at noone East by North, two third parts North, twelue leagues: Here we had one and forty fathoms, ozie ground. This morning at two of the clocke the wind veered vp at South South-east and about noone at South.

From twelue the twente fixe, vnto twelue the twente eight, East North-east eighteen leagues, here we had almost one and forty fathoms ozie ground. This morning at two of the clocke the wind veered backe againe at South South-east. From the eight and twentieth untill noone the nine and twentieth, East North-east eighteen leagues: Here we were in one and twenty degrees and ten minutes depth, one and forty fathoms ozie. The wind, this twenty foure houres, from South to South-east by South, and very faire weather euer since the storme. From the nine and 50 twentieth untill the thirtieth at noone, East North-east eighteen leagues latitude, one and twenty degrees and thirte minutes depth, fixe and fifty fathoms ozie, the wind South-east by South, somewhat gulfie weather.

From the last of June untill the first of July at noone, East North-east halfe North, two and twenty leagues latitude, two and twenty degrees and ten minutes, the depth fixe and twenty fathoms black sandy ozie: Here from the top-mast-head we saw land North North-west halfe North, the wind in the night South South-east, by day South-east. This day from noone to seuen at night North-east by North, fixe leagues, twente foure fathoms black and white land with thole. From thence untill two at noone South-west halfe South, nine leagues and a halfe, foure and twenty fathoms sandy ozie. The first of July at fixe in the afternoon when we were

60 in foure and twenty fathoms land and thole, we saw three *China* Fisher-boates. The wind came vp this evening at East South-east, with which we flood off to the Southwards and hauing cruised our maine top-mast but a little before, which was the cause that we could beare but course and bonner of each, and therefore made our way of no better then South-west, as I said before. From this second day at noone untill eight at night, our way was South foure leagues,

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d p h

They lost sight
of the *Unicorne*.*Morocco Saddle*,
or *Saddle*
land.

Leakes.

From Friday, to Saturday at noone, South South-west thirteen leagues. This morning, we came vp with a Luncke of *Nangjack*, belonging to *Ian Iarison* a *Dutchman*, and bound for *Cambaya*. I cauled the Captaine of her to bring his *Palport* aboard, which I perceived to beca *Goshon* from the *Emperour* of *Iapan*; it thereupon gaue him leave to depart. This day, about noone, we had one and fortie fathomes ozie. This twentie foure houres the wind was very variable, the weather close and some-what hazie: at foure in the afternoon, fortie feuen fathomes ozie. From Saturday to Sunday noone, South-west halfe South, forty leagues, the wind at North and North-west, close weather.

From Sunday noone, untill Munday noone, being *Chriftmasse*-day, South-west halfe South fiftie two leagues, here we had fight of certaine Ilands, which lye off the Coast of *China*, the next vnto vs was a small Iland bearing West by South from vs, about three leagues off, and diuise in the forme of a *Caymen*, the wind North North-east, and North-east, the depth in this place about thirty three fathomes ozie. This forenone, we came vp with a Luncke that kept the same course as we did, he had the *Hollands* Colours on her Poop, whereby we conceiued that she had a *Passe* from them, but had thee beene good purchas, we could not haue dealt with her, because there was much wind, a loftie Sea.

From Munday noone to Tuesday noone, South-west by South, fiftie three leagues, here we had fight of certaine Ilands, which lye off *Lapagos*, bearing North-west by West nine leagues off, here we had one and thirty fathomes, blacke peppery sand. From hence we herred in West South-west two leagues, untill fixe at night. At which time we had the *Rockes* of the point of *Leamp*. West fortie leagues off, our depth twentie two fathomes, and white sand mixt. From fixe to twelue South-west by South, cleuen leagues, twentie fife fathomes ozie.

From twelue to twelue, the feuen and twentieth, South-west halfe West, one and twentie leagues. This feuen and twentieth, it blew a faire gale at North-east as before, and the weather cleered vp, that we had sight of the Sunne, which we had not of a long time sene before. From noone vntill mid-night South-west halfe West nineteen leagues: here by the North-star and *Cassius*, we were in one & twentie degrees thirtie minutes, the depth fiftie fife, fandy, ozie. From mid-night the feuen and twentieth, vnto mid-night the eight and twentieth, South-west nineteen leagues: here by the Sunne, we were North twentie degrees, forty fife minutes, the wind still at North-west, the weather faire. From the eight and twentieth, vntill the nine and twentieth at noone, South-west thirtie eight leagues, latitude nineteen degrees fiftie three minutes, the depth *Laucenie* fife fathomes, fandy, ozie, the wind North-east, the weather faire by this we gathered, that we had made our way to the West-ward of the South-west by West, by means of some Current letting to the West-ward. From the nine and twentieth, vntill the thirtieth, South-west halfe South, thirtie eight leagues, latitude eighteen degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at East North-east and East by North, the weather very faire, no ground in one hundred and twentie fathomes. From Saturday vntill Sunday at noone, which was the last of December, South-west by South, twentie feuen leagues and a halfe, latitude fouteene degrees twentie minutes, wind East North-east, weather faire.

The first of January, from the last of December vntill New-yeeres day at noone, South-west by South twentie eight leagues, latitude fouteene degrees ten minutes. Here the wind came up at North-east by North, the weather faire. From the first of January, vntill the second at noone South halfe West, twentie eight leagues, the weather ouer-cast the wind at North-east by North. From this day noone, vntill two of the clocke in the afternoon, South South-west halfe South three leagues, here we had fight of a point of Land, bearing West from vs eight leagues off.

From two in the afternoon, vntill twelue the next day, South halfe East, fortie leagues, here we had Cape *Darella* North-west by North eight leagues off. This twentie foure houres we had much raine and dirtie weather. From the third at noone, vntill the fourth at fixe in the morning, our way one with another vpon a straight Line South South-west halfe West, thirtie leagues, here we were in cleuen degrees, North latitude, of our depth twentie foure fathomes, as neere as I could ghesse. Here also we had fight of *Poelo Ceer*, bearing South by East feuen leagues off, and the Cape *Ceer* North by West fixe leagues from vs. From fixe vntill noone, West South-west thirtie leagues, from the fourth at noone, vntill the fifth at noone, first South-west by West twentie two leagues, then South-west halfe West fixe leagues, and then South South-west halfe South one and twentie leagues, here we were in nine degrees. The body of *Poelo Candor*, bearing South South-west about feuen leagues from vs. Our depths from the fourth at noone, were from eighteen to fouteene fathomes: from sixteen to cleuen, we felt a Current setting our ship to the South-ward beyond our computation, this same night at fixe Sun-setting, we found the variation to be one degree North-westing. This evening, at fixe of the clocke we had the South-east end of *Poelo Candor*, North-west foure leagues off, the wind North-east. From fixe this evening, vntill twelue, the next South South-west thirtie leagues, latitude feuen degrees ten minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather very faire. From the fixe vntill the fourth at noone, South South-west thirtie fixe leagues & a halfe, latitude

fue degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east, the weather faire. From Sunday the feuenth, vntill Munday the eighth at noone South South-west halfe South fortie two leagues, latitude three degrees thirtie minutes, the wind at North-east by East and East North-east, the weather faire. This day at foure in the afternoon, we had the North point of *Poelo Timon*, *Poelo Timon*, South-west by South about feuen leagues off, we haue runne from noone feuen leagues South South-west. From Munday to Tuesday at noone, South South-west feuen leagues, South-east sixteen leagues, and South feuenteen leagues, the latitude one degree twentie fife minutes; by this we perceiued the Current had carryed vs sixteen minutes to the South-wards of our computation.

From this twelfth day vntill foure in the afternoon South fixe leagues, our depth twentie foure fathomes (straym ground: here we saw *Poelo Pengras* South-west by South fixe leagues, and the head-land of *Iare* West South-west eight leagues off. From hence vntill foure leagues off South South-east fouteene leagues off, eighteen fathomes, the same ground: from hence till noone, the tenth, South twelue degrees, here we had feuenteen fathomes. The tenth at noone, we had fight of Land. The Northernmost high hummocke bearing West from vs about fixe leagues off. This day at noone by our iudgement, we were ten minutes to the South-ward of the Line.

Thursday, the eleuenth at noone, we were in one degree sixteen minutes South latitude, our course from the tenth at noone, South halfe West twentie two leagues. Here the Souther Ile of *Poelo Tayro*, was due East from vs cleue leagues off: our depth fouteene fathomes, ozie. This *Poelo Tayro* consisteth of feuen or eight Ilands and *Rockes* must together, the longest tract of them is North North-west, and South South-east, the Northernmost Ile is faire longer and larger then any of the rest. From this Northernmost Ile vnto *Poelo Fan*, North-west halfe West nine leagues, the depth from the tenth at noone vnto this present, was from feuenteen to fouteene fathomes all along *Poelo Tayro*: when the Northernmost Ile of *Poelo Tayro*, East North-east halfe East three leagues from vs, then the three hummocks on the North end of *Banco* did beare South-east ten leagues off. And the high Land of *Mananipa* South by East halfe East. From this day noone vntill mid-night, South South-west halfe South tene leagues: here we anchored feuenteen fathomes soft ground, where we rid all night. The next morning, we had the Hill of *Mananipa*, South South-east halfe East, the low Land by the water side three leagues off, the next head-land to the North-wards, which riseth in three hummockes, when you are to the North-wards of it East North-east halfe North. About fixe leagues off, the twelfth at noone being at anchor in the same place, by our obseruation we were in one degree one and fiftie minutes neereff, the wind at West North-west, weather faire. This afternoon we weighed and stood in towards the Coast of *Sumatra*, and at mid-night anchored in twelue fathomes of the River of *Pallimban*, finding nine, ten, and twelue fathomes ozie, as we ranged along.

Saturday, the thirteenth in the morning, we weighed againe (the wind Northerly) and steered along by the *Sumatra* shore, through the Streights of *Bano*, vntill we came betwene the first and second point, which was at eight at night, where we anchored in sixteen fathomes about two leagues off the *Sumatra* thore, from the River of *Pallimban* vnto this place, we had nine, ten, cleuen, twelue fathomes within two halfe leagues off the *Sumatra* side, all along vntill we came vp neer the second point (which maketh the narrowest of the Streights) & there we found about twentie fathomes water. Sunday, the fourteenth, we fet saile againe and borrowed faire aboard the *Sumatra* side in eight, feuer and fixe fathomes vntill we had *Lucupara*, South-east by East, and then we haled away South South-east, South-east by South and South-east finding all the way fixe fathomes ozie, vntill we had brought *Lucupara* North by West about feuen leagues off, and then the water began to deepen, haue fixe fathomes & a halfe, fixe fathomes. Monday, the fifteenth, we were in foure degrees fiftie eight minutes, we being distant from *Lucupara*, thirtie fixe leagues South by East from it. From hence vntill foure in the afternoon South South-west foure leagues. Here we saw a shoald about the water, about foure miles from vs, West South-west. The two Ilands on the Coast of *Sumatra*, bearing vpon the same point feuen leagues off. Also *Poelo Keera* did beare East South-east halfe South. From this shoald fixe leagues off, and the high Land of *Marrango* was South-west from the shoald afore-said. This Evening, the wind did hearken in at North-west: by which means we got in neere vnto *Poelo Penang* after mid-night, and there came to anchor vntill the next day.

CHAP. VIII.

WILLIAM HORES *Discourse of his Voyage in the Dragon and Expedition, from Surat to Achen, Teco and Bantam; and of the surprising the Dragon, Beare, Expedition, &c. in a Letter to the Companies.*

To the Honorable Governour and Right Worshipfull Committeees of the Company of the English trading in the EAST INDIA, &c.

Honorable and Right Worshipfull Sirs.



He passages of your businesse, in Captaine Bonners Voyage, to and at *Surat* (till then and long after very hopefull) you have by many aduises from themselves, and general relations from others, largely and particularly vnderstood. Wherefore I shall therein be purposely silent, intending according to my poore meanes and ability, (the one being lost with your ships, and the other having alwayes beene very finally) to acquaint you onely with such accidents as vntill the said 20 ships taking huynd. Wherin I shall humbly beseech, that you would be pleased to pardon my presumption, in offering to your view these imperfect and vnworthy Lines, not doubting but others better able, will more accurately performe (what is by me omitted respecting your knowledge) then my insufficiency (especially at this time) is able to expresse, and poore employment in your seruice afforded not to be made partaker of.

The *Dragon* and other ships of that Fleet parting with the *Aene*, the seventeenth of February, 1618. the one and twentieth following, anchored before the Road and Towne of *Dabull*, (it being formerly ordered by consultation to touch there) and not long after came a Boat from the Governour-Deputie, to learne what and whence we were; whereof being certified, hee againe returned ashore: and toward night, a graue man, Captaine of a Luncke then in the Road, laden and bound for the Red Sea, with his towne came aboard, bringing ten Oxen, ten Goats, three hundred Hennes, with great store of Rice, Fruits, &c. for a Present, to confire with our Captaine about such things as should be proportioned; and that night they lodged aboard. The morrow after (they remaying for pledges) Master *Salubacke* and Master *Finland* went ashore to the Deputie (the Governour himselfe being then at Court, eight dayes voyage distant) the Chiekes of the Towne, as they affirmed, entertained them very kindly, professing likewise that they were much contented with the *English* arrivall, and had long desired to have commerce with them, and to that end intreated to have a *Factorie* left, or the ships to ride, till notice thereof might be given to the Governour, because without his approbation they could not conclude of any thing. We had at this place great store of very good retelling, indifferently cheape, large Beaves for sixe Rialls a piece, and Fruits, &c. great plenty for small prices: but none of the old remnants in the *Lane* could vend, yet upon future hopes, they promising fairly to deale hereafter, for large quantities of broad Cloth, Lead, and other *English* commodities, Captaine Bonner desired enforcing, adding thereto that the next yeeres Fleet might doe to them as occasion required. The fixe and twentieth, the aforesaid *Neghola* landed, to whom was given a faire inland Musket with the furniture thereof: He also carried off an *English* Bible, which being given, he said, he would carefully keepe till some *English* were there resident, and then with their helpe would have it translated into *Arabeck* for his owne vfe.

It hath bene, I presume, long since related vnto your Worshipps, how that during your Fleets abode at *Savilly*, two *Malabar* Frigates put themselves vnder command of your ships, affirming themselves Subjects to a *Regis* of *Behare* neere Gas, and pretending to be sent by the King their Master, to capitulate with the *English* about establishing a Trade with him for Pepper, his Countrey, by their report, yielding yearly sufficient to lade two great ships, the trall whereof being by consultation deferred vnto, they both attended the Fleet to this place: and here one of them desired leave to depart before to the King to aduize of our coming, that his Pepper might be in more readinesse against our arrivall, and that an *English* Merchant might accompany him to view the commodities, and our price with the King, for whom sufficient Hostage should be left about the *Dragon*. Which was likewise agreed vpon, Master *Wright*, Merchant, and his *Factor* with him for Linguist, were dispatched with him, and eight of the Prime men in both Fleets left for pledges.

The *Lane* being formerly disposed of for the Red Sea, it was ordered that he should keepe the other two companies together to *Dabull*, there to vent, if possible, part or all those remnants brought from the Red Sea, for ready money, or to force them Trade, and the proceeding thereof to bee toward lading the *Expedition* with Pepper at *Pattana*: but the continuance of this commoditie

The History of the officers of the Red Sea.

CHAP. 8, Sprage abused. Demand of debts, Samorines dissimulation.

for the *Dabullers*, their faire promises and kind visage, procure their quiet this yeere, for which cause the *Lane* company being judged needlesse any further. The fixe and twentieth, they were dispatched upon her voyage: but before her departure, sixe hundred pounds sterling intended to be transported to *Surat*, was detained for speedier lading the *Expedition*: having left Letters to be sent to *Surat*: toward night the *Dragon*, &c. let sail, intending next to *Batichala*. At *Dabull* enquiry was made for *Tho. Sprage*, who was sent from *Brampore* into *Guladandane*, to recover a debt due by a *Persian* in that place, and at *Surat* it was reported, that the said *Persian* was forcibly taken from him at this Towne, and *Sprage* alio very much apprehended. But they were never to have seene or knowne any such men, but tooke notice from vs to apprehend both of 20 either it they should at any time happen on them.

The fixe of March, we anchored at *Batichala*, shooting three Peeces to give notice of our arrivall: and the next day about noone, Master *Wright* with the other *Malabar* Frigate came aboard, by whom we vnderstood, that at the Kings Towne, some three dayes journey thence, was Pepper to the quantitie of one hundred and fiftie Tunnes or yppward, but the price was held hard for Rialls of eight the Candee, and would not be brought lower then tortie seuen; and the Pepper worse then that of *Tereco*, and in all likelihood he had no intent for to sell it, but to keepe it for the *Portugals*, with whom he hath continuall Trading, and this to bee but a deuce of those Rowers to free themselves from command of the *English*. The Candee at this place containeth neere fixe hundred pounds.

Our hopes of this place proving no better: the third present, we set faile thence. Running along this Coast, we law and met with many lunkes of the *Malabars*, and not finding ought in them, save Coco-nuts and such trash, presently dismissed them, one excepted, belonging to the *Samorine*, which Captaine Bonner caused to returne with him, the sooner to procure satisfaction for goods and debts, left there by *Peter Needham*, &c. which lunkie certified of another of the *Samorines* laden with Pepper, riding at *Panana*, some twelve leagues to the Southward of *Calicut*, and bound for the Red Sea, at which place also the *Samorine* then kept his Court, where arriving the tenth *disis*, a Messenger was sent to advertise the ships arrivall, to require satisfaction for his debts, &c. and to renew a Trade with vs; all which motions he seemed willing to entertaine, promising the twelfth following to meet and confer with Captaine Bonner upon the shore neere the Sea-side, and after an end made of the old, to begin a new businesse. The King came at the time prefixed, hauing the day before drawne ashore and vnder his lunkie, the riding within a Riuer, at the mouth whereof was a great Barre, hindring our firing him, whom Captaine Bonner attended with a Guard of fiftie (small shot, &c.) me, deliuered our Kings Masters Letter with a Present to him; and after long debating, it was concluded, that in regard we knew not the summe due by goods left with him and others, not having any notice thereof, the payment should be deferred till information from *Needham* might be procured, and with aduice of his Merchant consented to sell vs Pepper: at present, sixe or eight hundred Candees or more, at thirtie Rialls of eight, free of all charges. The Candee we found by triall thereof, with our 40 concluded that the next day Master *Wright* and my selfe should view the quantitie and qualitie of the commoditie, which we were to certifye Captaine Bonner (then aboard the small Pinasse neere the shore) who would thereupon have landed, money, &c. and gone to weighing.

But that night the Kings mind changed, and we landing early next morning, were refused fight thereof vntill the King gave expresse order thereto, to whom alio going, he demanded when our Captaine would land, which we certified him would not bee till we had seene the Pepper, and could iudge of the quantitie, and that then we should make signe for his coming. He then sent vs backe with one of his Kinsmen to the Merchants house, willing vs there to stay till he either came himselfe, or sent order for dispatch: but there we attended while past noone, and then not hearing ought returned to the King, who by his *Surabilla* fell to discouraging of our Countrey manner, had Tumblers playing before him, and with such trifling delays put off the time till neere foure after noone, when we entreated him to give vs an answer, that we might returne to the Captaine, who all this while expected our coming. Whereupon taking vs aside into a roome from sight of his people, he told vs, that he had many matters of import whereof to conferre with the Captaine, which he would not have his owne people to take notice off, and to that end had appointed a priuate house to be prepared for his entertainment not far from his Court, and therefore willed that Master *Wright* should tarrie and accompanie him presently thither, and that I should returne to the Captaine and bring him to the place assigned. I desired to see, but he refused, appointing one of his attendants to goe with me to the Sea-side, there to tarrie Captaine Bonners landing, and conduct him to the foreland house. But by the way considering, how indifereet it would seeme, to motion his going to a place I had neither seene nor knewe, especially in such a treacherous place, I told my Companion, that vntill I might first see where the King intended to meet, I would not aduise the Captaines landing; he perceiving me resolute, left me, and directed one of his Slaves to shew it me; who lead me neere two *English* miles vp into the Countrey, and at length brought mee to a little house (but handsome enough) fitted

The price of Pepper at Batichala at fiftie Rialls the Candee. The Candee here is of fiftie Rialls.

The price of Pepper at Batichala at fiftie Rialls the Candee. The Candee here is of fiftie Rialls.

At Pattana in the Samorines country two lunkes were taken from the Samorine laden with pepper, bound for the Red Sea. Satisfaction of our debts demanded of the Samorine. The Samorine cunning. Pepper offered by the Samorine faultlessly. The Candee fine lunkes dried and two pound weight. The Samorines dissimulation. Large quantities.

The three other ships also taken without shooting one piece. With that Ordinance which was cleere, the Fight was maintained very hot about three Workships his vttermost (traies) rescued a mortall wound, with a shot in the right side, which remained in his bodie, who being carried downe, the ship fired, in three or foue feur-valls places most pitifully torne, and many men laine, she became a Prey, rather then a Prize unto them.

The other foure Dutch ships flood in to the *Beare*, *Expedition*, and *Rose*, who seeing, as is said, the *Dragons* did after, yielded also the two first without shooting a shot. Worthie Sirs, I was not at fered; and therefore must beleeve your fauourable acceptance of this small recitall, till others circumstance; neither dare I perfit in this subiect, lest iust passion, cauled by remembrance of should transport mee beyond their limits, wherein I must now willingly containe my selfe. But thus much I may truly profite, if (as is a common Maxim) contraries hold the same reason of proportion in change of quality, they may be expected to be most kind friends, for as late ready, we have found them most ferocious in fiers; and beyond compare cruel enemies; and then from these Dutch Christians, three hundred of your Seruants (vnhappy men) a great number of whom, would not, a few hours before, haue changed fortunes even with the chiefeft and vnworthiest of that Crew, had they their dead Carcases a prey to beafts and fowles, and subjected their liuing bodies to miserable seruitude, if a greater chastisement for our finnes had beene inflicted.

Being notified of foue ships, they straight way sent the *English* aboard theirs, and for refreshing after so great labour, as they had that day fustained, I set them in Irons upon the gratings, in such a night of wind, rain, thunder and lightning, as either before or since I neuer saw; with so repel to either sick or wounded; many of whose lues shortly after paid for that nights barbarous entertainment.

The next morning early, they turned all aloft with such poore ragges, as they would suffer them to wear on their backs upon the mayne at *Tecoo*, being the foure last ships Company, and foure fike of the *Starres* men; till then also kept Prisoners, there being then a shoare in the *Factorie*, *William Nicholas*, *Henry Bate*, and my selfe; where so good order was taken for the sicke and wounded, as the times Confusion, and poore means then there would permit.

The third day following, Captaine Bonner was sent aloft with a Gardian, attending him to the halye sent by the Dutch Admirall, to carry backe euen the poore bed he lay upon, which for triple the value was redeemed, where *Grifede* and Anguish adding a violent Feuer and *Spafme*, to his former deadly wound: hauing heretofore well deserved the repaire of a Worthie, now shewing no lesse a Christian man, and with a resolution well fixt on the merits of our Redeemer; yielded his soule into the hands of the Almighty, the ninth of October, leaving vs distressed iustly to lament his losse, who were before enough sorrowfull afflicted with remembrance of paled misery, and expectation of more and greater ensuing calamitie, whole bodie as he desired, was buried vpon the little land at *Tecoo*, to neere his Brother *Thomas* as could be sheffed.

Somewhat to comfort vs in this distresse, it pleased the Lord to giue vs fauour in those peoples lightes, who vied vs fairly and well, as could haue beene expected in any Christian part of the World. The King would diuers times visit Captaine Bonner, and each day present him with such Cates as were there esteemed fittest for so sicke a man, and desired him also to be comforted, and that both they and Country should bee ready both to protect and relieve vs, which was well performed: for so long as the *Flemmings* rode there, one thousand men armed lay within a quarter of a mile of our house ready vpon any occasion; and a continuall Market for victuall was kept at our doore, wherein all provisions sold cheaper then before our ships were taken.

The fifth day, the *Hollanders* hauing taken in their Pepper at *Tecoo*, set saile with these ships following, viz. The *Opian van Seeland*, Admirall in her; *William Johnson*, Commander of the Fleet; the *Huaciam*, *New Zealand*, *Neptunus*, *English Starre*, *Poll-par*, the *Dragon*, *Beare*, 60
The *Expedition* for *Prismas*, intending thence for *Baniam*, to the rest of their Fleet, there consisting of thirte fike fike besides them, and were then passing *Baniam*. The *Opian* and many of the *Hollanders* and the other for *Tanau*, going Rewards and Vying for dead mens heads, one for *Hollanders* and the other for *Tanau*, giuing Rewards and in which deadly difference, it was vnhappy *Diegoes* destinae to bee a sufferer who after his being taken

taken in the *Starre* and kept Prisoner, making an escape in a Prow from *Iacarra*, intending to haue secured himselfe in the *English* house at *Baniam*, was by the *Tanau* apprehended and beheaded instead of a *Dutchman*; leaving the *Rose* in the Road, having first taken out all her Ordnance, Powder, and Munition; and in her twelve Hogheads salt flesh, two Buttes of Wine, and some few bagges of braile, and a very small proportion of water-cask, for the foresaid number of men, except such as in the interim ranne away into their seruice, to transport our felues whither soeuer we could.

About this time there arrived at *Tecoo* a man (as himselfe said) belonging to *Monachaboo* who reported confidently (but whether by the *Flemmings* insuligation, or his owne knowledge I cannot determine) that at the place whence he came, two ships and a Pinasse were said to be taken at *Lambur* by foure other ships, which is much to be doubted of Captaine *Jordan*, &c. The *English* on the *Starre* likewise, affirming they had heard of foure ships which were double manned, and marvellously well fitted, sent purposely to take them, which the Lord, I trust, in his mercy hath prevented. The foresaid *Blacks* was thirte dayes from *Monachaboo* thither, and though not commonly yet sometimes aduce from *Lambur*, cometh hither ouer-land.

During our abode at *Tecoo*, before the *Rose* could be fitted to saile, it pleased the Almighty to take compassion on our distresse, and to deliuer vs from the many ineuitable dangers, yet, euen confusions, which were likely presently to light vpon vs, by lending in thither Captaine *Charles Clifingham* with the *Palfrane*, *Elizabeth* and *Hope*; who by consultation at the Cape, were intended for *Prismas*, and arrived at *Tecoo*, the three and twentieth of October, aboard whom the men aloft were forth with dispersed. *M. Nichols*, and *Henry Bate* sent in a small Prawto *Adichia*; and the *Rose*, in that poore and weak three then was, and no otherwise concluded, to be dispatched for *England*; to a suite of these accidents and proceedings. Concerning the intendments of the three foresaid ships, as also the end of sending those mentioned to *Adichia*, I am ignorant, and therefore shall humbly referre your Worthships to their owne aduices. The fore-said ships with the *Rose*, set saile all together from *Tecoo*, the tenth of Nouember, & at *Nimman* parted the fourteenth day, & the Lord of his mercie vouchsafed vs to saile a passage, that with the losse of but one man, who also was sicke before we left *Tecoo* (notwithstanding our hard allowance, most of our bread, and much of our Rize being consumed and spoiled with Wormes and Vermin) was arrived at the Cape *Bona Spee*, all in found health, the eight and twentieth of January 1619.

Going aloft at *Soldania*, we found Letters left by Captaine *Adams*, (the Copie whereof is herewith included) also of two Dutch ships departed thence home-ward, left by an *Englishman*, passenger in one of them; the Copie whereof is herewith likewise included. We had our Sayne aloft to fish, and the Country people demanded themselves as formerly they accustomed, but the next day returning againe aloft to fish and water. The most tragical and wofull accident befell vs, that euer happened to any *English* in these parts: eight of our men going to the Riuer by Land, carried the Sayne with them to fish, and were all by the Salages either murthered by flaine or kept away from vs; we hauing found the dead bodies of but foure of them. The cause which should excite them to such an horrid and vnheld of attempt I cannot conceiue, while (as is most probable) (some wrong offered by the Dutch lately gone hence, haue incited them to practise and exercise this Treachery to vs now, and to bee doubled, will bee inleasured to all that all hereafter arrive.

Hauing watered our ship, buried fo many of the flaine men as could be found, and left Letters for that (should arrive after vs, we left saile from *Soldania*. The second of February, about noone, past the Equinoctiall, The fifth of March, and the of arrived at in *England*. The Almighty hauing of his ineffimable clemencie protected and deliuered vs, from the exceeding many and eminent dangers of a most miserable Voyage, and vouchsafed vs safe returne into our Native Country, for which and all other gracious fauours from our beginnings to this day extended, his great and glorious Mercie be extolled and magnified, both now and for euermore. Amen. Amen.

Your Worthships poore Seruants in all dutie and service euer as your command,

WILLIAM HOARE.

CHAP. IX.

The Journal of Master NATHANIEL COVETHOP, his Voyage from Bantam to the Islands of Banda, being chiefe Commander of the two Ships, the Swanne, Admirall; Master DAVIS, Master: and the Defence, Vice-Admirall; Master HINCHLEY, Master: together with his residence in Banda, and occurrences there; containing the differences in those parts betwixt the English and Hollanders contracted.

§. I.

English kindnesses to the Dutch: the surrender of Poolaroono to his Majesty, and the fortifying there by the English: Dutch Hostilities, their taking the Swanne, Salomon and Attendance, and keeping the Defence betrayed by Fugitives, with their wrongs.

Let none accuse me for recidivousness, or being too punctual in this Relation: the Dutch pestilence grew principally from hence: and hence may his Majesties right to the Islands be knowne to future Ages: for which I add this witness after *Spawm*.

The names of the Holland ships departing from Teem to Prinsam and Kallam, where they hid their true tale, consisting Bantam. The *Paschan* at Bantam, 3200. for the Hollandine voyaging 6, 15. 16. through the red sea to his Majesty. Fortifying there. Three Holland ships disturb the English.



Quins of Rice.

The first of December, I spied a boate alongst the shore, being a Skiffe of the *Hollanders* come from their ship (which was in the offing) thinking they had had a Factory here: but loone certified them, it was discolled, the people their enemies. Whereupon they intreated me to stand their friend: and I forthwith went to the King and intreated him to dismiss them in that they came ignorantly, who at my request let them goe, giving them warning not to attempt the shore a second time. So being night I wished them to goe aboard my ship to refresh themselves, and to depart at their pleasure. That night their Pinnasse went out to Sea, but missed their ship which came the next day into the Road, and not understanding the news, sent their long Boe towards the shore, which the King of *Maccasser* perceiving, sent a number of Prowes which surprized her, and due every man of them being sixteen in number.

The ninth of December, we set sail for *Banda*, with a Skiffe of the *Hollanders* in our Company, and being cleere of *Maccasser*, released them at their request with fresh water, and fold them two Quins of Rice, with some few Hennes and racker, keeping company as farre as *Amboyna*. Hence we proceeded, and the three and twentieth of December, being neere *Polaroono* sent my Skiffe ashore to understand the state of the Islanders, who were glad of our coming, as being not able to hold out longer against the *Hollanders* oppression, keeping them from reliefe of *Y-Chele*.

The same day we came to anchor at *Polaroono*, the *Oranjes* came aboard, and I enquired of them whether there had beene any former contract between them and the *Hollanders*: who certified me, there had beene none at all. Then according to my Commission, I required them to surrender their Land to the Kings Majestie of *England*, which they presently did: and drew Articles of Trade and Conditions to be observed betwixt vs; which being agreed on, we spread Saint George upon the Land, and shot off most of our Ordnance.

The five and twentieth of December, we law a *Holland* ship coming from the West-wards, and forthwith upon Council landed three Peeces of Ordnance out of the *Swanne*, and mounted them on a Cliff situate for that purpose, and made what halfe we could to fit a plattemer for them. We landed three other Peeces of Ordnance, and mounted them on a point of Land which commanded the Road: thus fitted, I landed most of the goods and settled a Factory.

Vpon the third of January, there came three *Flemish* ships into the Road, furnishing with their Trumpets and came to anchor by vs. We fitted our ships for fight, and I sent Master *Muschamp* aboard the Admirall, to certifye them of the surrender, as also to demand if they could lay any claime to the said Land. They answered, no. I further offered them water or any thing the Island afforded; but they plainly told me, they came for no such thing: whereupon I told them the Country people would not suffer them to ride there under their netts; and

that they had beene doing, but I caused them to forbear: and perceiving their intent to surprize vs, and fearing they would lay vs aboard in the night, I told them I could not stay the Country people any longer, if they were not gone before two Gallies were runne. They thereupon weighed and departed. The fourth day came a *Holland* Boat and founded all alongst the little Island, at whom Master *Hinchley* shot from the Land, but hit her not, and they departed.

The *Swan* being delivred, Master *Davis* went water at *Wayre*, obstinately contrarying my command. I being then very sicke came aboard the *Defence*, and sent *Sophonis* aboard the *Swan*, which departed Jan. 18. After had vncertaine newes, that the *Hollanders* had taken her and sent the *Senes* over to *Lanire* to heare the newes, which brought word that the *Swan* was in *Nero Road*. On the leuen and twentieth of February, I sent *Robert Hoyer* to the *Hollanders* with a Hage of Truce, to demand the reason of taking her. Their answer was, we came partly to make our voyage and lade our ships, and be gone; they had the brunt of the Warre, and wee came seeking to doe them injurie. And further, they said, that the Statute of *Holland* and the Lords of the Council should confesse of this business: and being demanded the manner of her taking, they said, *Time should bring it forth*. And further, they said, they would fetch the *Defence* out of the Road. They asked what men we had at *Wayre* and *Kosjning*, and said, they would fetch them out of those places. They also sent a writing, the effect whereof was, that the wrongs we offered them could no longer be endured, and that they would have one sent over to come to composition with them. Hereupon by council it was agreed for the safety of our ship, lugs, and goods, to land all our provisions on the small Island, with most of the men to manage the Ordnance: which being subscribed by *Corthop*, *Spawm*, *Hinchley*, *Hoyer*, *Stey*, *Helmure*, and the second of March to be put in execution, none else of the ships company would yeeld thereto, but would keepe the ship by each. The fourth of March, a Letter was brought from *Nero* by a *Holland*, with a Hage of Truce from Master *Davis*, part whereof I was transcribed: *Master Corthop commendations, &c. The Admirall and the rest have settled their resolutions to have you out of Polaroono, according to their Commission, and I know, that unless you doe talk together, there will be much slaughter about it. For they are all double minded from their Castles, and must fight it out as I have proved already. For they did shoot at me twice before I began, although I was in the Sea eight leagues off when they chased me. We fought almost boord and boord for the space of one houre and an halfe, until they had killed five men, maimed three, and hurt eight. And when we began we had not thirte men able to doe any thing, nor no wood to worke withall, &c.*

I answered by a Letter to them, that we doubted of their Malice, and Letter, except they would send an English man, one of the ships company, to certifye things: vnto vs: that we heard they had murdered our men in cold blood: and as they pretended commission to beat vs off, we had commission to maintaine the Kings Majesties right of *England*. We thus sought to prolong time for our better fortification: and the same night sent Ordnance and Munition to the little Island of *Noglackey* which maketh the Road; and if they had planted there as they pretended, they would have beaten all our ships out of the Road, and have kept all reliance from the great Island, so that we must have beene gone for want of food. The tenth of March came a *Holland* Land, with Master *Davies* Boy and a Letter from him, to signify, that after the *Swan* was furled, not one man was made well vs: *Sophonis* was the first man was borne in pieces with a great shot, &c. This Letter came with such a storme, that we now being almost ravin for them, and not having them an absolute answer, that if we should come into their subjection as they desire, we should have our selves no true subjection to his Majestie: and that our resolution was to stand to all hazards whatsoever, March 11.

On the fourteenth it was concluded by council, to bring ashore our Provisions, and to bring the ship about, her Cables twice cut in two with the Rocks, and now having but two anchors to Sea-boord. But finding her leake and unlikly to be brought about, we agreed to bring her ashore under the *Defences* Fort. Master *Hs chley*, on the eleventh came to an anchor nearer into the Bay, leaving aboard *John King* Boat-mans, with some twenty more. And on the twentieth in the morning, the ship was driven almost as farre as *Lanire*, which when they choyced a desperate in the ship perceived, and asked the reason, the King answered, Tell the Master I had the Watch, and being asleepe, the ship drove! Thus time went into the long boat, the rest which were compacted stayed behinde, and when the long boate was come away, they set their fire-courfe and went into *Nero* Road, and delivred the ship to the *Hollanders*.

The first of April 1617, the *Flemish* sent our letters with a Hage of Truce: one from Master *Davis* to urge a composition, aduising very passionately, if I lay any more men by your arrogance, as here I have lost by sickness already, their lives and bloods shall rest upon your heads and your fault, and thus I will write with dying hands, God give me leave: for what they doe or have done, their Commission will bear them out in: and are contented to let the Law decide betweene our Majesties and theirs: for we will come to any reasonable matter of Friendship, when no more blood may be spilt on either side: For I plainly see how you carry it. You have cast downe Master of the Defence, to land his peeces ashore from his ship and make stracke of her: to drive up and downe. It is in our hands to kill, and

Master *Spawm* was killed. The *Swan* taken by the Dutch, See the next page of their vnmannerly in *Swanne*.

See the next page of their vnmannerly in *Swanne*.

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See the next page of their vnmannerly in *Swanne*.

See the next page of their vnmannerly in *Swanne*.

an army that have order for what they doe? He proceedeth to an invective, that they would defend treacherous Bandanefes, who are at Banda daily to make a peace with the Hollanders, that they may have time to cut your throates, &c.

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*The manner of taking the Salomon and Attendance, in diuers Letters described.
Dutch abusive deuises by lyes to delude and dis-hearten our men:*

diuers Extracts of Letters of Master CORTHOPE,
* *with other Occurrents.*

THe first of Aprill, *Robert Fuller* brought newes from *Lantore*, that the *Bandaneses* were mozt of them slaine by the *Hollanders* (in taking the ships) and that they teazed the *Hollanders* twice over board and slew many of them, but were oppressed with number. On the foureteenth, a *Hollander* with a flag of truce brought mee a letter from *Master Cassian Danid*, Commander of the three ships aforesaid, in these words.

* In Master
Co theys Jour-
nall are Co-
pies of Letters
sent by him or
to him.

Pooloway, the fourteenth of *April*, 1618.

20 **M** After Corthys, my wife, premised unto your selfe, and the reist of your good companie, I begg you at health and recovery. Having at this time (thowbeit by Generall permission) gotten opportunity to write unto you, I thought good to let you know of my recovery, which I thinke, you are already too well, that is, of your being swayed by the Hottisians. I have also received your pardon, like a deale, that these Illnd Poolsway and Poldroan with the rest, at your right, as a Commision formerly heard them say, and that if any of the English came there for Trade, they have a Commision to make lawfull prize of them, and so late experience hath taught us here. For my part I cannot refuse the Generall of any determinate comode, for many of your adice, & but I wish you were all safe from thence.

It rests that you do dispute with the Merchants and the rest, residing with you, and (if you think good) write down your determination, and send it me by this Bearer, that I may be better answer to the Generall Propositions, which I cannot do, till we undertake each others mind, as for my consent it shall be grounded upon your knowledge and experience of the Island, whether you bee able to keepe it, or bee willing to leave it.

Our ships, the Salomon and the Attendance, ride at Nero, and our men shared amongst the Dutch ships; being stripped out of all money and clothes. My self with an English Boy to attend me, remaine upon Pool-war, where the Generall and his Council doe abide, at whose hands I doe daily find much favour and kind usage, though watched and looked on as a prisoner. The Thomas, which was my Vice-Admirall, we lost in the Streights of Delaland, and by all judgement; shee is there cast away, yet we have no absolute certaintie thereof.

I would be glad to have your presence here for our better proceeding in the business, and the General is willing to send to Poolooran a man of faith to stay there as a pledge in your absence, but always provided, that you enter into a condition with the Country people, that if said pledge have no wrong offered him in your absence, but as you shall return in safety to Poolooro, so hee may return in safety to Pooloway again, of this, I pray you, consider, &c. and conferre with the Orankayas, and send me in writing by this Bearer, whether you may do so or not: If you think good that it shall be so, send me to advise me thereof, and the Bearer shall come for you again, and bring the Generalls pledge. And so I commit you to the safe tuition of the Almighty: And rest

Your ever loving Friend,

CASSARIAN DAVID

Aboard the *Trom* in *Nero* Road, the twentieth six of *April*,
1618.

Most loving and kind friend, Master Nathaniel Corthop, I heartily salute you, and beseech God to send continuance of health vnto you all there: Your Letters, yesterday being of vs safely receiued, were mislied much vnto vs, all in middle of our lamentations for you, understanding that by the Flemming, notorious fies, against whom we doe little else, reporting you all to be in manner of saints and martyrs by the Bandinles, against whom they are presently bent to make an assault vpon their Lawres: or otherwise Polution (but I hope you misliued the world) with fise hundred Soldiers at least, now they burne fies the (saile) of ships of their owne, and within two or three dayes expect them.

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Sickneffe at
Bantam.French arrived
at Bantam, and
how welcom-
ed by the
Dutch.Brane spirit
of the Band-
aneze.Br's dealing
of Bantam
Dutch.

It pleased Master Geo. Barkley, the twentieth of February, 1616. to send men with Ric. Hunt, (who died at Bantam) upon the attendant to your selfe, but the Monson being fierce we could not fetch Macassar, where I stayed but eleven moneths, in expectation of our Fleet for Banda, which was a shew when it came (to encounter with such an Enemy) being but three ships, and the best of them men twenty after-land, I mean the Thomas, Master William Hakens leaving my selfe and his Mate Titterton and Purser, with five more of his company aboard the Salomon, and God knoweth what is become of them, which had we borne together, doubtlesse we had gilded them of their great Bantam, but being as we were so deepe in ships, having upwards of two hundred of Ricks, besides Arack six hundred Letters, thirte fower barrels of cloth with other provisions, as never was Poolaroon so fitted, if it had pleased God, we had all safely here arrived, for that wee were too too much over-matched by their great Forces.

There hath benee this yeare a mortalitie at Bantam, the chiefe Fallors there, with Generall Popewell and the rest kept the ships there so long, that there dyed above two hundred of our men there before their departure from thence.

The Flemmings that arrived at Bantam, these Flemmings took their Dutchmen out of their perforce, to the number of their Voyages, and for any farther matter not worthy the writing thereof. Now to come to our selves, and for taking the Bantam being nearest us, of the Flemmings fower ships, yet some distance off, and the five and twentieth of March last past, about noon shot at us when we some answered againe with shot for shot all that afternoon, but our Powder was nought, and could not carry the shot home, when theirs came upon us, but never touched us in the setting of the Sunne, some after the wind comming Easterly, we were in the middle of our fire, and being so much over-matched, were by them surprisid and taken, but the Bandanezes eight of them fought very valiantly, and killed the Flemmings, three men cut-right, and lost their three more: Let the Tall men of Pooloway, and another little man with him, played their parts excellently, for they drove the Flemmings aboard, by force at once; some up into the fower friends, some one way, and some another, that they had feared the Deceit of them all. I thinke the Bandanezes had had them upon plane ground, they would have put the Flemmings to the sword every man of them, for that they were exceedingly fearful to death more than them, but by their Boats and subtiltie, they killed the Bandanezes, and took fower or eight Bayes prisoners, whereof one or two of them is runne away and escaped from hence out of their hands, and I hope got safely to you by this time. Now, after that wee came to a party with the

Flemmings, they killed us three men besides, and against the Law of Armes and all good manners the foles, bringing us afterwards to Nero, where they made pilage (by the Dutch Generall his order) of all that we had keeping our men in Irons, these Flemmings being so close in all their doings, that their owne Skippers cannot know their determination; and yet their Generall is bound with them in company, or else I thinke little would be by them performed, what I can I will advise you, though I cannot persuade you, but I beseech God blese you, and all with you.

Master Callarian Daus is kept by the Dutch Generall at Pooloway, being sent by the chiefe Fallor and counsell at Bantam, Cape Merchant of the Fleet upon the Salomon, and my selfe his second upon the Thomas, consigned by Commission unto your selfe, and is referred to your appointment. The last present I sent Master Callarian at Pooloway, advising him to acceptate you with all Occurrence what hath passed, that you might not be ignorant of any thing, nor for to have your hope in expectation of what now cannot be, I say, the more to blame them at Bantam, for carelesly to keep the ships there so long, two the eight of January, last before, they sent them away from thence, which had brought upon us all this miserie. The shipper arrived at Macassar the second of February last, and through extremity of fowle weather it was the seventh of March, before we could get faile from thence. I pray you returne my hearty commendations unto Master Mulchampe, Master Heyes, and Thomas Foor, with all the rest of our loving friends, there likewise Master Lane, Master Churchman, Master Kellum, and Thomas Fowle, commend themselves heartily unto you all. I cannot yett hear from Master Callarian, I thinke because they shall goe for Amboyna, where Master Daus is and in some men more, the rest are at Ternate, I pray you excuse my not formerly writing to you, because I doubted the deliverance, and thus much in prayer that for this time suffice, and with my (which commendations unto your selfe, I beseech God to keep you out of the hands of all your enemies, and make our meeting joyful to each other, and so in haste I rest,

Want of conveyance maketh a long passage.

Your ever loving friend here now Prisoner, Geo. Jackson, in the behalfe of Jacob Lane, Bartholomew Churchman and the rest.

This was a Lie,
for it arrived
safely at Pola-
roon.

These Flemmings report that the day after we were taken, their other three ships took up the Attendants Skiffe, half full of heavy water, and thinke those Bandanezes that went away in the Skiffe, killed one another, and got not to Poolaroon. Wherefore in your next, I pray you write the certaintie of it, likewise, they report that our men did not runne away with the Defence, but would have carryed her for Ceylon, but that the Flemmings manned out two of their long Boats, and took the Defence, and brought her into Nero.

Tristram Geo. JACKSON.

A Letter from Master Lane Master of the Salomon. From aboard the Trow of Amsterdam, in Nero Road the twelfth of April.

10 Loving Friend Master Nathaniell Corchop, I heartily salute, these are to certifye you, the seventh of March we departed out of Macassar Road, with the Salomon, the Thomas and the Attendance, Master Callarian Daus being our chiefe Commander of all the ships, the thirteenth of the same month, being neere the Straights of Saler, we left company of the Thomas, which we never heard of since all of us being bound directly for Poolaroon: the five and twentieth of the same month, being break of the day, the Salomon and the Tendance being within fower or five leagues of Poolaroon, we saw fower foyles of Dutch ships, three of them being to the Eastward of us, the other being their Admirall, was neere unto the land of Poolaroon, that day being calme with little wind Easterly, we towed with our Boats and made the best meanes we could to get the land, the Dutch ships having the wind of us bore with us at two a clocke in the afternoon, the great Bantam Vice-Admirall got within shot of us, and plyed her best to us, and we requited her to our power at fower a clocke; the Starre which took the Swanne, and the Swanne likewise got within shot of us, at eight a clocke at night. The Admirall got within a ships length of us, and plyed their great Ordnance upon us, killing three men, and hurt thirteene or fouteene men, but would not boord us, commanding the chiefe of us to come aboard their Admirall, and to strike downe our Sayles, and to take in our Plagge, which Master Callarian caused to be done, and commanding the Skiffe to be manned to goe aboard of them, and likewise Master Jackson, in another Boat to goe aboard another of them, they being there, I could heare no answer from any of them, the Dutch having our two Boats aboard with our chiefe Commander, send their fower large Boats full of men, to the number of one hundred and fiftie, or one hundred and fiftie men to keepe our ships, and to take the Bandanezes which they killed, the Arankyes to the number of twelve of them, the rest they saved alive, and carry them aboard to Nero, for Master Callarian hee is and hath bene at Pooloway since we came in here, but for my part with my Mate Churchman, and Master Jackson, with thirteene men more, are aboard of the Trow in Irons; but we three, for Master Villers which was Master of the Attendance, he is aboard the Starre with many of his men, for the rest of our men they are aboard the Bantam, and the Swanne not suffered to goe to another, but by tie and fare more like fower then men, which I thinke will kill many of us. For our things they have taken away all that every man had to their clothes for their backs; Sir, I understand, that your wants are great at the land, and that the Country people have got the Castles from you, and that within short time they mean to send you all over here unto the hands of the Dutch, which I wish you could rather get for Macassar, then to come in their hands. The Dutch had no ships at Buttone, three ships they have now in the offing, or at Amboyna five ships, they have heard of the three ships yet in there, they purpose to come all for Poolaroon, otherwise I thinke not this yeare, yet I heare within this fower or eight daies, the old Home a ship of seven or eight hundred tonnes, with the small Gally and other Boats are to come for Poolaroon, where they understand that the small Castle shall be delivered up unto the Dutch, for the rest of their ships that be here, I heard within this three weekes they are to goe for Amboyna. Sir, I have send these two Letters which Captaine Ball delivered me for you, which I wold the best meanes I could to send them to you with the best meanes I could use, which I desire you may receive, and to send me answer how all this shall stand with you in this case, and I will be gladd to pay the Cost my back to the bearer for an answer, other Letters we have for you and the rest of your company on the land, which if I can I shall be sent you.

Sir, the Salomon was deepe layd with Rice, the Thomas laded with Rice and Racks, and other provision, the Attendance laded with Rice, Fish and Racks and other provision. Thus with my love unto you with the rest of your company, I cease, beseeching God to blasse you in your proceedings, and deliver us out of the hands of these Tyrants, and send us all a ioyfull meeting.

Your Friend to his poore power to command,

JACOB LANE.

Sir, the Generall of the Dutch had given expresse authoritie unto the Commanders of those ships, that if they meet vs, either to sinke or burne vs before we should recover the land, or else he would hang them that should be the occasion.

Adie

Adie in the Prison of the Castle Pooloway, July the fifteenth, 1618.

The Copy of
a Letter
from
M. Ball
to
M. Hakeridge
in
the Prison
in
Pooloway, Ca.
1618.

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Perfidious
Dutch.

Now if our three ships had been sent sooner, we had not only arrived safely at Polaroone with two hundred and fifty Quens of Rice, for that I knew there was no lesse provided in Macassar, but also we had gained the whole commoditie of Nuts and Mace, with both Countrey of Banda, and people likewise; and the Flemmings could not have bought two hundred Sackets of Mace whereas now they have bought at least two hundred Tunes. The neglect of which thus much importeth, though it prove not the fault of both commoditie and Countrey heretofore.

The five and twentieth of May last, the Flemmings marched with seven hundred and fifty Soldiers against Lantore, but the Bandanezes gave them such a repulse, killing them foure men, and burnt them sixteen more, and the Flemmings came off againe, and never beate their Drumme. The Dutch General would not be intricated of us to show us any kinde of help, neither would he ransom us for any money, it may be that he thinks the English will take so many of his men, and so ransom some men for another.

Thus not willing to be over tedious, I beseech you good Sir, to consider our misery, and doe what may be for our Releasement.

Your ever loving Friend to command,

George Jackson.

Pooloway, the 18. of September.

I sent an answer offering vpon pledges to come ouer to Pooloway, in the Vessell which they should come in.

The thirteenth of April, the *Oreentier* of Lantore came ouer to me to conferre about keeping the Island another yeare, which they promised to keepe out the *Hollander* from trading with them, only relying vpon our Forces the next yeare. We agreed to hold it out till the next yeare. The eighteenth, by a Prow that went to *Bottoone*, I lent a Letter for *Bantam*, to be conveyed by that King to our Factor at *Macassar*, signifying the taking of these ships, the consideration of sending them so vnseasonably (for one day sooner had brought them in) neither was there above half a dozen of *Hollander* vessels to bring them to *Nero*; that many more men were slain, maimed, or held in *slauerie* amongst these *Turkell* *James*; and had not four or five *Bar* *boats* come in, for want of victuals we must also have given up, and still live on Rice only with a little fish, which in fowle weather is not to be had, daily expecting an assault from the *Hollanders*, and wish it not so much able to stand out, as willing to make them pay dear, &c. He sent another ad for recruitment to the Factor at *Macassar*.

The twentieth of April, we were aduertized that within two dayes the *Hollanders* would assault.

assault vs, but they came not. The thirtieth, they trayned their men, about seven hundred. I sent another Letter to *Matter Ball* (where, in relating the fight these words are vied.) The Attendance before they yielded gave the Bandanezes their small Boat; so they escaped to *Polaroone*. But the *Salomon* was so belaid; that the Bandanezes could not goe out of her. *Master Callian* yielded in that manner that if I had beene in his place, before I would have done it, I would have *snuck downe* right in the Sea. That was in this manner: After they had fought from two till nine at night, being almost bound and bound, the Dutch called vnto him to take in his Colours, strike his flag, and come himselfe aboard, which all he did, they detayned him and his Boat. So our men in the ship played a good and wise part likewise: for they perceiving their *Commander* kept aboard the Dutch *flagge*, went and got the Bandanezes Swords, and bid them from them: only two of them kept their Swords private: nineteen had no weapons, and showed themselves in the ship, and some eight or ten of them with their *Creezes* and two Swords, at the *Hollanders* entering of our ship killed the *Hollanders* at least forty of them, and hurt diuers more of them; most of this slaughter being done by two of the Bandanezes only. For at their entering our men kept themselves in the fore-castle apart, whilst the Bandanezes fought; but at last being taken, the *Hollanders* killed some twelve, and saved fives of the youngest. So farre as can I perceive, they neither respect right or iustice, but stand aloof either vpon force of Armes. I have but ten or twelve men to withstand their force and tyranny, our wants extreme: neither have wee victuals or drinke but only Rice and water, they have at present eight ships here and two Gallies, and to my knowledge all fitted to come against us, I doe daily and hourly for them, &c. He signified also both to him and in a Letter to the Factor at *Macassar*, that he had not, since first hee came into these Islands, received one Letter or aduise from any English.

In a Letter from *Master Lane* to *M. Courtchop*, is written that he had sent after the Bandanezes, but one *Richard Tawton* Masters Mate of the *Thomas* would not suffer it, for feare of the Dutch feuritie; and that they seeing no remedie, *tho* William *Shopy*, after *Master*, and cut the eare off of the Gunners Mate neere off; another they ranne throw the backe. This is like to be the cause of taking away their Swords. The seventh of May, the *Salomon* went from *Nero* laden. The five and twentieth, the *Hollanders* gave an assault on *Lantore* landing eight companies of *Souldiers*, contrary about five hundred men, but were repulsed with lesse of foure of theirs and one Bandaneze. The two and twentieth, for further comfort I sent another Letter to *Master Ball*.

The eight and twentieth of June, I had a Letter sent mee from *Master Callian David*, wherein he signifieth the Dutch threats of perpetuall imprisonment; if I came not to better consideration: which I answered, refelling the *Hollanders* yes touching the Attendants *Ball* taken up by them with blood; and another, that I should send the General a Letter to surrender the small Land; and that I have but ten English here: also that the *Blacks* had possession of my Ordinance, &c.

The last of June, *Master Ball* Letter was sent me by *Master Lane*, which is as followeth.

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After Courtchop, my heartie commendations to you, and all the rest of your compaignie, with my prayers for your health, and happinesse, &c. Towards the eleventh of April, by *Master Thomas Spurway*, and the thirteenth of June, by *Master Stacy*, I received understanding thereby of the Occurrence happened in Banda, which, altho in many things contrary to our expectation, yet as now not to be asayed, nor by any faire course hoped to have it amended, was it to be doubted, that *Surmender* being made by his *Majestie* of England, of these places, and his subjects in possession, that in so apparent and iust cause; the Flemmings durst have fallen out into open Hostilitie with us, in taking the Swan, and making themselves Owners of the Defence, with the imprisonment of our men, but now we have too manifest a proof of their insulencie, and that they dare doe any thing, that is not about their force, and make the best shew of a bad meaning.</

meeting the Attendance they took passage, and came hither, Stacie that Onle, blind in his selfe will, will away his Prow upon Bocine, the goods all lost, the men onely saved, where he left the Banianes, who chose to stay there, in hope to find something for themselves: and by the Kings favour got a Prow, and came thither by the way of Macassar, altho the Bitter of exchange, only the hundred Reals of Peter van Loane: I paid also the Honourable our Employers, for one quarter thereby, the Captaine of Macce takes there at a Riall, worth here not three quarters of a Riall, and for him the find van Loane, as he came to you as a slave in that place, so at his best opportunity he left us here steaming, though very loth, his money behind him.

Captaine Iordane departed hence in the Cloue for England, Christmasse last yeare, and Captaine Barkley our Chief, departed this life the first of March past: here arriveth the Fleet of Captaine Joseph but not himselfe, being slain about the Islands of Concora, in fight with a Carracke; who having no means to escape, ranne ashore and fired, there was in her besides goods of divers Fabriques, three and twenty hundred thousand pieces of eight, a private Carcagon, and would have done well in our Factories, but it is fallen out, a lasse, to the Portugalls, and we have vnto us neither in purse nor credit, as you may understand by others.

It is given vs to understand, by Letters from our Honourable Employers of a second great Stocke, subscribed for twenty hundred thousand pounds, it began the first of this yeare, the first great Stocke ended in the Fleet of Captaine Pring, consisting of seven shippes, whereof two, in say, the Hope, and Hound came directly hither, the other five went by, by off Surat, I pray God to bless them, and that performing effectually there, they may arrive hither in safety, the Governour of the Flemmings hath bene here, but we conferred not together, the cause proceeding of pride in them, and no submission to me: but to be short, as they began, which you see they have continued vnto us in Hostile manner. The sixe and twentieth of November, the Swet-well, Robert Jackson Master, bound for Lacarra, was taken, and the men all, but one that was found in the morning here, and one that is since dead are in Chaine, the Governour after the taking of this Swetwell came with sixteen shippes into Bantam Road, to brave vs which we were content to suffer, in respect of their too much audaciousness. And now you may understand I have dispatched these two shippes, the Salomon and Thomas for Macassar, to take Rice as hee provided for them, with a good Carcagon of goods, besides of cloth, of divers sorts for Banda, according to the Inuoyce here inclosed sent you, wherof not doubting your care and diligence for Sales and Returnes, I am in that respect to infer to your memory. For other Nerves and Occurrences here passed since your departure, I commend you vnto the Bearer hereof, and so for this time, I commit you to the might and mercifull protection of the Almightye.

Bantam, the sixteenth of January, 1617.

Your ever loving Friend,

GEO. BALL.

The sixteenth of July, I sent Robert Hayes to Lantore, to view the Road, whither our 40 place our shippes might ride in, free from shot of New Castle, and what place we might plant Ordnance to defend our ships, and endamage the Hollanders, which returned with a draught of the Roads there, on the eighteenth. The two and twentieth, I wrote againe by a Lane Juncke to Master Ball touching the taking of the shippes, the Hollanders proud wearing our colours at their sterne, and a long time neuer ceasing shooting day nor night, as though they had taken half the goods in the World. The third of this present, the Generall with five shippes set saile to the Westwards, sending me word some foure dayes before, that he would come by me, and send me some flying Messengers to know how I did: but like a bragging lying, &c.

The second of August, I sent Master Mulchampe in a Banda Prow, with the Sander of Pooloway and Inche Trogall, to give intelligence at Bantam: by whom I write touching the intell- 50-
ligible pride and tyrannie, that the Hollander vsish in these parts upon vs both in body, and name, and that with a good confidence we may proceed in regard of the great outrage and inhumanity they have offered us in these parts, both in disgracefull speeches to our King and Nation, and in their barbarous tyrannie they have used to our weak forces, being captivated by them: having written how we may offend them by planting Ordnance at Oretaton, &c.

The thirteenth of August, there came fifteen Portugalls borne at Goa, which had bene surprized by the Hollanders, from Nero in a Prow, and I gave them entertainment. The thirteenth, I received a Letter from Master Callianus Dawid, in the name of the English at Pooloway, vowing to 60-
right what we misse, and to call confidence to the Barre (words shewing what a bad imprisonment and faire glasse may doe with impotent and impatient spirits) which I answered the next day, both with best reason, and sending them reliefe. I received also a Letter from Master Wilkes, as followeth,

From

From Pooloway, the fifteenth of August, 1618.

10-
Loving Friend, Master Courtthop my love remembered to you and to all the rest of our good friends, &c. Master Courtthop, the urgent occasion at this present is for to let you understand, about 10-
the Blackes allowance was this first about ten of the clocke the same day, we being chafed by three sayles, for my part I went aboard of the Salomon, to see what they were minded to doe. Master Callianus would me presently to goe aboard againe, and to be ready to defend our selves, and to keep saile by him, which indeed I did, and also I could have gone from them at first sight if I would, but I could not have gotten 10-
to the land if I had gone at ten of the clocke at night, we were saile by the Flemmings, the Salomon being within call of vs. The Blackes that were in the Salomon, were got into the shipp Boate for to goe ashore, then was I called to to leave our Blacks, for to make themselves ready to goe with them, which I did, and looking wherby the Salomons Boate would come, thinking if I would have sent you a Letter, some other 10-
thing, but being at that time so employed, that I had not time to delay I would have sent you a Letter more at large, but that time will not permit. So I rest, praying to the Almightye to bless you to in all your affaires. Yours to command, I pray commend mee to Master Iones. Vse to his power the Chirargian,

Matthew Willes.

10-
Loving and kind Friend, Master Courtthop, heartie commendations vnto you and the rest of your good company, with all health & prosperity to you in all Affaires: for to relate of our cruell Voyage and misfortune, it is no newes. But I hope to see the proofe of them pulled downe one day, although we indure the misery of it in the mean time: I am glad to heare of your good prosperitie and well-fares, which I much desired, long since of your wants: but God will provide for his Servants, although hee 10-
gives these Horse-turds leave to domineere awhile, whosener lasterall see their Pride abated. I must needs say they doe vs well. For I doe not know to compare it never then to Ludgate, or Newgate: not an 10-
inch libertie nor allowance more, then the worst Prisoner they have in keeping, which was commanded at the receipt of your last Letter to the Generall, in the which case I wish you were able to doe vs any good: 30-
but so the mean time I hope God will provide for vs. There is this yeere to come to Bantam the best fleet of shippes that ever came out of England, one Martine Friend is Generall, The Horse-turds that took vs was at the Cape with them, in all five shippes: the Royall James a new ship Admirall, the Ball Vice-admirall, the Gift-rearer Admirall, with two shippes more which went to Surat: we had the last year eleven 10-
shippes at Bantam, but the reason of no more coming this way, as I heare was by Master Lucas his coming from the coast, and setting Captaine Ball and Captaine Pepwell together by the eares: because Lucas must have a ship to goe home: for afore Lucas came Captaine Pepwell was minded to come this way, but time will not permit to write any more, so in haste I take my leave.

I had a Box of stones of yours which I did employ for your use in Rice. Some of them, and the Re- 40-
mender I brought backe but all is lost: for I had some necessities for you, as linnen and some clothes, but all is gone, and not able to helpe my selfe: you shall receive a Letter from Captaine Ball, which I got out of the Salomon after she was taken, but it was opened. I pray commend mee to Master Mulchampe, Master Hayes, and Master Ford, Thomas Miller.

Yours to my power,

Kellum Throgmorton.

The nineteenth, Master David sent me a Letter from Master Ball, bearing date the sixe and twentieth of January, expressing his cares and endeavours for furthering the Banda business; that it 50-
faller out so late in the yeare before I sent vnto you hath bene caused through discord betwixt Captaine P. and my selfe, who of himselfe weak and extreme conscious, and mitigated by his proud and insolent Masters, did obstinately insist to crosse our Desires, thinking to bring vs under his command. If this Captaine and his Masters had bene, they had this yeare come for Banda, to have made 10-
further tryall of these Flemmings, that the sixteen fire and sword; but have sent only two or three shippes that are well able to hold out; which if not caught up by the Flemming, will be sufficient. But if taken, the safe will be the safe vnto vs. I shall not be able to send you Beefe, Pork, or Powder for your reliefe, because I can get none from these new-come shippes, how much it doth grieve vs, that we are able 60-
to doe no better, &c.

The Commander Captaine Derickson vied the English Prisoners with some kindeffe, and more would, but for Riads strict command: him therefore I did write vnto, with thanks, &c. who also passed on the three and twentieth of August, by the Island of Nyackery, and strooke

K k k k

Some of the Dutch kind to the English.

* M. Courtthop magnanimous mind is not more content in withholding the Hollanders wrongs, than in bearing the impatience of his Countrymen impotently vowing right.

coffe, I fo all leave all safe behind me, and may proceed with the better resolution: if otherwise, yet I must adventure forward to affront them there, although I leave an ill Neighbour behind me. I have already given them a taste of myne gunnes shot from six of our ship within the space of foure bowes, betweene Bantam and Iacatra: which they did so much mislike, that they left vs in the plaine field, and fled before vs to the Eastward thorow the Bay of Iacatra, in sight of their Castle Reall. For other newes I referre you to the Presidents Letter, not doubting but that he hath satisfied you at large. And thus with my best wishes for your health and safetie, I take my leave vntill I come.

Remayning your assured Friend,

THO. DALE.

To

THE PRESIDENTS Letters.

MAster Nathaniel Courtshopp, we heartily salute you with the rest: we have thought it good as present to send you this small Pinasse, the Little Francis, as an Adverser with such provisions as fit is able to carrie, thereby to comfort you and your Company in the interim, not doubting but as you have begun, so you will continue with a constant resolution to defend the place: when you are also to encourage the Country people of Pooloway, Poolatone and Lantore, and for the better satisfaction of the Country people we have sent in the Pinasse one or two of the Bandanezes; to relate vnto them the iust wars that we have with the Dutch: For shortly after our arrival at Bantam, the two and twentieth of November, with five ships, whereto in Admirall for the Sea, Sir Thomas Dale Knight, wee understanding so many injuries and insolencies done to our Nation, as well in these parts as in all other places of the India, we took one of their ships called the Red Lion, laden with Rice, Pepper, and other Commodities. Wherupon one of their great pride they imprisoned two of our Merchants at Iacatra, and chained them in their Gate-house, to the view of all the Country people. And not content therewith, their haufe being strong fortified with much Ordnance in it, shot at our Goodung, and set fire to it and burnt it to the ground: as also they shot into the Iacra quarter into the Kings house, and killed many Iacra, and razed the China quarter to the ground with their Ordnance, and with fire. And the King hath shot some Ordnance against their house or Fort, and hath had many Skirmishes with them, so that of both sides there hath beene slaughter, but most of the Iacra. Now the King of Iacatra seeing himselfe in a strait, sent a Messenger to Bantam, desiring ayde of vs. And calling here a Councell, concluded to send a fleet of eleven Saile of ships, whereto goeth Sir Thomas Dale, and Captaine Pring Commanders, not only to surprise their ship, but also to destroy their Fort, if it please God to give a blessing therunto. Which being once effected, by Gods grace, we determine to proceed for Banda and the Moluccas, hoping in God that we shall be able to lay some part of their insupportable pride. If not altogether this year, yet the next we expect a more greater fleet thervnto at once to finish all. And whereas the proud Laurence Reall (the Dutch Generall that was) hath falsely reported that he hath Letters Patents from his Maestie of England to surprise vs in those parts of Banda, and the Moluccas, we take notice thereof, and will put it in print amongst the rest of their lies, out of whose mouth there cometh not a true word. We like very well of your former proceedings, and of your large advice concerning those parts, praying you to continue therein, and with a steadfast resolution, notwithstanding the Hollanders threatening, to defend the place until we send further ayde. And no doubt, but the Honorable Company will highly remark you and all those that faithfully and truly doe their endevour in their affairs. Thus leaving further to insert at present, referring all things to our next, in which God willing, we will write you more at large, praying God to prosper your proceedings to his glory, and your hearts desire.

Bantam, the three and twentieth of December, 1618.

Your loving Friends,

John Jordan, Augustine Spaldwin, George Ball.

Post-Script of Master Jordan.

THE James and the Bantam arrived at Bantam from Iambe, the one and twentieth dight, by whom we under stand of the death of Master Richard Welly, murdered there by the Dutch, they intending them to their house, to give him his fyre, he being bound for Bantam in these ships, and they ended his life. The three and twentieth dight, I set saile in the James, Hound and Petty France from Bantam, towards the Fleet, which lay about the Islands of Iacatra neere the Holland fleet, hoping to have bene with them before they had begunne any fight. But the very same day in the morning, the Fleet had a very hot encounter for the space of foure bowes, our men valiantly fighting, and they no lesse defending

our Fleet, having shot about twelve hundred shot to the Hollanders: so that they have had such a break-fall that they will not abide a second, but flye before vs, as we suppose, only to draw vs to the Eastward from their Fort, supposing that we shall not be able to come up this Monson. But we have not followed them further then the Easter point of Iacatra, whereas wee have lost sight of them, and know not as yet whether they are gone either to the Eastward or to the Westward.

Your loving Friend,

John Iordane.

The second of February, we by counsell ordered that the Francis should ride under the Fort, to relieve such Luckes as should come thither for reliefe: diuers of which with some Praw or Curacora they had intercepted, so to starve the Inhabitants. The fit, came a Praw from Pooloway with Letters from the English Prisoners, deploring that lying in misery and want many of them have lost their lives, who if they had bene at libertie might have bene alive, and have done them King and Country good service, and praying to supply their wants by that Praw with money and what else could be sent, not knowing whether they might be suffered therof to send or no: which I answered with Certificate of the newes and prouision.

The thirteenth of February, there were three ships in Nera Road, one whereof had her beak head shot off, and shot thorow in fortie places. I ghesied it one of the ships which were in the skirmish at Iacatra.

The eighteenth, I received a Letter by a Praw from Weyre, from Bartholomew Churchman, wherewith thinkes for things sent, he certifieth that the Angell came from Amboyna that night, where they left their Generall to get all their forces together, which will be fourtee or fiftee ships with the old Generall too, that cometh from Ternate: and shortly they look for their Fleet from the Manacles, which is ten ships. And they say they will goe all to Iacra together, and where they had the overboard, there againe they will set upon our ship to recover their former losse and difference in fight of all the Iacra. But I thinke they will be hanged before they meet upon equal termes. Three dayes after wee had received your Letter, they brought vs all to Nero, where they doe allow vs now more victuals and libertie, then they did before (God be thanked therefore) and within two or three dayes we are to goe for Amboyna in the Angell &c.

The two and twentieth of April, 1619. I did write to Master Staunton at Macassar, and also to Master President, certifying that at that time there was neither Holland ship nor Gally in Banda: as I had the English ships come as they promised, I verily thinke there would not at the end of this Monson bene left one Holland, enemy to vs in Banda, by reason, I know, the World was neuer so hard with them: their wants being extreme, both for men and victuals: likely that few of their Souldiers but would have fled to vs: wee having neither flocks nor victuals, but bare incouragement of words, &c.

The eight of June, the Pinasse set saile for Seran, and returned the fourteenth of July, with fiftie thousand Cakes of Sage.

The three and twentieth of August, I sent her thither againe. Shee returned the five and twentieth of November, so full of leakes, that the third of December we halde her on shoare, and found her so rotten that we faced what we could, and set fire on the rest.

The fit of December, there came a Lantore Concora, which brought newes that four dayes before they had taken a Holland Praw rowing from Nera to Pooloway, there being four Holland Prawes in company, bound for Pooloway, who came by Lantore during the Banda men to come forth: who manned two Prawes, and followed them almost to Pooloway, and took one of them, and killed all the men, being twentie Blackes and nine Hollanders. The Lantore men are now in heart: and now I have gotten the Banda men to repair the Fort at the Island, being much out of reparations. The foure and twentieth of December, heere arrived a Lucke from Macassar, which brought vs some prouision, but no newes from the West. That day Master Iackens mis-behaving himselfe to the Captaine was censured.

The twelfth of January, an Holland Coracora which came from Amboyna with Letters to the Captaine of Nera, put off by a gulf, was taken by the Islanders. The Letters contained their losing of Bachan to the Spaniards, and their troubles at Amboyna and Lobo, but no newes from the West. The thirtieth, I sent out Robert Hayes with the Priest of Pooloway to Lantore, to conferre with the Oranias there about the surrender of their Land to the Kings Maestie of England, to towch which they all agreed, that the Sabador of Lantore should be the man to come out and agree with me about that business. And that whatsoever he should agree vpon, the whole Country would asseme vnto. Also I sent to them concerning their making Islams of all such Hollanders: as came running from Nero, which caused so few to come. They promised it, though be no more so: but hereafter, as they should see cause, they would either kill them or send them to mee.

The eight and twentieth, went by a Holland ship, and neuer touched at Pooloway, nor Nero: only

Letter from the Prisoners complaining of many of them dead by misery of imprisonment.

Dutch peep-tail ion.

Surrender of Lantore talked of.

Making Negroes of Christians.

only a Boat came aboard her, and whither she went I know not. I ghesied, they brought no relief, and therefore would not stay for feare of Mutinies amongst the Souldiers, they being in great want and distresse for victuals. Whiles Master Hayes was out at Lantore, the *Hollanders* brake league with the *Solomon* men, taking three *Prawes* of theirs.

Holland Fleet reported three more Sale.

Seven English ships taken in duers places by the English.

The thirteenth of February, came in a *Jawa* Luncke, and a *Praw* of this Iland, with *Sago* thirty five *Holland* ships were at *Bantam*, and that afternoon *English* ships were gone thorow the Straights of *Sunda*: and thought that no *English* ship would be here this year: which was cold no other news, one *Portugall* Frigate, and in her *Matthews* a *Black* whom I had sent the last Easterly winds to *Maccasser*, which brought Letters from thence, but Luncke and Letter were cast away. He came in this Frigate which was bound for the *Moluccas*, but laung stricken on a *Rocke* and leake, was perswaded to come to *Poolaroone*. I took up all his lading, God make mee able to pay him.

The twentieth of March, I received a Letter sent from Master *Staurion* at *Maccasser*, dated the twentieth of February, wherein is mentioned the report of the *Hound* and *Samson*, taken at *Patania* by the *Dutch*, who are *Rufe*, *Hoppe*, and *Dragon* at *Tecoco*; and at *Bantam*, a ship called the *Starr*, now come out of *England*: complaining also of want there, by neglect at *Bantam*. The two and twentieth, here arrived a *Praw* from *Maccasser*, with one *Guillem* *Qualiter* a *French* man goods sent me to tell for him. The hole of the ships afterall, I thought good to add out of a Letter of Master *Muschamp*, to Master *Courthop*.

Lans *Deo* in *Iacatra*, this ninth of March, 1619.

Worthy and respected friend heartie salutations: my hope was to have beene my own Messenger, but there was an unfortunate change, and time spent to little purpose, the manner I referred to future relation, not being desirous to censure my superiours, only to cleare my selfe of the truth you imposed upon me, which I prosecuted with all endeavours, and to performe my promise in returning, freed my selfe from the chiefe Merchants place in *Bantam*. After all hope was put of coming to you I was appointed chiefe for *Siam*, and went with the President for *Patania*, where we fell in the hands of our Enemies, and in the defence of our ships and goods, performed what we were able: but the Elements fought against us: for contrary to the common course, we had neither wind nor tyde to shew the ship to bring our Ordnance to bear, and they breathed themselves to our great disadvantage, which mee might have helped our might, if the President had not stood too much upon point of honour in the sight of the Country people, which by one person be endeavoured to maintain, with as much resolution as ever did any Commander, and most part of us succumbed, with our best endeavours as long as we were able, on which many of us were killed and hurt. Then the President found a parley, and in talking with *Henric* *Iohann*, received his death wound with a Musket, and they presently surprized our ships, made pillage of all we had, but gave most part of our liberties, by reason of our wounds, where I continued some months in miserable torture with the loss of my right legge, (shot off with a Canon) for want of Medicines to apply to it. Afterwards we came to seek our Fleet in three *Prawes*, and left two of them with Master *Widdim*, and forty men for the defence of our Factorie at *Lambe*: the residue being sixe and twenty with my selfe, came for *Bantam*, the King to have found our Fleet, where we were surprized with their ships and boats, and our remayne Prisoners with them, which is more grievous to mention the rest, by reason of the loss of my legge, and to give me to observe the humane use of their ships, which was an uncompassionate and life, needed nothing at this time, but in the cage I am in, I did not much value my life, and have every day legge comfort and courage to remain in this part: for either you or my selfe know I make no question, our honorable Master will truly value your desires, God send you well home, to receive the querdon thereof, and the comfort of your friends, who as I hear are very desirous to see you, and your eldest brother willed the Purser Mate of the *Starr* to tell you, that you should come home with the first, and that while he had a penny you should not want to receive it.

His name Robert
his tidings
now at Lantore.

The newes since our taking, as followeth.
The *Starr* came out of *England*, taken in the Straights of *Sunda*: the *Dragon*, Expedition, *Rufe*, and *Deare* taken at *Tecoco*, with five of their ships, they came upon them unprovided, and the *Duck* of the *Dragon* was so peppered with *Pepper* and other things, that they could not use our quarter of their Ordnance, so that they were taken without any great resistance: the residue of our Fleet are at the Coast: viz. ten ships, where it is supposed they stay to some with seven ships that are at *Surat*, and three of the King of *Orimarkes* ships, which will be of force sufficient to revenge our injuries, if God be of our side and that they have no new force out of *Holland*: they have now not above fourteen ships before *Bantam*, and the *Pangram* continues their mortal Enemy, all the forces they have (which was three sayle at one time) cannot bring him to any composition, but wholly relyeth upon our Fleet, and his own strength, which will much advantage the Companies Trade, if they be of force to make their own way, and assist him according to expectation.

Excerpt

Excuse my imperfect aduse, for I have neither time nor place to write as I would, when occasion shall serve, you shall find me always ready to defende your love and friendship, remember my love to Master Hayes, Master Jones, John Elmor, Thomas Dobins and all the rest, with my dearest affection to your selfe: I rest now and ever

Your faithfull friend to his power,

George Muschamp.

10 The eight and twentieth of March, 1620, here arrived a Luncke from *Lortan*, laden with *Rice*. The third of April, three *Holland* ships sayled into *Nero* Road.

This year I had no Letter nor any aduice from our Commanders at *Bantam*, nor any supply: and am enforced to take up all my mens goods, to buy victuals, to pay fittie per cento, per annum interest. The thirtieth, I sent a Letter to the President and Commanders signifying my wants, and if the *Portugall* Frigate had not come in, I must have given over the place, whom yet I am enforced to send to *Bantam* for his payment on my Bill. God grant mee good getting out of these Country peoples hands: for they have spent their Gold and estates, begging themselves: and duers of them losing, some their lives, others their liberties in holding out in expectation of the English forces. Can the *Heathens* fail to and agree, as also all other Nations, French and *Portugals*, and only the English feare to adventure the Companies goods, passing over the matter with rub out another year: we have rubbed off the skynes already, and if we rub any longer, shall rub to the bone; I pray looke to it, &c.

The third of May, the long expected *Swatunge* arrived with his Luncke, Master *Walt* dyed of the Fluxe.

The twentieth of June, I sent Letters to *Maccasser*, with a Letter inclosed to the President and Commanders, advising to send a ship with provisions, and of the *Lantore* men holding out still in expectation, and that except some such course be taken, they should fee me before they should heare any further from me.

The three and twentieth of September, *Swatunge* fell sick for *Maccasser*, whom I sent to fetch 30 *Rice*: and with him three *China* men, which ranne from *Nero* to the *Blackes* at *Lantore*, which but for me would have forced them to turne *Slaves*.

CHAP. X.

The continuation of the former Journall by Master ROBERT HAYES, containing the death of Captaine COVATHOP, Succession of ROBERT HAYES, 40 surrender of Lantore to His Majesty, news of the peace, and after the peace Lantore and Poolaroone seized by the Dutch, with abominable wrongs to the English.



Eighteenth of October, 1620. Our Captaine *Nathaniel Courthop* came to me *Robert Hayes*, and said that he heard *Hay*, there were two *Prawes* gone into *Lantore* yesterday, which were *Key* *Prawes* as he thought (yet were not) and in regard of former abuses to *Swatunge*, he would goe and revenge the same. I prayed him to stay till he heard from thence whether it were so or no: But he refused saying, if they were not of *Key*, it were but so much labour lost, & now he might go with the Priest. Thus went he over that night with his Boy *William*, well fitted with Muskets and weapons; promising to returne in five dayes, and bidding me send for water on the three and twentieth, which I did, but he came not, and sent me word he would come the fixe and twentieth at night. He came accordingly part of the way, the Priest staying at *Lantore*, because it was a great Feast with the *Blackes* the next day. There were one and twenty persons in the Boate with sixe Muskets and Fowling Pieces of the Companies, and goods of the Captaine to the value of one hundred and fiftie Rials of eight or yppards. Coming cleave of *Poolaroone*, about two or three o'clock in the morning they met with the *Hollanders* *Corvica* and one *Praw* more with some fittie small shot, and coming up with them fought with them: where the Captaine behaved himselfe courageously untill duers of the *Blackes* men were slain. And the Captaine also receiving a shot on the breast fate downe, and with all his Peece being cloyed their oar-board, and then leapt over-board himselfe in his clothes, the *Praw* being too hot to stay in. And what became of him I know not: but the *Blackes* say surely he there funke by reason of his wounds and his clothes all about him. There came of thole one and twenty per-

This *Swatunge*, Master *Staurion* a Letter of his which I have, call it *than* *Lucas* fellow (as here hee proud) (seeing a *blacke* *Sam*, being a *blacke* *Duill*.

Captaine *Courthop* wounded, leapt over-board.

1018,

Master Hays
succeeds.

New agree-
ments betwixt
the new Cap-
taine and the
people.

Key-men cha-
stised.

Lantore surren-
dered to the
King.

Dutch Adulter
taken.

fons, seven ashore, who had not been wounded, and were strong to swimme, the space being some five miles. The same night *Kiall a Dutchman* (formerly turned *Moore*) ranne away to the *Hollanders* with a small Prow.

The seven and twentieth of October, I went to the Fort at *Neylacky*, and calling the Company together, demanded of them their purpose: and they all promised that as formerly they had bene ruled by the Capitaine, so now they would be ruled by me *Robert Hays*, as knowing before that I was to succeed in case of Mortallitie. I took order concerning better watch, having but twentie three men on *Neylacky*, and two barrels of Powder with that which was in *Robert Rands*' of business. The same night the *Sabander Rato*, came with a *Corocora* and an *O. 10* *randey*, well provided to bring over the Priest and *Robert Randall* with them. So all the chiefe of the Country came to the Fort on Saturday in the Evening the fourth of November, and called all our company, demanded how they should now (our Capitaine being dead) trust to take charge: they all answered, Master *Hays*: they further demanded, if they would stand to that which I should promise, because they were not to make agreement with a multitude without a head. They all answered, they would performe all my agreements and promises to the utmost of their power. I then being settled in my business, demanded thirtie men each night to come to watch with vs, viz. fifteene at the Land, and fifteene betwixt the two Forts; for that I feared assault in the night: and it was agreed.

The fift of November, the *Sabander Rato* came with the Priest to me, to know my determination about three Peeeces of Ordnance, which the Capitaine had promised to *Lantore*, as *Master Randall* knew & my selfe; and pursuing the Presidents Letter to go thorow with them, as *Lantore*, as we had done with them of *Poolaroone* and *Pooloway*, I answered, that if the Chiefe would come over and agree with me, I would performe their request. The twentieth, *Robert Randall* went backe with the said *Sab. Rato* in the *Corocora*, which *Rato* said hee would certifye the *S. b. of Lantore* and the *Orankeyes* of my answer, and that within three dayes I should expect them againe. At present here were seven *Key* Prawes in the Road, and the seventeenth, I manned our *Orankey* with a *Mulliberer*, and seven Muskets, and went with other four Muskets on the Flanker at *Fort*, and sent to the *Key-men* that two of their Chiefe should come and conferre with me about the cloth holme from *Juratings*: But they all swaime on there, till the Country people took up the matter, and gaue mee two *Key-men* pledges, whom I kept at *Neylacky*.

The foure and twentieth, came three *Corocoras* with other Prawes from *Lantore*, for the Guns promised: and vpon their demand of ayde of vs, and agreement to surrender their Land to the Kings Maieslie of *England*, I gaue them two Sakers and one Demiculverin. The fime day the *Key-cake* was ended. And the same day they of *Lantore* surrendered the Land to the Kings most excellent Maieslie.

The fixe and twentieth of November, we saw a saile to the West, and all the chiefe of *Banda* being here put off with thirteene *Corocoras*, and came vp with her, being a *Holland Adulter* from *Japan* and *Ambosya*, with Letters for *Banda*. They killed foure and kept three alse, being in all seven *Hollanders*. The Letters they brought me, but I could not attayne to the full contents by want of the *Dutch* Language. Only thus I found that the *English* and *Hollanders* were agreed at home, and I read the thirteenth Article of agreement betwixt vs and them: so that I thought it not vnic to send the Letters to *Pooloway*. I would haue kept the business from the *Banda* men; but then it would haue bene worse for vs. I therefore disclosed it to the Priest of *Pooloway*, so to frame our answer to the whole Country, namely, that shippes both *English* and *Dutch* were to come thither to end the business, and that it were good those Writings should be sent to the *Hollanders* to redeem their three men with sixe *Blacks*. Wee were glad of the agreement, but knew not how to cleere our selues of the Country people, in case of peace.

The eight and twentieth, I sent *Robert Musday* with sixe *Banda* slaves to *Pooloway* with a flagge of Truce and that packet of Letters, and to redeem their men, and to find word whether they would persist in their rigorous courses, or be still till ships came: which if they refused, that they take notice that the *Banda* men are in hand with a stratagem against them (for they purposed to make vse of their Ordnance, and besides, to set on their Frigate, but I would not disclose the particulars.) The nine and twentieth, my Messenger came backe with a Letter written.

To his loving Friend Master *Robert Hays*, Factor for the
English vpon *Poolaroone*.

Worthy Sir, your Letters of the eight and twentieth of November, we have received, also the packages of Letters, which were by it, and have with great joy and gladnesse understood the

friendship and agreement betwixt our Masters: wherewithall is ended warre which was begunne with great blood shedding, not fitting for two Nations which have bene so good Friends: as yours and ours have bene. We have further understood with subtile the losse of the Campas and the killing of foure men at the taking of her: likewise of three which are the *Banda* mens Prisoners, for the redeeming of which they will haue sixe men: how sooner, I will not leave them vnrredeemed. The Capitaine *Nathaniel* is killed in the Prow, for which God hath vouchsafed I was heartily forie. We have buried him so flatly and so nelly as ever we could fitting for such a man.

He proceed with desire that Master *Hays* and an *Orankey* should come that they might conferre vpon some true with the *Bandanees*; till the ships coming, wherein they should well agree if they would let them haue Mace and Nuts for their money: with promise of securitie, a present, thanks and commendations.

Dated *Pooloway*, in the Castle of *Remuag* this ninth of
Decemb. Anno 1620. *Jila novo*.

Your loving Friend *William van Anthon*.

The second of December, the Priest was content to take man for man, but freemen; and if they had not, so many hundred Rials of 8. for the third. And I writ by *Ed. Twelue*, and advised them of going betwixt *Lantore* and *Guning Ape*, and of an action in hand, &c. The third my Messenger returned with a *Holland Prow* rowed by *Spaniards*, and two *Hollanders*, the Minister and an Ancient-bearer which brought *Nocoda* *Imael*, *Mirrie*, and one hundred Rials of eight. And I suffered no *Banda* man to come to the Land but only the Priest, and exchanged the Prisoners. I entertained the *Hollanders* in the best manner I could, but would not suffer them as they desired to speake with a *Banda Orankey*, suspecting it was for trade. In the Letter of *van Anthon*, he writes, Touching the trace of which you write, it is not only betwixt Yours and our Masters made a truce, but also a good and sure peace. Therefore there is nothing to say betwixt you and vs. When it please you, you may goe where you list, &c.

The fift day, the Westerne Monson blew with raine, God be thanked, for wee had no water fell to any purpose, since the beginning of June last being sixe monethes, so that we went to *Lantore* seven times for water, besides that I hired the *Key-men* once. The same day came a Prow from *Beynauere*, and told of twentie *Corocoras* gone from *Seyram* to *Ambosya* against the *Hollanders*, besides many small Prowes. There came over the *Sabander Rato*, and *Sab. Lantore* with a *Corocora* and two *Orankeyes* for their other Gunne: and told that the *Hollanders* had got peace and Trade with the *Lantore* men, and those of *Salomon*, but were deferred till tenne dayes for answer. I bade them remember their Surrender, and how they had promised in writing to sell no Spice but to the *English*. Thus the *Hollanders* fought by policie what he could, notwithstanding the newes was publike.

The eighteenth, I had word that the *Hollanders* came to seeke for Trade with the *Lantore* men, which would not agree except they would restore them one of the Ilands of *Nero* or *Pooloway*: whereupon the *Hollanders* Messenger returned to *Nero*, and pulled down their white Flags which had stood some ten dayes, and set red in place, and sent the Frigate to shoot into *Lantore*. And at night the *Lantore* men sent three *Blacks* in a small Prow to *Nero*, which killed a *Hollander* in a house without the Castle, and the *Sab. Rato* sent me word that they would keepe their Spice for the *English* only.

The one and twentieth of December, here arrived at the *Lucan* a *China* Juncke from *Maceffer*, with a little Rice and Racker from the *Factor* and Letters, but no newes from the West; so that we knew more Newes here then they there. He also protested in his Letter, that hee had that on trust, having no means left but borrowing, the people censuring and the *Portugals* laughing hereat. Dated the nine and twentieth of November, to Capitaine *Cortisop*.

The nineteenth of January, I sent over the *Seruo* to fetch Letters from Master *Stamerton*, in a *Portugall* Juncke. I heard then by Master *Randall*'s Letter, that the *Hollanders* had burned the great *China* Juncke with our Flag in her, and took our Letters and all the *China* men Prisoners; but the *Lantore* men will redeem them with two *Hollanders*, they took in a small Prow, having killed the third. But the *Hollanders* care not so much to redeem their men, as to haue Trade with the *Blacks*. They do what lyeth in their power to let the *Banda* men and vs at difference. For any Sailes they see they pursue, vnder the reach of Ordnance: and being pursued by *Banda* *Corocoras*, put out a white Flagge to vs: which I thinke badly done. They were intreated by me to bee still till the Fleetes came but they will not, though themselves goe by the worst. They professe friendship to the *English*, and skirmish with the *Bandanees*, with whom we liue.

The Letters which I received from *Hia Murad*, was the Copie of a Letter from Master *Hayward* the *Factor* at *Succadania* to Master *Stamerton* of the place. Dated the seven and twen-

The Letter of
the Dutch to
the English
about the peace

M. Cortisop
buried by the
Dutch.

Monitions.
Want of water

Departure

Dutch coming

tieth of October. It was vnder-written by Master *Stamerton*, with promise of reliefe, his beil endeavours, the Copie of the Articles lent from our Commanders at *Lacatra*, vnder-written by Captain *Furresland* President, Master *Brokden*, Master *Spaldin*, &c.

The five and twentieth of January, *Matthew Richards* was censured for misdemeanour, in pulling downe the Orders set vp in our place of Common Prayer and vnicall speeches, by consent of Council.

The tenth of February, the *Dragons Claw* arrived and brought vs Letters and a Cargeon. The cleventh, came by cleven *Holland* ships, and I sent my Prow aboard to heare of our shipping. I received a Letter from Master *Bate* from *Ambonya*, wherein I was certified of the *Hollanders* pntence to take *Lantore* with two thousand Souldiers, besides a thousand more of all Nations: which was strange newes to vs, expecting nothing else, in respect that Land was surrendered vnto vs, and we had a Factory there, with men, Ordnance, and goods. I expected directions from *Lacatra* concerning this affaire, but I had no knowledge concerning it. Three dayes after, in came some three ships more.

The sixteenth at night, I wrote a Letter to the *Dutch* Generall, to giue him notice of the surrender of *Lantore*, and of our men, goods and munition there. The eighteenth, my Messenger returned certifying me that the *Dutch* Generall read my Letter, but would not answere it, but try to them, and to put the *Englis* from them; but they would not. Neither would I let for them to come off, for I could not answere it, namely to forsake the Companies goods there, or to release the Land so surrendered to the Kings Maestie. The *Lantore* men lent our to mee, to know what we meant to decure them, and not to succour them as we had promised. I sent our my Prow with men in her for the defending of the Companies Spice there. But for that the Country lay I could not relieve them, denied that we should put out our Flagge in regard they would defend themselves for all vs. Soall the men returned except *Robert Randall*, and two more *Englis*.

The thirt of March, the *Hollanders* forces went on shoare at a place betwixt *Logone* and *Munde Angny*, and so marched to *Lantore*, and tooke the Towne and fired it; there being small blood-shed on either party. The Inhabitants fled, and Master *Randall* & the other two *Englis* standing by the Companies goods were taken and stript to their skinnes, bound, beaten, throwne out the Towne-wall; and carried aboard the Generall, and put in Chaines. They tooke all the Companies Spice, goods and monies by account of *Robert Randall*, three and twentieth thousand four hundred pounds *Englis*, of Maces, and one hundred and twenty thousand pounds *Englis* of Nets, Monies, five hundred Riels, Cloth and others to a small quantitie.

The third day the *Starre* arrived here at *Poelarone*: so I went aboard and made Master *Welden* and Master *Bates* acquainted with these Occurrents. The fift, they went out to the Generall a *Nero*, to know his pleasure about setting of *Factories* in *Banda*: but hee pretended businesse for three or four dayes, and then we should heare further. At Master *Weldens* being there, he spake with Master *Randall* with much adoe, who told of his vslage. But release could not be gotten for our men. Further, the Generall demanded, if we had *Poelarone* men in subjection, so he had the *Lantore* men; otherwise he would come and doe it. His presence (as I suppose) is to picket *Q. Arel* with the *Poelarone* men to get vs out, and after to settle vs vnder them.

The first of March, the *Hart* came and anchored at the *Lacoe*, and twentie five Prowes containing force fitted for the first men, came and lay off, and the *Fisfall* came about the *Starre*. Now the Country people come flocking to know what these Prowes meant, and whether they came in peace or watre. The *Fisfall* intreated Master *Welden* to goe aske with him: but Master *Welden* said he had businesse aboard, desiring me to goe on shoare. The *Fisfall* then told the Country people they had nothing to lay to vs: but as for them, if they did not come and submit themselves presently to the Generall, that they should fare as those of *Lantore*: &c. would know how they durst surrender *Poelarone* to the *Englis*. The Country said that they knowing it to be peace betwixt them and the *Englis*; and they themselves subiect to the Kings Maestie of *England*, doubted not that the *Hollander* had any further to say in this matter. The Advocate replied, that if on the pretence they would not come and surrender their Land to the Generall, that then they would come with their forces, &c. and solve deperred. And the twentieth, the Country being afraid that we could not withstand the *Hollander* (since then we could not) they went to the Generall and told him they had brought the Land vnto him, but it was not theirs to give, being formerly given the *Englis*: therefore let them and the *Englis* try for it as we would. The ninth, came the Advocate with certaine Souldiers and *Ambonyes*, to command the *Blacker* to pull downe their walls, and deliver vp their weapons, which they did: and afterwards bid the *Blacker* take off our Gunnes from the Land; but the *Oranquis* answered they could not doe it by reason of former agreement. Then the *Fisfall* would haue me to take them off, but I would not. The *Fisfall* said that if the *Blacker* would not give them the Land cleare without buyes on (meaning by vs that then he would come with his forces) so by their peace they fit the *Blacker* against vs to cut our throats as much as lay in their power.

The

The thirteenth, the *Fisfall* came to see if the *Blacker* had pulled downe their walls, and was at them to pull off our Gunnes, and left their flagge standing upon one of the carriages of our Gunnes which were at the Towne, the same time Master *Welden* went to *Nero* to the publication. The fourteenth, came in the *Exchange*, and I related to Captain *Fitzherberts* of the Occurrents here, who wished hee had bene here sooner, and that night lent one of his men on shoare, and carried away the flag into *Nero* Road the next day: and lent word backe to find the *Starre* presently away for *Nero*, which I did as soon as I could on the eighteenth.

The twentieth, the *Fisfall* and the Captain *Solar* came with twentie Souldiers, and threw downe all our Ordnance of the mayne land, being nine Peeeces, and broke them, and carried away a Peece thereof. Also they tooke away a flagge from one of the Forts, and carried away a Coraca of the *Englis* for *Poolaway*. As for the little land they melted not with it at all, but as we had it, so we might keepe it. The flagge which they tooke, the *Fisfall* said was in reuenge that Captain *Fitzherberts* had taken away their flagge.

The one and twentieth, the *Claw* arrived from *Ambonya*. The fixe and twentieth, 1621, the Generall of the *Hollanders* sent to the *Oranquis* of *Poelarone*, commanding them to kill vs no more Spice.

The second of Aprill, Master *Bate* went to settle at *Poolaway*. The Pinnalle was sent on a Voyage to *Soyras*, to buy Ilaces and Sago. The eight and twentieth, we heard of a strange Massacre, that the Generall cut in pieces fortie four *Oranquis* of *Lantore* for Treason.

The second of May, the Generall signed Articles of agreement with the *Poelarone* men, which were all one in effect with our Articles formerly signed with them; only, that they must pay Tenths to the Prince of the Country. The fourth, hee sent to take the *Oranquis* of *Poelarone* to their Oathes to be true to the Prince of *Orange*. The two and twentieth, I heard of the *Clawes* misfortune betrayed by *Seran* men, losing twentie two Ilaces and half the Sago, being glad to get aboard themselves; lost two men and all whatsoever on shoare. The cause spring from *Lantore* men that ranne thither, saying, that the *Englis* and *Hollanders* were all one and had massacred their *Oranquis*.

The fift of June, I went in the *Claw* from *Poelarone* to *Ambonya*, where I went ashore on the ninth.

I have added to this Iournall of Master *Hayes* (by him kindly communicated to me) a Letter of Master *Fitzherberts* to him, sorting with these *Dutch* Affaires.

I have added Master *Fitzherberts* Letter here printed out of the original, because the *Dutch* in their Answer make him an Approver of their Designes.

After Hayes, these are to require you to discharge these three Dutchmen out of the Companies service, and to dispatch them off the Island, for so much I have promised unto the Dutch Generall who is much offended with them, that he faith he will have them browne. It doth growe more to turne away the Companies Service in this manner, preferring in my mind the time of our assistance watre before a troubled peace. Other newes I could write, but I referre it to better occasion. From aboard the Royall Exchange in *Nero* Road, the eighteenth of March, 1620.

Your louing Friend,
Hamfrey Fitzherbert.

For the Readers more full satisfaction in these Affaires of *Banda* (the original of the Warres betwixt the English and Hollanders in the Indies) I haue re-printed three Letters before published: as also the Declaration of the Hollanders in answer thereto; and the same refused by certaine Mariners together with Depositions touching the Premises. And lastly, the state of the Quarrels betwixt the Dutch and the Bandanezes, and betwixt ours and them, is more fully cleared by the Author.

CHAP. XI.

A Letter written to the East India Company in England, from their Factors.



About the moneth of December, 1620. the Dutch Generall having prepared a force of fixtene ships, declared to our President, that hee intended in exploit for the good of both Companies, without mentioning any particulars of his Designs.

And seeing vs to haue no such forces readie to ioyne with him, hee said hee would attempt it alone. And the third of January, 1620. he did set sayle from *Iaguetra* with his said forces, and arrived at *Banda* about the third of February following.

Presently vpon his arrival, he made great preparation against the Iland of *Lantore*, which Iland was formerly by the Inhabitants thereof deliuered ouer vnto our people for thev, and vnder the subiection of the *Kings Maiestie of England*, whereof our Captaine of the Ile of *Polarone* had taken possession, and had also settled a Factory there.

* This was M. Hayes, Captaine of the English.

When our chiefe Factor * in our said Ile of *Polarone*, heard of the purpose of the Dutch Generall against the said Ile of *Lantore*, he wrote a Letter vnto the said Generall, aduising him that the said Ile of *Lantore* did belong vnto the King of *England*, and that therefore hee should not attempt any violence against it, seeing there is an accord made in *England* betwene vs. Which Letter, the said Generall threw from him in a great rage, (scarce vouchsafing to reade it ouer, and caused the Messenger to bee thrust out of doores, requiring him to aduise our Factor of *Polarone*, presently to send to *Lantore*, and fetch away all such of our people and goods as were vpon that Iland; for whomsoever hee should find there, hee would take them as his vtter Enemies, and they should fare no better then the Inhabitants.

And within ten or twelue dayes after hee landed all his forces there, and subdued the said Iland. So long as the fight endured, our Factors and Seruants there (being three *English* and eight *Chinese*) kept themselves within doores, and afterwards our people came out of their houses, and told them, the house wherein they were, was the *English* house, and that therefore they should not meddle therewith.

Robert Randall.

Neuertheless they sacked our house, tooke away all our goods, murdered three of our *Chinese* Seruants, bound the rest (as well *English* as *Chinese*) hand and foote, and threatened them to cut their throats, binding them three severall times to severall stakes, with their weapons readie drawne out, and did put a halter vpon our principall Factors necke, drawing vp his head, and stretching out his necke, readie to put them to death, yet did not execute them, but as they were bound hand and foot (as afore-said) tumbled them downe ouer the Rocks like Dogges, and like to haue broken their neckes, and thus bound, carryed them aboard their shippes, and there kept them Prisoners in Irons, foureteene or fixtene dayes.

* This was M. Welken.

After the conquest of the Iland of *Lantore*, the Dutch Generall threatned to doe the like vnto *Polarone*, wherefore our principall * Factor of *Polarone* being there but newly arrived, went vnto the Dutch Generall vnto the Castle of *Nera*, and told him that hee heard that hee purposed to take *Polarone* by force, which he could not speake, although his owne Messenger sent to *Polarone* by force, which he could not speake, although his owne Messenger should say, that if the *English* did not come presently vnto him, and yeild the said Fort of *Polarone* vnto him, hee would send his forces, and ouer-runne all the Country, but hoped hee would enterprize no such thing against that place, considering the Articles of agreement, and knowing how many years (to the great losse and charge of the Company) wee held possession and maintayned the place to the vs of his Maiestie of *England*.

The said Generall made little answer to it, as though there were no such matter intended, whereupon our said Factor tooke his leave and came away.

But the next day hee was followed to *Polarone*, with an Armado of twentie fixe Prowes, and one shipp, which did put the Inhabitants of *Polarone* in such a feare, as they knew not what to doe; whereupon our chiefe Factor there asked the Commander of those forces, what his purpose was with such a Fleet there, and that if he attempted any thing against *Polarone*, it was a breach of the Articles as being in our possession. This could not preuaile with him, but said the Land was theirs, and they would haue it by faire means or force, and as for our protection, they would not acknowledge it (the Inhabitants and not wee being Masters of the place) and so the Dutch Commander went aloofe vnto the Inhabitants.

Whereupon the said Inhabitants asked vs if we could and would defend them, but perceiving we were not able to defend our felues, much lesse to secure them: they were forced to yeild themselves and the Iland into his hands.

The Dutch tooke downe the *English* colours, and set vp their owne, and caused the Inhabitants presently to bring in all their weapons, and to throw downe all their wals, and would

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haue forced them to haue taken all our Ordnance out of our Fort, which they at the first refused to doe, alleging that they had formerly giuen and furrendred the Land to the King of *England*, and in respect they had liued so long with the *English*, they would not now offer vs any inuasive or violence.

And when our chiefe Factor went aloofe to expollulate the matter with the Dutch Commander, he could obayne nothing at his hands, but that the Land was theirs, and things must be so, and should be so.

Whereupon our said Factor went againe vnto the Dutch Generall to the Castle of *Nera* to conferre with him thereabouts, but he would giue no other answer, but that hee had referred those buuelles to his said Lieutenant sent thither, with whom he might conferre: who in the absence of our chiefe Factor, had brought some of his Souldiers aloofe vnto *Polarone*, and forced the Ilanders to throw all our Ordnance ouer the Rocks from the place where they were planted (being nine peeces) whereof foure broke with the fall, and were all carryed away by the Dutch.

Nathaniel Courbois.

Moreouer our Captaine of *Polarone* who had defended the Iland foure yeeres together, going to *Lantore* (at the request of the Inhabitants) to recouer the surrendry thereof for our Kings Maiesties vs (as afore-said) and returning backe againe about the beginning of November, 1620. was liued by the Dutch. And it is very probable, they did it after the time they had intelligence of the publication of the accord at *Batavia*, in March 1619. For presently vpon the said publication, they sent secretly to the Ilands in their parts, where they had trade, to present vs of our part of the Spices due vnto vs by the accord.

After the said Dutch Generall had subdued the fore mentioned Iland of *Lantore*, hee constrained them to deliuer vnto him, the principall of all their children for Hostages: Then hee tooke away from them all their small Vessels and Boates, and then hee also required all the men of *Lantore* to be brought vnto him, and they brought him all the principall men, but this did not satisfie him, but he would haue all the *Bandanees*, which had ayded them, as also all their wiues and children, small and great to be brought as Prisoners aboard his ships.

Which when the *Bandanees* perceived (doubting that he meant to make them all slaues and to carrie them to some other places) they agreed together to retire themselves into the highest and strongest places of the Land, and there did fortifie themselves, whereupon the Dutch shute of them and tooke twelue hundred persons Prisoners, most of them being women and children, which they haue since carryed to *Iacatra* and other places.

Printed according to the originall Copie the eight of February, 1621. Sulo Nouo.

Reuerendo in Christo Fratri D. Domino Adrian Iacobson Huijsbeus apud Iacatanenses Batavos Prae licatori, Salutem & pacem ab Autore vtriusque.

LOving Brother: I haue receiued your Letters, and according to your desire, haue returned these few lines in answer thereto. If I haue not so fully satisfied the particulars of your Letters, as I wished and purposed, I pray you impute it not to any want of will, but vnto my disquietance with your Dutch Tongue and band: I should per adventure haue giuen you better satisfaction thus now I doe, if you had written to me in the Latine Tongue. But to leaue excuses and come to the matter, the thing you touch in your Letter is but too true, to wit, that the hatred and dissension among Christians (if it continue, as God defend it should) is, and will be the cause of much innocent blood-shed among friends, and of estranging the hearts of Heathen: from the worship of the true God. And therefore that amitie among Christian friends may cease, and that such as are yet without, may be allured to submit themselves to the Scepter of Iesus Christ: it standeth vs upon (who are Preachers of the Gospel of Peace) to be reformation of peace, which for my owne part how willing I am to doe, is not unknowne to such as keem myself, and among whom I doe daily converse. I haue alwayes both in publicke and private, by Letters to our Worlthfull Company in *England*, and by letters vnto our Commanders here in the Indies declared how good a thing it is for vs that are Christians, professing one Faith, one Christ, one Baptisme, to liue in peace, and to dwell together in unitie. And of this my earnest desire to be a Peace-maker, Master Viceroy your Master of the Blacke Lion, who remayned after his taking some weekes aboard of the *Rey*, all Iames, can giue euident testimony and witness. And now that you haue written to this end, I will stirre vp my self, and set myself vpon the worke of reconciliation. It is selfe indeed or pride that is the Make-bate breeding strife and discord: for, had not the riches of the Moluccas, and the robbing of the Chinese and others by you, under the English Colours, sowing thereby your thet upon vs, cast you into a deepe and deadly Lethargie, you would not as you haue done, haue abused your best friends

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abroad, that have shed so much of their dearest blood in defence of you and your country at home; but now you are freed from the Spaniards at home, you fall out with your friends abroad. Is this the recompence of our love and blood shed on you, and led for you to keep you from the supposed blood of Spain? Did I think thus reward his three Worthies, who adventured their lives to satisfy his longing of Spain? his thirst? Did he not say, Lord, be it farve from me that I should do this: is not this the blood of the men that went in jeopardy of their lives? 2 Sam. 23. 17. Do you thus requite vs, as Lot did Abraham, 1980, when as hee with the three hundred and eighteen that were borne and brought up in his house, did recover Lot and his goods, and women out of the hands of the Conquerors, cared not for him but to serve his own turne, and being delivered, did in a manner scorne Abrahams company, VVell, though Abraham being the elder and worthier might have stood upon his right, yet yielded of this interest, that he and Lot might live as brothers, and the rather because both of them at this time joined among the Canaanites and Phereites, who were ready to take notice of their discord, and so to curse their God and holy Religion. Yet what gained Lot by separating company, but a shew of fire and brimstone, which rained upon Sodome wherein he lived, and would have consumed both him and his, if God had not been mercifull unto him at Abrahams request.

It is not long of the English that we expose our selves to the mockery of Infidels: our Company love peace, and trade peaceably: they have put up for peace sake more wrongs at our hands, than they meane to do againe. You write and publish to the world, that the Sea is free, and yet by your overreaching spirit, or at least your Mothers and Nurses of discord: One of our Commanders, wrote (as I remember, or at least sent word by one of his special note amongst your selves) to Coen your Commander concerning a party before the shooting downe of our Turret at Iacatra: but the first and last newes we heard of, was it not the beating downe of our house there, and the defaming of our Nation, with Penon at Bantam and others here?

And thinke you that this is the way to make peace? The present Captaine of your Fort at Iacatra, promised to the Rights worshipfull Sir Thomas Dale our chief Commander, upon the fact of a Christian, that M. Peter Wadden (now your prisoner) should have free ingress, and egress in and out of your house to parley between vs, to returne to our Shoppes: and yet is either promiss or oath kept? hath he not, and doth he not continue your prisoner to this hour? You remember I have his answer in Ichoram, What peace whiles the wickedness of my Mother Isacabel, and her witchcrafts are yet in great number? 2 Kings 9. 23. No false league of friendship or reconciliation can be made, or being made can continue, till the wrong which men have done one to another, be reposed, and removed; and satisfaction given by word and deed, where it may possibly be performed; else it will be like a wound or sore, that being cured outwardly to the eye, doth breake out to the hurt of both parties, and scandal of others: As a wound that is ill cured, by an unskillfull or an unconscionable Chirurgeon. As for mine owne part, I would to God that if it were possible, I might with all my best skill and cunning be the Chirurgeon to cure this wound, that our reconciliation, when ever it shall be made, may not be hollow, but holy and firme: you I wish from my heart, that my very blood might be the meale to put out this wilde fire which now is kindled, and (if it be not quenched in time) is like to devour, not onely the ships and goods (as it hath done some already, and is like to do more) but the precious lives of many of both Nations, and of those which are as yet unknowne to us (it is like) will curse the time that ever the English and Dutch knew the Indians. All standeth not in one side, there must be a yielding of both sides, if ever there be a sound peace. But you say, both sides are stout, who shall begin? I answer, what avails anger without strength to deare it out? What is fierceness of spirit without wisdom of heart? but even a fowler bolt against him selfe. And to such a one may not be saying of Archidamus to his sonne, being too foolle-hardie, be as softly applyed at a glasse to a mans hand: Sonne, sonne, either put too more strength, or take away some of this courage? You cannot be ignorant that when Herod intended to make warre against the Tyrians and Sydonians, how they came all with one accord, and perswaded Blathus the Kings Chamberlaine that they might live in peace, or else they should all of them be hanged. Act. 12. 20. Take heede you come not to this when it is too late. Are you so well able to live of your selves in Holland, that you have no need of your neighbours country England? Are you so high above the waters, that the fluxes of heauen cannot drive you? Or are the Seas so low beneath your Netherlands, that you stand no danger? Shebna the Treasurer, was he not as proudly seated at your Graue in Holland? or the grave amongst you here in the Indies, even Coen himselfe? and yet was he not tossed up and downe at a fowle hall in a strange country? and were not the Chariots of his glory the flame of his Lords house? 1 Esay 48. 18. But I have runne my selfe a little beyond that I intended, and now to recover my breath, by these lines I promise, and by word and deed will, God willing, with safe and care labour to bring to passe, that we may live as friends and neighbours both here and at home. Thus I have returned you an answer to that you desire, and hope that both of vs should doe our best endeavour for the good of our present Fleets, and of such as hereafter may live to be blessed. From our Royall Iames riding neere Bantam, the 20. of April 1619.

Your loving brother Patrick Cleland.

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From aboard the Bee in the Rode of Iacquatra on the Coast of Iaua, the five and twentieth of February. 1620.

After the second 1619, our ship and goods were taken by the Flemings in the Strait of Sumatra neere Bantam, and set ashore at Iacquatra. September the eight 1619. the Flemings differed into three, and so the coast of Sumatra the first of October 1619. they took four other English ships, viz. the Dragon, the Bear, the Expedition, and the Role. And on the second of October they turned vs all ashore at Tecoo amongst the Indians, where our Merchants had no trade, but for eight dayes. We were then three hundred twenty and odd men, all the most part viduare. About fifteen men were killed in fight. They left vs the little Role to shift for our selves.

30 The three & twentieth of October, 1619. there came into the Rode out of England three other ships, the Pallgrave, the Elizabeth, and the Merchants hope. From Tecoo we sailed too and fro, and at length came to anchor at an Island called Amyncan, where we had fresh water and some fish, but is no place of trade, nor is there any man that knoweth of anything that grows upon it. The people are thought to be savages. After this we returned backe for Tecoo, & neere the same twenty nine of January 1619. we met with General Pring in the Royall James, and his whole fleet of ships, in number nine. All the fleet being then twelve goodly ships, were resolved to saile for Bantam; and in sight of two Flemish ships, which we were forced to take. Captaine Adams in the ship called the Bull, together with one of the Flemish ships came up with newes of peace: we then sailed for Iacatra, where by the way we met vs. But peace being then concluded between the Flemings and vs, our English Factorie was againe settled at Iacatra; and the ships divided some for one place, some for another.

The five and twentieth of April 1620. the Royall James, and a ship of some eight hundred Tonnes, called the Vnicorne, set saile for Iapan, the distance neere about a eleven hundred leagues. The second of June 1620. The Vnicorne was cast away on the coast of China, neere a certain Island called the Ma-coio Iland. In the ship were two English women; both which, and all the men were saved: for they ran the ship neere the shore. Most part of all their goods they lost. As we sailed for Iapan at a place called Patane, we heard of Captaine Iordayne, who being there with two ships, called the Hound, and the Samson, there came into the Rode and fought with them three Flemish ships: Captaine Iordayne was slain in that fight, and the Flemings took both their ships. The fourteenth of December 1620. The great Lanes being well trimmed at a place called Pirando in Iapan, came away from thence: and the fourteenth of January 1620. we arrived safely at Iacatra, where we is now laden for England.

The ships that since my coming from England, have beene taken and lost, are the Sonne, cast away neere Bantam; the Starre, taken neere Bantam; the Dragon, the Bear, the Expedition, and the Role, taken at Tecoo; the Hound and the Samson taken at Patany; the Vnicorne cast away on the coast of China; two or three other ships taken and lost at the Moluccas.

Men of good command, dead, are, Captaine Parket of Plymouth, Sir Thomas Dale, Captaine Iordayne killed at Patany, Captaine Bonner killed at Tecoo while we were at Iapan. The Flemings yielded up againe the Starre to the English, and soe is gone to the Moluccas.

Thomas Knowles.

CHAP. XII.

The Hollanders Declaration of the affaires of the East Indies: faithfully translated according to the Dutch Copy, Printed at Amsterdamb, 1622.

Written in answer to the former reports, touching wrongs done to the English. And an answer written by certaine Mariners lately published: with Depositions further opening the iniquity and crueltie of the Dutch.

¶ I.

A true Relation of that which passed in the Islands of Banda, in the East Indies, in the yeere of our Lord God 1621. And before printed at Amsterdam 1622.

As the Islands of Banda, from the tenth of August 1609. by a speciall treaty and agreement made with the Hollanders, or Magistrates of the foresaid Islands, were put under the protection of the high and mighty, the States general of the united Provinces, on condition to defend them from the Portugall, and other their Enemies, provided that they of the said Islands, are bound to deliver unto the Fort called Nassau, or unto the Commissioners of the said Company, all their

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fruits or spices at a certaine price, and so forth, as by the said treaty of agreement more at large appeareth. These articles of agreement being for a time by them performed, were afterward broken and violated, as well in keeping backe, and with-holding the said fruits and spices, which they were tyed to deliver to the Netherlands Company: as also enforcing and robbing their Ware-boyses, and contrary to fulsome treaty and promise, murdering at sundry times and places, divers of the principal Officers, Committes, and servants of the said Netherlands Company, in taking away divers small Ships provision, their open invading of the places and Countreys, with-hold also lately under the subjection of the High and Mighty the States generall, and in compassing the inhabitants thereof, whom with a strong hand they forced from being Christians to become Moores againe, or they which with flood or gale said them, they said as Slaves, and in committing all kind of perjury, wickedness and treachery: during which passages and dangers, there was againe certain contracts on the afore-said Countreys agreed upon, with the said Bandanels, as in May, in the year 1616, by one of the Netherlands Commanders called Lam, and by their Governour General Laurence Reall, in the year 1617, which indeed were shortly after broken and violated by the Bandanels, and that through the animating by the English, who did openly assist and assist the said Islands, and maintained them in warre, the Netherlands Company with violence, and Murther, great Ordinance, Men and Ships, thereby to with-hold from us the fruits and spices, which the Bandanels were tyed to deliver. In this willfulnesse the Bandanels continued, till in June 1620. Till that at Iacatra was published both amongst the English and the Netherlands Fleet, there rising there in the Road: the treaty concluded and agreed upon, betwixt his most excellent Majestie, the King of great Brittain, and the High and Mighty Lords the States generall, for to reconcile upon certain condition, the English and Netherlands East India Companies.

The which Treaty, and by conference of handling concerning the Molucces, Amboyna, and Banda, all disputes and differences betwixt the English and the Netherlands Company concerning the same, were in this time abolished, and a general force of Shippes of Warre was ordained betwixt them, for the defence of both Companies in their rights, and the commerce which they had obtained in the Indies.

The Reduction of the willfull Bandanels unto the Netherlands Campe, was hindered a yeere or two, (through the unall proceeding which the English in Banda it selfe, since the year 1616, and afterwards in the year 1618. about the coast of Iaua, and whole India through) by open hostility and attempts: whereby the afore-said Bandanels being encouraged, and made bolder, did with-hold themselves wholly from under the subjection of the Castle of Natav, doing unto us and ours all wrong and hostility, and with-holding from us their fruits (to say) Nutmegs & Mace, which they did not only sell unto the English, and to the Indians, but also to the Portugals, who are both their and our Enemies, with whom they seek to make nearer alliance of friendship, as already in the great Island named Banda, were come fiftie or threescore Portugals, who by some more assistance, considering the naturall force of the said Island, would have bene sufficient to have deprived both the English and the Netherlands Company of the rights therein, and the fruits thereof, without hope hereafter to have any redresse.

In regard of these inconveniences, after the publication of the contract that was made, the Generall of the Netherlands Company, in the common Council for defence, (consisting of Englishmen, and Netherlands) propounded the necessity of the taking of Banda, as also the restoring and assuring of those Quarters, and of the trade in Amboyna and Molucces, to the which end, both the Companies according to the contract were bound together, to use all the force and power that they could, for the preservation of the places, as much as concerned the trade, for both the Companies. And it appeared by the Act made by this of the said Council for defence, bearing date the first of January 1621. this now, that the English Committes there declared, that the necessities of the businesse was well knowne unto them; as also that they were very willing together with us, to doe some common exploit: but for that as then, they wanted both power and means of men and ships, that they could not for that time furnish any thing towards the same: Whereupon, the Netherlands Governour General declared, that with the particular power of the Netherlands Company, he would take the same in hand, and effect it in such manner as God should be pleased to prosper his proceeding.

And to that end, upon the 1st of January, the Governour General went from Iacatra to Amboyna, where he arrived upon the fourteenth of February, and from thence went to Banda, to the Castle of Natav, lying in the Island Nera, upon the seven and twentieth of February 1621. In the same time, one of the English Council for defence, that had bene at Iacatra upon the first of January 1621, and was pryncipall to the contract made, lying then in Amboyna, when the Governour General went from thence to Banda, sent Letters in our owne Ships to the Englishmen, lying in the small Island Polaron, and made knowne and delivered unto the of Banda, in what manner the Generall of the Netherlands Company, intended to assault the great Island of Banda: & when the said Governour General was come to the Fort of Natav in Banda, he understood that the Englishmen in Polaron, had added them of the Towce of Lantore in the great Island of Banda, with foure Peeces of great Ordinance, and that if they had had longer time, that the entrance of the Generall of the Netherlands Army into Lantore Haven, should have bene let and with-hold by a great battery. As also that some Englishmen, in Lantore, assisted those of Banda, ours, and (according to the contract) their enemies, both with counsell and force, encouraging them with their presence, & notwithstanding that the said Generall required the said Englishmen of

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Lantore to leave the Towne, for the causes and reasons afore-said, as also for that they themselves, according to the Contract and Order made by the Council of Defence, before that time might not buy any Frises in Molucces, Amboyna, and Banda, as after the publication of the Contract they may doe, and that only together, and in common places with the Netherlands, yet some few of them stayed still with them of Banda our common enemies. Notwithstanding also that the Governour general protested, that he was not therein to be blamed, if by that means any hurt were done unto them, being among and with our common enemies, from whom they should and ought to have separated themselves.

First, the Governours general determined to assault the great Island of Banda in the South side, (by some called Lantore, because the principal Towne is so called,) by land in a place called Luchny, and so then end caused the ship called the Hart to anchor thereabouts, which lay not down there but it was floot as by an English Peeces of Ordnance, whereby our men were forced to tow the said ship with a Gally from the shore, and to leave two Anchors and two Cables behind them, or else it had bene in great danger of sinking or burning, our men assuring us, that an English Gunner had shot at them, and that they perfectly desfered and saw him, although the Englishmen seeme to denie it.

Whereby altering of their first purpose, the Generall of the Netherlands refused to land upon the inward part of the Island of Banda, there to encamp themselves, and then to goe up upon the Hills, and there to plant their Ordnance, and to that end upon the eighth of March, 1621. landed with sixteen Companies betwixt Comber and Orattatt, they marched along the shore side, within the reach of three Peeces of great Ordnance line then by the Englishmen, and not long before planted there, whereby if they had marched forward many of our men had bene slain, and so we could have found no place there to encamp our selves, but the Enemies from the Hills would have dominated over us, no man knowing what counsell to give, whereby we might get up upon the Hills. The warre wherein above three yeeres before we had bene, being all intrenched, whereupon the Generall determined to enter againe into his ship with the whole Army, to take another course. They of Banda not once pushing forth us, but with flouting and mocking let us goe, and so thinking thereby, that they had gotten the upper hand of us, most part of them brought their wives and children againe into Lantore. After the two enterprises, partly hindered by the English Ordnance, were in that manner crost. The Generall, for a third resolution, determined to assault the great Island of Banda on both sides, that is, on the inner side of the Land with six Companies, and on the South side with ten Companies. That they on the inner side should land on shore before the others should land, by that means to draw the Enemies forth, and so to make place on the other side, while a Company of chosen men should land on the North side, to climb up upon the Hills, and others in other places of the Land should also be in readiness, being three hundred and thirtie persons, whereof one hundred and fiftie were Musketers, appointed for the murthering and assuring of thirtie boats, which the said Company would bring on the South side of the Island.

This was effected upon the eleventh of March, and accordingly six Companies by break of day, went on land betwixt Comber and Orattatt. Captaine Voghel with certaine chosen Soldiers marching forward, who climbing up upon the Hills, found such resistance, that all their powder being spent, they were in great danger to be spoiled, but being well followed and seconded by the rest, the Enemies were forced to retire: and while this skirmish continued, the other ten Companies landing out of the said thirtie boats, went on shore upon the South side of Banda, in a small Bay, some with Leaders, and others without any resistance, but only those that set upon the first Troopes, being some ten or twentie Musketers, by whom one of our men was slain, and foure or five hurt, whereby Lantore was taken on the South side by the said ten Companies, while the other six Companies skirmished with those of Banda upon the Hills, and as some of Lantore were taken, those of Madang, Luchny, Orattatt, and Sammen, presently forsooke their Townes in the said Island. When they of Banda saw the afore-said thirtie boats, they thought we would have sailed round about the Land, as we had done three times before, whereupon making no reckoning of our landing, they were suddenly surprized by break of day.

As soone as Lantore with the rest of the places afore-said were won, the rest of them of Banda, namely Slamma, Comber, Owendender, Wayer, and those of the Islands of Rottingen, and Poolarone, made composition with us, which we granted upon condition, that they should breake downe their Forts and Walls, and give us their Shot, Peeces and Muskets, &c. which by them being done, all of them together, according to their Contract and promise, yielded to hold their Countreies and Lands, of the Lords the general States of the united Netherlands Provinces, promising to doe what sever they should be commanded, and acknowledge the said Lords the general States for their Sovereign, notwithstanding their former Oaths taken unto any others.

Those of Lantore and others being first overcome and vanquished, and that sated themselves among others of Banda, also asked pardon and sought for Peace, which was granted unto them upon the condition afore-said, though they hardly held the same, and secretly sought to have a new rebellion, and were commanded by the Generall to shew themselves all together upon the Strand, that they might be appointed in some other convenient place to live as fellow Citizens freely together, without the life of the goods which they then had. Whereunto some of them obeyed, but the greater part fled upon the Inch Mountains in the great Island of Banda, to whom also many other Townes repaired, and flew a Netherlands Merchant, one other, and a boy, where they were encircled and hindered from vittuals by our men.

By this means all the Townes and Places in Banda were won, and made sure, only Poolarone, which was not meddled withall, because they of Banda therein behaved themselves peaceably, for the ayde, or rather the service of those of Poolarone. The Englishmen planted nine Peeces of Ordnance upon a small Island in Poolarone, having untrenched the same: and when those of Poolarone, according to the compulsion, were to yield up their Armes, and disarme themselves, as they willingly did; yet our Generall did not once speake of this nine Peeces of Ordnance standing in the said small Island, because the Englishmen should have no cause to make any question, that our men had done any thing against their Fort or men.

The English Commander, Humfrey Fitz-Herbert, with his ship called the Exchange, lying before the Caffe of Amboina, and having intelligence of the Generall of the Netherlands visitation in Banda, footed fourteen Peeces of Ordnance for Joy thereof.

This what is formerly declared, is the true state and proceedings of that, which hath beene done now lately, and before in the Island of Banda, wherein nothing hath beene done, but that which (according to the Law of Nations, and the aforesaid Contract, made, and promised to bee bolden, and without any wrong done to the Liberties of the English Company, agreed upon with the Company of the Netherlands) might and ought to have beene done.

§. II.

An Answer to the Hollanders Declaration concerning the occurrences of the East India, contracted somewhat brifer then in the former impression.

HERE was of late two Currents published, bearing date the one, the eight of February: the other, the eight and twentieth. In these two Currents sundrie, both incredible and intolerable wrongs and grievances were made knowne, which the Hollanders of the East Indies had inflicted and enforced upon the English Company of the East Indies. Since the printing of these two Currents, the Hollanders have published a Pamphlet, entituled, *A declaration of the Affaires of the East Indies*. This declaration was published (as by the discourse may appear) in answer of the two Currents above mentioned, for the whole scope of the declaration tendeth to no other end, but to iustifie their owne right in the East Indies, and thereupon to charge the English with wrongs done to them, that thereby the world might be made beleefe, that whatsoever extremities or hard measures they offered to the English, they were vrged and provoked thereunto by the vniust dealing of the English, and the wrongs first offered by them: howsoever the English provoked the Hollanders in India, the Hollanders by this Declaration, doe vrged and prouoke the English to defend themselves against false and fabulous slanders imputed upon them. Is it not too much that the Hollanders most vniustly oppressed vs in India, but that they must proceed further to slander vs in England. *Maiores sunt fames et fides damna, quam que Iacervi possunt*: The losse of a good name, the losse of trust and credite are losses irreuerable. But thanks be to Almighty God, who doth always protect the innocent. This Declaration of the Hollanders intended and published for our vtter vniust dealing and disgrace, offereth vnto vs, in two respects, both hope and helpe, thanks be to Almighty God, who hath conuerted Hamon his Galsouise intended against *Mardochew*, to his owne confusion, like as he hath suffered you to publish a Declaration to cut your owne throats. What could you devise to write and publish, more opposite to what you intended more to disgrace your selves, in couincing you of falsehood; more to honour, acquit, and cleere the English, then this Declaration? All which shall manifestly appeare in the examination of your Declaration, which followeth.

To begin with the very first lines and page: you affirme, That all the Islands of Banda, from the tenth of August, 1609, were by a speciall Treatie and agreement made with the Oranckjes, the Magistrates of the Islands, put vnder the protection of the States of the Netherlands: how vttrac this is, let all men iudge; when as you confesse in the latter end of the first page, "and in the beginning of the second, were afterward broken and violated; and that the Islanders with-held their Fruits and Spices, that they enforced and robbed their Ware-houses, murdered at sundrie times and places, diuers of the principall Officers, Committees, and Seruants of the Netherlands company, taking away their ships and prouision, what could the Hollanders say lesse then to pretend an agreement?" and what or how could alledge and proue more directly to couince themselves of vnruth then so plainly and largely confesse the rected hostilities, practised by the Bandanefes against them: what an agreement could this be, where there was so great an ouerfion of the Islanders minds, declared by the hostile deeds which they practised against the Hollanders; they might perhaps say there was a Treatie, but such hostile practices manifestly proue there could be no Agreement.

The Hollanders proceed further, from the yeere 1609, to the yeere 1616. where they speake

of another Agreement concluded in May, by one of the Netherlands Commanders called Lem. And another Agreement made by their Guernour generall called Reall, in the yeere 1617, which they confesse were both shortly after broken by the Bandanefes: but how? Heere cometh in the maine matter; The Bandanefes rebelled through the animating of the English, who did openly ayde and assist them with Victuals, Munition, great Ordnance, Men, and Ships. It were needfull that the Hollanders should set down the causes which moued the English to toyne so farre with the Bandanefes, for the causes doe either lessen or aggravate the charge imputed vpon the English: they must either say, the English ayde; or they must alledge, which the Hollanders without further respect, which they cannot proue; or they must alledge, which themselves in their Declaration doe proue, that the English did endeauour to defend them with whom they had free trade and traffike; who louingly and with free content sold to the English their Spices, &c. who put themselves vnder the protection of the English; who yielded the Islands of Poolanag, Poolarone, and Lantore, vnder the obedience of the King of England: which if they would they cannot denie, for they confesse that the English had mounted Ordnance vpon all these Islands: why should the English plant their Ordnance vpon these Islands, but to defend their Right; how could the English plant their Ordnance vpon the Islands, but with free content of the Bandanefes; at what time did the English plant their Ordnance in these Islands of Banda? The Hollanders confesse, before they came to the Islands; for they found them in the Islands: now, where is the wrong that the English haue done the Hollanders? and in what? because the English did hinder the agreements so often made betwixt the Hollanders and the Bandanefes, why for cleuen yeeres the Bandanefes continue till in Iune, 1620. Thus hitherto it is plainly acknowledged, the Hollanders neuer had any landing, any Caffe or Fort, any trading in the Islands of Banda, but what was gotten by force and absolute constraint: If the Hollanders could proue so much for themselves, as they doe for the English; the English then might haue blushed for shame. In all this time that the Hollanders maintained hostiletie with the Bandanefes, there is no mention made, that the Bandanefes euer offered any opposition against the English, or once denied them their Spices; but that they had trade and traffike with them freely and friendly: now, if consent and prescription of time be the best claime the Hollanders would haue for the Islands of Banda, why the Englishmen goe farre beyond them; the Bandanefes did neuer violate any agreement made with the English; they neuer kept any pretended agreement made with the Hollanders; the Englishmen in cleuen yeeres were neuer expelled; the Hollanders in all that time were neuer enterprised, but in all hostile manner; the Englishmen had offer at all times of Nutmegs and Mace; so had the Hollanders neuer at any time, but what they got by violence and compulsion; all which is acknowledged in the third page, and the beginning of the fourth. We passe our many acknowledgements and confessions of the Hollanders, because they all tend but to two ends; to iustifie themselves, and condemn the English; and because there is sufficient obstrusion giuen, that in iustifying themselves, they disgrace themselves, and in practising to disgrace the English, they doe them great honour. But to deale plainly and truly, not to abuse the world with vntruths, nor to wrong the Hollanders without cause, we doe confesse: The Bandanefes made one famous agreement with the Hollanders, which we well remember, euen in that yeere in which they report they had made agreement with the Bandanefes. In Iune, 1609, after they had by force taken from them a Towne called *Narra*, and making them free to the backside or the Coast, to a place which they called *Nassau*: Van Hoesf the Generall made shew of loose and friendship with the Bandanefes; which they perceiving, and desirous to reuenge the wrongs and cruelties offered vnto them by the Hollanders, did dissemble their intents, entretyning Van Hoesf with vaine hopes, promising him to come to some agreement; by which means they drew Van Hoesf with three score or more of his Commanders, and Souldiours, vnto a place in which the Bandanefes had aduantage. Now instead of agreement, in warlike manner they set vpon Van Hoesf, and slew him and almost his Company. This is the best agreement that wee euer knew or heard the Bandanefes euer made with the Hollanders, during eleuen or twelue yeeres. Presently after this, in Iuly after, Captaine Bitter who among all the Commanders escaped, when Van Hoesf was slaine, attempted to surprize another Towne called *Siamma*; he was fought withall by the Bandanefes, and wounded in the thigh, of which wound he shortly died.

Where is now any wrong which the English hath done the Hollanders, except it bee a wrong to maintaine them, who with free and general consent put themselves vnder the protection of the King of England? or a wrong to defend them, who willingly traffike and trade with the English; or a wrong to maintaine that right which the Hollanders acknowledge the English had in the Island of Banda: These be all the wrongs which the Hollanders doe or can charge the English withall.

But now on the other side, what extreme wrongs doe the English charge vpon the Hollanders? In two Currents printed the eight of February, and the twentie eight, 1622, the Hollanders are charged with most barbarous and inhumane wrongs done to the English, all which they

* Under Band the pages as they lie in the former impression.

they passe over in their Declaration without any answer at all, whereby in silence they cannot but plead guiltie: to confesse them they are alamed, and to deny them they cannot, but in their accustomed policie they seeke to auoyd them by way of insinuation, that the *English* deserued them in saying and dissuiling the *Dutch* against them.

There were two Orators of *Albany* very great and inward friends, before the Judges; the one did accuse, the other defend a Magistrate of *Albany*, whereupon the one Orator did challenge the other that he had dealt very unkindly with him to defend his mortal enemy; and thou as unkindly with me, quoth the other, to accuse my dearest friend.

This is just the like chllenge betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *English*: Why do you say the *Hollanders* defend our greatest enemies? And why do you say the *English* oppose against our dearest friends? Yet in this challenge there is a difference: for the *English* have more cause to defend their friends, then the *Hollanders* have cause to oppose against their enemies; *Englishmen* have a right by consent, *Hollanders* have nothing but by constraint. Just defence is more honest and honourable then vsult opposition is, either by Lawes of God or man warrantable.

To proceed on with the cruell and inhumane wrongs, done by the *Hollanders* to the *English*, by so much more barbarous and inhumane, by how much the *English* of all Nations in the world, did least deserve it. What, deserve any hard measures from the *Hollanders*? To what Nation vnder the Coape of Heaven, are they so much bound as to the *English*? Who hath fostered and nursed them vp to this greatness, but the *English*? What Nation hath shed so much blood, lost the lues of so many gallant Captaines, Commanders, and Souldiers, to sayde and defend them as the *English*?

What Nation hath lent them, and spent vpon them so much money and treasure, as the *English* have done, when they were in their extremest weaknesse and poutnesse? When, and where did the *English* euer sayle them? If for these causes, the *English* have deserved at the *Hollanders* hands, to haue their ships taken, and made prize, their goods confiscate, and conuered to their owne vses; their Captaines, Souldiers, Factors, and Mariners, taken prisoners, held in miserable seruitude, clogged with yrons, kept in stocks, bound hand and foot, tied to stakes, haling and pulling them with ropes about their neckes, spurning them like dogs, throwing them headlong downe rocks, and cliffs, killing, murdering, starving, and pinning them to death, enforcing them to carrie lime and stone for their buidings. Landing them amongst the *Pagan* people, without all prouision whatsoever, exposing them to the mercie of Micreants, of whom notwithstanding they found better vage then of the *Hollanders*. When as the *Hollanders* robbed and spoiled other Nations vnder the *English* Colours, pretending (to disgrace the *English*) that they were *Englishmen*, counterfeiting the Coyne of other Nations, charging the *English* with the same. Laying the *English* whom they held as prisoners aboue latches, where the Sunne scorched them in the day, and where their ordures and piss fell vpon them in the night, till they grew more loathsome and filthie then Lepers, barring the *English*, as much as in them lay, from all commerce and trade in the *Indies*. As all these particulars are directly to be proued by men yet liuing, who either indured, or their eyes saw what is here reported, and will be ready vpon all occasions, either with their liues or oathes to iustifie for truth, what they haue indured, and what they haue seene with their eyes.

Let all the world iudge, whether *Englishmen* haue deserved these vsages at the *Hollanders* hands: Whereas some people either affected to the *Hollanders*, or thinking it too strange and monstrous, that Christians should domineere ouer Christians with such inhumane and barbarous cruelty, rather tyrannie, except the *English* had provoked them heauily therunto.

Let all such who harbour any such conceits, read and consider what is before answered to such obiections: the *Hollanders* in their Declaration being charged in the two first Chapters, with many of these extreme wrongs inflicted vpon the *English*, they make no demitt of them, make a challenge that the *English* did sayde and assill the *Hollanders* against them; it hath formerly bene alleged, and sufficiently proued, by their owne confession, that the *English* did not maintain the *Hollanders*, by way of opposing the *Hollanders*; but they did as much as in them lay, to defend the right of the King of *England*, they did defend that right which they had by consent; they did defend that People, who did so freely and friendly trade and traffike with them; other causes then their io honest, io iust, agreeing with the Lawes of God, of Nature, and Nations, they neither doe nor can alledge any.

Some other inconsiderate people, who enuie the prosperitie of the East Indian Merchants will further say, to close with the *Hollanders*, that these extremities were offered in *India* onely, and no where else to the *English* for prooue of the contrarie, wee of the East Indian Company doe challenge all the Merchants which traualle or traffike East, West, North, or South, to deliuer their knowledge, what indignities they haue indured from the *Hollanders*, in *Turkey*, in the *Straites*, in *Maluwa*, in *Ceylon*, in *Guinea*, at *Agou-fawd-land*, and where not; so that not onely the East Indian Company hath onely cause to complain: yea, they wrong *Englishmen* in their owne Seas at home, as is generally knowne. Now, because *Hollanders* may say, that they are charged with generalities without particular instances; generally speaking being a

common cause to aggravate causes, and be auoyed except the Generall bee proued by particulars, because they shall find that we cannot want of particulars out of infinite, there shall bee here following deliuered, some by men yet liuing, who haue both seene them, and endured them.

§. III.

Relations and Depositions touching the *Hollanders* brutish and cruell vsage of the *English*.

IN the Roade of *Patany* in the East *Indies*, the fourteenth of July, 1619. the two ships called the *Samson* and the *Hound*, riding there at Anchor, three ships of the *Netherland*: set vpon them with might and mayne, after five houres fight, eleven of the men in the *Samson* were slaine out-right, and five and thirtie men of the same ship were wounded, maymed and dismembred; at this time Captaine *Jordan* was Captaine of the *Samson*, and did hang vp a flagge of Truce, and withall sent *Thomas Hackwell*, Master of the *Samson* to the *Netherlanders*: to parlee about a peace.

The Examination of *Thomas Hackwell*, the five and twentieth of January, 1621.

Thomas Hackwell being sworn and examined vpon certain Articles ministered on the behalfe of the Right Worshipsfull, the English Company of Merchants, trading to the East India as follows, faith and depose thus, as followeth.

TO the first of the said Articles he faith, & depose by charge of his oath, that in the roade of *Patany* in the East *India*, vpon the fourteenth day of July, 1619. last past, the *Samson*, whereof this Examinant was Master, and the *Hound* belonging to the *English* Company, were forcibly assaulted by three ships of the *Hollanders* (viz.) *The Angel*, the *Martins Starre*, and the *Bergarboute*, whereof *Hendricke Iohnson* was Commander, and after five Glasse light two houres and a halfe, eleven of the said ship the *Samson*, her men being slaine out-right, five dismembred, and about thirtie otherwise wounded, Captaine *Jordan* being then in the said ship, the *Samson*, and Commander of her, caused a flagge of truce to be hung out, and sent this Examinant in the *Samson* Boate aboard the *Flemmings*, to treat with them for a peace, and at the hanging out of the said flagge of truce, and when this Examinant left the said Captaine *Jordan* to goe aboard the *Flemmings*, he was well; but aboue halfe an houre after the said flagge of truce was so hung out, and this Examinant was in parlee with the *Flemmings* about the said truce, Captaine *Jordan* not expecting any violence from the *Flemmings* during the said parlee, he threw himselfe aboard the *Samson* before the maine Malt vpon the gratings, where the *Flemmings* clypping him, molt treacherously and cruelly shot at him with a Musker, and shot him in to the bodie nere the heart, of which wound he dyed within halfe an houre after. And this he faith by charge of his Oath.

To the second he faith, That after the said ships, the *Samson* and the *Hound* were surprisid by the *Hollanders* in the said fight at *Patany*, as aforesaid, the greatest part of their men, by the command of the *Dutch*, were brought aboard the *Angel* their Admirall: and there notwithstanding, duers of them in the said fight were much burnt with Gun-powder, and wounded with splinters, and thereby suffered miserable torment, yet they the said *Dutch* mozt vnchristianly and inhumanly caused and forced them to put their legges downe through the gratings, and to se fast them, and tyed them to the Capiten Barres, insomuch that still as any man had occasion to goe and cate himselfe, his legges were so swelled by reason of the extraordinary hard tying of them, that the Carpenter was alwayes fetched to make bigger the holes, at which they were put downe to goe out their legges againe. And this hee faith by charge of his Oath is mozt true.

To the third he faith, That he knoweth that the *Dutch* at *Acacra*, doe cause all *China* men, residing and bordering there, to pay monthly fixe shillings vpon a head, or else you shall not sell any commodity there to the *English*, and this he hath seene diuers of *China* men pay at *Acacra*.

To the fourth he faith, That vpon the third day of March last was twelue month, aboard the new *Zed* nation riding in *Batsum* Roade, this Examinant, with three or foure others, did heare one *Classe Derickson*, then vpper steerman of the *Dutch* ship called the *Southern* *Indraght* say, that the States in *Holland* had bene plotting that Warre betwene the *English* and the *Dutch* in the *Indie* seuen yeares before.

To

To this last Article is witnesse,

Thomas Hackwell. William Shaples. Henry Backetfell. Bartholomew Churchmen. Anthony Pucco.

The Deposition of Bartholomew Churchman.

I doe affirme, that they have many times termed vs slaves to the King of Holland, and that we should all be sent to the *Moluccas* to rowe in their Gallies, and so bee kept bond-slaves vnder them during our lives.

More I affirme, that they have kept twelue of vs in a Dungeon at *Pooloway*, and foure and twentie at *Ambony*, by the command of *Laurence Riall* then Generall, but now returned into *Holland*, where they pist and () vpon our heads, and in this manner we lay, vntill such time as we were broken out from top to toe like Leapers, hauing nothing to eat but durie Rice, and stinking raine-water, inasmuch as if it had not bene for a *Dutch* woman, named *Mistress Cane*, and some poore *Blacky* that brought vs a little fruit, we had all starued in that place, as many of our Company did, besides the extreme which they vled to many others which they had in Prison at other Ilands wher they perished, leauing their Wiues and Children here in *England* readie to starue for want of maintenance.

The names of the ten men which lay in *Pooloway*, are these:

Bartholomew Churchman. Jacob Lane. Kelam Throgmorton. Matthew Willis. William Burris. Cassarian David. George Jackson. George Pettice. Walter Stacy. Richard Phillips.

At *Ambony*, *Richard Swanley*, and *twelue* more, whose names I well know not, nor cannot remember, put into a Dungeon, with fortie *Indians* all in a hole, hauing no place to eate themselves.

Bartholomew Churchman.

The last of October, 1617. *John Tucker* smeth: That the *Dutchmen* tooke the *Dragon*, the *Expediton*, the *Beare*, and the *Rafe*, and deliuered onto the *Rafe*, and that there being in the *Dragon* a Prisoner from the King of *Idien* for the King of *England*, called by them a *Creeze*, (that is to say) a *Digger*, which they doe detain to this houre.

This is true, I vnder-written doe affirme, and testify that it was not done by base Rogues (as they terme it) but some of the principall Committers.

John Tucker.

After the taking of these ships, there were about three hundred and fiftie men set out of the foure ships which were on shore, exposed vnto the mercie of the *Indians*, where they found more courtesie then of the *Hollanders*, otherwise they had all perished.

That all these abuses, and many more which wee haue formerly receiued by them, are true, we will maintayne vpon our oathes, and with our liues against any of their Nation, or others that shall gain-say this truth. Yet notwithstanding all this being (by the goodnesse of Almighty God) returned into our owne Country, we haue no satisfaction for these intolerable iniuries, nor any consideration for two thirds of our wages most barbarously kept from vs.

Articles of abuses done by the *Hollanders* at the Iland of *Moluccas*, and other places of the East Indies, as well against our Soueraigne Lord the Kings Maiestie, as also against vs, and other Englishmen, since the year of our Lord 1616, not only before the Peace, but also since, vntill the month of March 1620, that we came out of the Indies, in the good Ship called the *Lames*.

The second day of the month of February, in the year of the Lord, 1616, the *Swenne* was surprized and taken by the *Hollanders*, at the Ilands of *Banda*, and her men kept Prisoners till the eight and twentieth of April following. At which time the *Hollanders* carried five and twentie of the *English* to the *Moluccas*, where they were very hardly and inhumanely vled, being fettered and thicketed in the day time, and close locked vp a nights. And from the month of May, vntill the end of September, they were compelled to carrie Rone and lime for the building of Forts there, which if any refused to doe, they were kept in Stockes and Irons till they would worke; and were notwithstanding also very hardly vled for their victuals, inasmuch that the one halfe of them dyed through their hard vlage.

When we were first taken, we were possessed of diuers goods, provisions and meanes, wherewith to relieve our selves, which they presently tooke from vs, and left vs not so much as wherewith to couer our bodies.

Whereof when we complained to *John Elias*, who was Lieutenant to one *Garret Drickson* in the *Trom*, hoping that he would haue had some commiseration of our miseries, and long lying in Irons, bad vlage for want of meate, drinke, lodging, and other things: The said *Elias* and

thereof of his Company did thereupon, and many other times say vnto vs, That hee cured not for vs, nor for any of our Countrymen; and that if they should take vs and hang vs vp, we had our deserts: Yea, they vled other grosse and base speeches, not fit to be spoken out.

We affirme, that the said *John Elias* and his Companye said, that they had little need of *Englishmen*, for they in *Holland* were able of a sudden to make and furnish twentie foure thousand of flat-bottomed Boates, such as *Parma* would haue landed vpon the *English* there in eightie eight. And also said, that they had of their owne Nation and Countrymen, at the least fortie thousand strong in *England*, that presently, vpon the least occasion, would rise in Armes, and bend their forces speedily against vs in our owne Country.

We affirme, that *Laurence Riall*, who was their Generall, caused Grates and Cages to be made in their ship, and did put vs therein, and carried vs in them bound in Irons from Port to Port amongst the *Indians*, and thus in scornfull and deriding manner and Irons vnto the *Indians* as followeth: Behold and see, heere is the people of that Nation, whose King you care so much for. But now you may hereby plainly behold how kindly wee vlie his Subjects; making them beleue that *Englishmen* were their Vassals and Slaves.

Besides all this, they kept many of vs fast bound and fettered in Irons, in most loathsome and darke stinking Dungeons, and gaue vs no sustenance, but a little durie Rice to eate, and a little stinking raine-water to drinke. So that many of our *English* fainting in their fights, for want of competent sustenance or other lodging at their hands: for want whereof many dyed, who were fetched out of the Dungeons, and so basely buried, more like Dogges then Christians.

About the first of May, in the year of our Lord 1619, we hauing our-pailed many hungry dayes, and cold nights Lodging, in cold Irons and darke Dungeons, and thinking it not pottibly able for vs to endure those miseries any longer, made meanes that some of vs came to *John Peter Socoma*, their Generall that now is, and desired his Lordship (which Title hee duly looks for in the East Indies) that he would consider of our extreme wants and miseries, and helpe vs to some better sustenance. And further we desired him, that he would be so much our friend, as to eafe vs of our Irons but for the day time: Whereupon the said Generall most wickedly replied with base speeches, and bade vs bee gone, and trouble him no more; for if we did, hee would cause vs all to be hanged speedily. So that we were forced to returne from whence we came with heauie hearts, hauing no hope but in the Almighty, to whom wee prayed to turne their hearts, and to red-eafe vs of our miseries.

Vpon the thirteenth of May, in the year of our Lord 1619, the *Dutch* went ashore at *Lapara*, and there they wickedly and maliciously burnt downe the Towne and the *English* Houle there, and from thence forcibly tooke away the *English* Flagge, and in great defiance of our Country trauely our Flagge after them in the dirt through the Towne, and towed it aboard their ship (that the Boats borne; but what they did with it afterwards, we know not.

Vpon the eighteenth day of the month of Nouember, and in the year of our Lord God, 1619, they tooke one *Bartholomew Churchman*, and clapt him vp in Irons, and set him where hee late in the raine and cold stormes of the night, and in the day time where the hot Sunne shone vpon him, and scorched him, without any shelter at all: and thus they did to him, only because hee stricke a base fellow that spake such words against our late Queene *Annes* Maiestie, as are not fit to be repeated: which words, as also diuers other which they spake against our dread Soueraigne, we dare not relate, as being too odious to be vled in Subjects mouth touching his Prince: Howbeit, might licence and freedom of speech bee granted vs, to make knowne the base slanderous and detracting speeches of that Nation against our King and Countrey, that wee might not incur any danger of his Maiesties displeasure by therepeating them, it would sufficiently make knowne the pride and enuie of that people, who did not then list to say that they made no account of our King, nor any of his Subjects.

The fourteenth day of the month of March, and in the year of our Lord God euangelising, 1619, their Gouernour of the *Moluccas* gaue order for the release of the *English* there, and appointed thirtie of them to be carried to *Ambony*, from thence to be sent into *England* or *Holland*. But the Gouernour of *Ambony*, perceiving them to be artuied, hee vtrly refused to discharge them, and forced them to serue in their three-ships, that went to the *Manileas* as men of warre, which if any refused to doe, they were to rowe in their Gallies chained like vnto slaves; in which Voyage to the *Manileas*, fourteene of our men went in the Saint *Michael*, which were lost, and neuer since heard on, whose names doe follow: *George Triggert*, *John Edwards*, *James Welch*, *John Crocker*, *William Nichols*, *Robert Gilbert*, *Matthew Gilbert*, *Giles Linscombe*, *Arthur Tap*, *Edward Parker*, *William Ouse*, *John King*, *John Ouer*, and *William Smith* Chirurgion.

We affirme, that they hauing *Arrian Ellis*, *Edward Reade*, and *William Ponell*, three *English* men Prisoners, in their ship called the *Bartan*, they chained them in Irons, and layed them in the Beake-head, strictly prohibiting all others to come nere them, to giue them any other food then their allowance, which was so small that meeke hunger compelled throe these Prisoners to throw the Dice who should cut each others throat; and so they did throw the Dice to that

Here diuers words are commited as so odious as not fitly to be turned of Dutch Diuine.

1619, the crueltie there.

Ambonyes crueltie.

that end, but were disclosed before any of them were slain, so that they were thereupon furnished, and sent into other ships.

10. They have taken our men, and without any cause have stripped and whipped them openly in the Market place; they have also beaten v^r Drumme, and called the *Blacker* together to see it done.
11. They will not suffer vs to wear or spread in our *Englisb* houses, in those parts where they have any command, any Colours that are our Kings Colours.

The Copie of a Letter sent vnto the Dutch in the East Indies, from their *Englisb* Captiues at the Iland of *Monobaca*, the nineteenth day of March, 1618. and deliuered vnto Capitaine *William Iohnson* Commander of the *Angell*.

Consideration in things of difficultie is requisite: and therefore much requisite in these our vnchristian-like miseries. But because this hath bene but slightly rejected, we are now refused to tell you of all your perfidionnesse. First, Grippo got advantage to surprize our ship, and made a vow, not to touch life nor goods in any sort. But since the contrary hath bene so much proved, that Grippo and his confederates are now fene to be forsworne, at shortly after their actions did seem in taking away euen the life things, which with their consent we did take, and bring aboard your ship called the *Trow*.

At that time we being indangered at *Pooloway* (besides all the Pagan-like rage of that cruel man, Laurence Riall) we were by Van Hoote kept in such extreme miserie, with stinking water, and Receiued full of stinck and dirt (scarce able to keepe life and soule together) that but for *Deernick* in van Lim, our greatest friend the *Englisb* at *Poolarone* free access to *Pooloway* to bring vs reliefe, we had bene all ore this time *barred* for mart. But we pulled away that time in expectation of better fortunes, which you haue all from time to time promised: yet now againe our miseries are therice redoubled. For since we came to this place, you haue not onely s^d vs most harshly in other things, but also haue taken away from vs euen that poore sustenance, which we bought with our monny: and this hath bene so by that enuious man the Master, whom your Commanders doe suffer to be their Commander, rather then their Inferiour. If you consider all his actions, the refusing which we haue bought hath bene but small, that is to say, foure small Hennes and Cockes, and euen them hath the Master taken away, and eaten them in the great Cabbin, which dealing of his, if it be Christian-like, we referre it to your owne discretion: and now at last, for a small cause or nothing at all to be thus handled, is a ten times worse affliction, then euer was inflicted vpon vs, for to chaine vs up like so many Dogs, and to let vs lie in the ring and storms of the night, without any shelter, which is also brought to passe by the Master. For (Commander) we considering your gentlenesse, so that you can dispense with rigour: Therefore that miserie that we endure is not by your means, but by the Masters, and therie that bee of his mind: and this is of a truth, that euen your Hogs after their kind, the night-dogger then we after our kind, being Christians, and our griefe is the more, because your men of the Backe Lion, being taken by our Enemies, were s^d like men, and we like beasts of the world, to be thus used like dogs, being Subjects to the King, Master of (England), and in good respect with our Emperour, But God that is above all knowes all, and in his good time will remedie all. Thus much we haue thought good to certifie vnto you, not in the way of iurament, for that we see is vaine, but only that you may know, we now neuer looke to come al out of your hands: for by all manifest appearance, you seeke to take euen our lines from vs: and this shall be a true argument of our grieued hearts, witnessing to all men, how vnchristian-like we haue bene and are s^d by you: for in all this we haue not expressed the tenth part of your cruelty: yet we hope, that for this time a sufficient light vnto you, for that which hath bene from time to time promised by you against the *Englisb*. Given at the Iland of *Monobaca*, the nineteenth of March, 1618.

Subscribed by Callarian David, Bartholomew Churchman, and George Pettys.

Vpon the receipt of this Letter, wee three afore-named were layed in yrons for eighteen months following, with such barbarous viages as is not to be imagined to be vnto amongst Christians.

Vpon the newes of the taking of our two ships called the *Samson* and the *Hound* in *Taravia* Road, *Hendricke Ianson* the Commander of three ships, viz. the *Angell*, the *Mormus* *Starre*, and the *Burger-boate*, sent a Letter by the vpper Street-man of the *Starre*, (who had but one arme) to their Generall *Iohn Peter Sacone* then at *Iacatra*, of the taking of our two ships; He, the said *Sacone* then said, you haue now, *Hendricke Ianson*, given me good satisfaction, in that the Captaine *Jordayne* is dead: and at his returne thither gratified him with fourteen hundred *G*ulden in a chaine of gold, putting it himselfe about his necke, not leaving any one vntowardly, that had bene at the taking of our two ships, and one hundred Pieces of eight to him that shot him.

notwithstanding our Flag of truce was hung out. Wee asseme also that the said Generall *Iohn Peter Sacone*, vpon the newes brought him by a ship called the *Hare*, from the Coast of *Carmandela*, of the death of Sir *Thomas Dale*, then said *Dale* is dead, and *Jordayne* blood I haue, if I had *George Cockins* life too, I were then satisfied.

An Answer to obiections made by the Hollanders, that the English were the cause of the first breach in the East Indies.

Whereas the Hollanders asseme that Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Capitaine *Jordayne* were the prime cause of all the differences betwixt the two Companies. This wee asseme and can proudly, that both Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Capitaine *Jordayne* were both in *England* when the *Defiance* and the *Swan* were taken; and also that very inhumanly they tooke the *Defiance*, when for reliefe being put from their Anchor at *Poolarone* in a storm, they came into one of their Harbours for succour. They tooke the ship, and detayned her men prisoners; likewise in rescue, we following, they tooke a Pinnasse of ours called the *Speed-well*; going to *Iacatra*, one of our men they slew, and the rest they layed in Irons as prisoners, amongst which one *Richard Taylor* Carpenter of the said Pinnasse, who at that time had the bloody fluxe, who dying in their hands in Irons, they tooke the dead carcase of the said deceased, and put him into a bush, with his head downward, and his heeles vpward, and laid in most barbarous manner, that there was a *Stier-man*, (that is, a man with a tayle) with his heeles vpward; and there his carcase rotted in the bush.

I would demand of them where Sir *Thomas Dale*, and Capitaine *Jordayne* were, when they tooke the *Salomon* and the *Attendance*, it is to be proued, they were then coming out of *England*, hardly cleere of the Coast, when they tooke both their ships, vpon false terms of Composition; namely, with promise to giue vs our lues, goods, and libertie. They robbed vs of all our goods, and kept vs in lamentable manner in Irons, some of vs three years, some more, some lesse: in which wofull miserie many of our Companie ended their dayes lamentably; for in trust, they neuer kept any faith, oath, or promise with vs at all, but most proudly, disdainfully, and cruelly demanded themselves towards vs.

Bartholomew Churchman.

CHAP. XIII.

A pitthie Description of the chiefe Ilands of Banda and Moluccas, by Capitaine HUMPHREY FITZ-HERBERT in a Letter to the Companie.

Right Worshipfull,

I remaeth that before I leave these Eastern parts, I note vnto you some particulars observed this Voyage in *Banda*, *Ambonya*, and the *Moluccas*: which although I easily beleue are well knowne vnto you already, yet as of the letters of the Alphabet well knowne to all men, many unknowne words be composed; so these noted things, either in respect of the time, the matter, or the manner of the deliuerie, may bring some thing againe to your necessarie remembrance, to your wife fore-knowledge, or to your further consideration. Leading *Apporra* and *Maceassar*, I will beake my lute to the best place of the Iles of *Banda*, that is, to *Gondapere*, at the top yielding nothing but cinders, fire, and smoke; on the furr^e below, woods without water or fruit for the sustenance of the life of man: nevertheless being secured from the Iland *Nero* but by a very small chanell, they together with *Lantae* on the other side doe make a very faire and spacious Harbour. This Iland is very subiect to Earthquakes, which doe trouble all the other Ilands also, and make the ships in the Road to totter and tremble againe. Since the surprizall of *Nero* by the Dutch, there being a fearful Earthquake, the said Hill cast forth such hideous flames, such store of cinders, and huge flames, that it destroyed, burnt, and brake downe all the clacke woods and mightie trees, ouerwhelming them as it were her owne vomiting, so that a Greene leate could not be fene in all that part of the Iland: nor did *Nero* escape these hellish blasts, which blew chiefe flames and cinders into the Caille and Country neare adjoining, in such abundance, that it murted all men that saw it, and had like to haue like the ships in the road. It is cruelly reported by those that saw it, the violence was so great, that it carried stones of three or foure tonnes weight from the one Iland into the other, and into the Road.

Mmm

The

Nera.

Cafle's we-
lthy
fiuare.

Lantore.

Poomay.

None but rain
water.

The Castle.

Pulouene.

The chief
Commander
of the Dutch
in the Indies,
whose fupri-
ous Titles my
feeme indid-
out to anye
not together
euill: and
follow, as
I haue feene a
cople of them,
I know not
whether nec-
ding a Demo-
craticke: Hea-
ding whether
to be rank'd
with T. Carra,
fig. 14. c. 17. or
with fone of
the long-fled
Emperours.
B-ides thefe
Ilands of Ban-
da here na-
med, are re-
counted Koffa-
gig, P. Maon,
P. Cawal, P. Sm-
g, Nulicet, &c.
Amboyna.
A hill, 30 ft. high.
Three Vinta-
ges.
Rivie in Na-
ture.
Strange Spig.

The Castle *Nera* standeth close on the water-side in the plaine, it is faire, large, and strongly built; but weakly situate, by reason of the rising of the hill to the landward: within leese then Musket shot, it hath a hillcock higher then it by at the least twenty fathome, which doth command it as pleasure. To prevent which mischief, the *Dutch* haue built thereon a small Fort, but in vain; the lame being vnder command of another, as well as the former. The Castle is a matter of great charge, both in respect of it selfe, as also in respect of the Soildiers; and altogether vnefficient, but for dwelling houles and Magazines; the other Fort being great enough, and strong enough for the defence of this place. Here is in this Castle about forty Peeces of Ordnance; in the other, five eight or ten, the most of brasse. The *Dutch* haue not receiued the fruit of this land since their coming thither, being always ouer-mattered by the *Bachel*, both by sea and land: but the gnyning of *Lantore* hath made all things quiet now. I pray God make it profitable hereafter.

Lantore is the greatest and richest Island of all the Iles of *Banda*, strong, and almost inaccessible, as it were a Castle: there is scarce a tree on the Island but beareth fruit. The *Bandages* left it for want of military pollicie: but he must haue a pollicie pate (I beleue) that gnyeth it againe. The Towne is situate on the brow of a sharpe hill, the ascent as difficult as by a ladder: while they stood possibly to the defence thereof to the Roadwards, the *Dutch* landed with much adoe on the other side of the Island, and surpris'd them at vnawares. Right over the Towne the *Dutch* haue built a Fort on the top of the hill to prevent the like inconvenien-
ces, as also to keepe the same in better fubiection. It is but small, and while I was there, the foundation scarcely finished. If the *English* had come thither a month or sixe weekes before the *Dutch* made this spitefull expedition, I dare aueuch it they might haue nere laden the best ship your Worthips haue in *India* with Nutmegs and Mace from thie Islands.

Poomay is the Paradise of all the rest, emitting pleasure and profit. There is not a tree on that Island but the Nutmeg, and other delicate Fruits of superfluity: and withall, full of pleasant walks, so that the whole Country seemes a contriued Orchard with varieties. They haue none but rain-water, which they keepe in Jarres and Cisternes, or fetch it from the above-named Islands, which is their only defect. The sea shoare is so steep, that it seemeth Nature meant to referre this Island particularly to herselfe. There is but one place about the whole I-
land for a ship to anchor in; and that so dangerous, that he that letteth fall his Anchor (I dorne
seeth the weighing of it againe: besides hee incurreth the imminent dangers of his ship. How
this Island was won by *Derriue Lam*, or lost by *Captaine Castleton*, I cannot well relate. It hath
on the Easterne side a faire and strong Castle, a regular *Pentagonus* well fortified, and furnished
with all manner of provisions and Soildiers, and is held to bee the strongest Castle the *Dutch*
haue in the *Indies*, and the most pleasant residence.

Pulouene (an imitation of her sisters the other *Ilands*) is turned *Dutch*. There was in her
neither pleasure nor profit, yet the ambitious King *Cow* hath made a conquest of her chastitie.
The Ciuill Law deneth a violent rape to be incontinencie, because although the bodie be for-
ced, the minde may yet be free. Recall her againe, and right this vnciuill outrage by your
wise and ciuill censure: although the benefit (which is not to be contemned) bee diuided into
shares, yet we hope, your Worthips will keepe and enioy to your selues the disposing and distri-
buting alwayes of your owne.

Amboyna sitteth as Queene betwene the Iles of *Banda* and the *Moluccas*: it is beautified
with the fruits of severall Factories, and dearly beloued of the *Dutch*: which the better to de-
clare, they say they would giue thirtie millions there were no Cloues but on that Island only.
Neptune is her darling, and entayned in her very bosome, it seemeth that the Water and the
Earth are agreed together in vnicie: for at the bottom of the Bay, with one hundred Pioners in
four dayes, of one Island it may be made two. It is not about a Fligits shot from full sea make
on the one side, to full sea make on the other side: nor is the landie Plaine raised a fathome aboue
the

of the horizon; inasmuch they glide their Praxes and Concarities by
maine force from one sea to the other. It is plentifully stored with Fruit, Fish, and fresh water:
nor is there any great want of Fiech. Their Vine, both of *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and the *Maluccas*,
are pruned thrice a yeare, and euery prunage hath his vintage. A raritie it seemeth to me, in na-
ture, I saw in the Woods of this Island a Plant, or Tree, or rather, or v heuer I shall call it, I
know not, in substance much like to the bodie of our Iule, in forme like a halfe of our size
inches, in length five or six fathoms bare without sprig or prout, the one end fast in the ground,
the other fixed to the limbe of a great Tree, a fathome and better distant from the bodie thereof,
and so perpendicular, that it is very disputable whether it growe vp from the ground, or from
the limbe of the Tree to the ground: this rope is of firme solid wood without any conuaitie,
and yet it yeddleth excellent good, faire and sweet water, and as fresh as from the Fontaine; 60
nor doth it herein admit any distinction or difference, velle it be the more delicate, according
to your companies out more or lesse thereof, distributing euery one the quantitie of two foot
or threeabouts, and they shall haue sufficience for euery piece will runne to the value of a pint or
threeabouts, and that in an instant a strange refreshing to those that trauele the high and drie

MOON.

mountaines, as my selfe did find by good experience, the Castle of *Amboyna* is quadrangular, The Castle
will moted and fortified with men and munition, and hath in it about Peeces of Ordnance.
The *Dutch* haue reduced into order the two rebellious Factories, and the people begin to plant
new, inasmuch that they expect within this few yeeres the fruit will be to th at it
is at present. Your Worthips shall herewith receive the Draught of this Island, and the adioy-
ning Factories set out at large after the *Dutch* fashion, which maketh not mole-hills of Moun-
taines.

Bachan is accounted amongst the Islands which are more properly called the *Moluccas*, and Great *Bachan*,
is the greatest of them all: it is called great *Bachan*, there is another neere adjoining called
old *Bachan*. In great *Bachan* the *Dutch* haue a Factory and Castle, which venting some Com- Old *Bachan*.
modities yeldeth them Boords, Planks, and Masts for any ship whatsoever it is the fruitfullest
of all the Islands of all the *Moluccas*, and the cheapest. The King keepeth neere the Castle without
about three hundred persons, the rest being fled to themountains & other Ilands. The *Dutch* Mer-
chant and others told me for certain, that for want of people the Cloues lye on the ground three
or foure inches thicke in some places: so as it may be truly said of this place, the Haruell is great
and the gatherers few; nor doe I thinke that the *Dutch* doe desire many. The Castle is but
small yet strong enough for this place, and containeth fourteen Peeces of Iron Ordnance, The Castle;
small and great, &c. This is a very good Harbour.

Macban the next in order, mounteth her tops about the Cloues in manner of a Cone, and ad-
mits no plaines within the circuit of her Confinnes. It is a very fertile Island, and yeddeth to
the *Dutch* the greatest Reuenue of all the rest of the *Moluccas* Islands. It hath three Factories
with their Forts in Triangle position; the chieftest is *Nessagna*, which yeddeth most Spice, but
veneth lesse Merchandize. The second is *Tallajolo*, which veneth more Merchandize, and
reueneth lesse Spice. The third is *Takbaloto*, which yeddeth lesse Spice, and veneth lesse
Merchandize. The Road where the ships take in their goods is at *Nessagna*; at the other pla-
ces there is no riding: this Castle also is the strongest; they are all fortified high aboue the water,
and the way into them is steep and difficult, and therefore to the Sea-wards very strong, but
to the Land-wards are commanded euery way.

There is in this Island a Cloue Tree differing from all other in its fruit, which is called The Strange Cloue
King's Cloue, much esteemed by the Country people both for the varietie, as also for the good-
ness; nor is there any other but this in all the *Moluccas*; they are not to be bought for any mo-
ney, but are giuen abroad to friends by handfulls and halfe handfulls: what fell to my lot your
Worthips shall receiue together with an exact draught of all the *Dutch* Castles in the *Moluccas*.

Mayri makes haste to follow *Macban*, in forme, height, and fruitfulness; but not in her
Reuenues: nor is shee equal to her in greatness. The *Dutch* haue but one only Factory vpon
this Island, which is called by the same name, it yeddeth but little fruit, and veneth lesse
Merchandize: here *Venus* and Voluptuousness haue their habitation through idleness. Thus
much by the report of others, for I was not there to see it my selfe.

Tydore doth taxe the *Dutch* for leaving her wholly to the *Spaniards*, and destroying the Fort
called the *Mariaca*. This Island is great and rich in Spice as any, but because I had not landed
here, I referre you to the Draught thereof, and of *Ternate*, herewith sent to your Worthips for
further notice.

Ternate, the greatest of these Islands is the seat of Dissention betwene the *Spaniard* and the *Ternate*,
Dutch. The chieftest place for the *Dutch* is *Malaya*, neere vnto which is *Talloko*, and on the
Northside of the Island is *Tycomoe*, which should haue bene destroyed with the rest. *Camoleno*,
Dangile and *Saint Lucie* are the *Spanish* Forts, betwene which is *Calamafca* leated as a Fron-
tier Fort of the *Dutch*, which should also haue bene destroyed; the whole both concerning the
Island and those Forts will better appeare by the Draught thereof, herewith sent your Worthips
inclosed in a *Bamboo*, &c.

30 Aboard the Royall Exchange in the Road of
Lacarra, the 13. of October, 1621.

Your Worthips to command,

Hamfry Fitz-herbert.

Because the Authour calleth *Ceen* an ambitious King, you may fee the occasion of it in the Titles
which hee aluimeth, and are imposed on him; as I haue scene them written. I intreated by
himselfe in his Proclamation for cessing or imposing of Customes at *Lacarra*, in this manner, &c.

60

Mmm 2

In-

Iohn Peterfon Coen *Gouverneur General* over all the Lands, Ilands, Townes, Forts, Places, Factories, Ships, Pinnaffes, Shallops, and Men, as also of the whole Trade and Commerce in India, on the behalfe of the High and Mightie Lords the States generally, his Princely Excellencie, and others the privileged Committees of the United Netherlands East India Company.

To all those to whom this present Writing shall come, greeting. We taking into our consideration, after the Conquest of the Kingdome of Iacatra, &c.

By the Queene of *Paranie*, sending her Ambassadour vnto Him: He was stiled,

The great, strong, and mightie King of Iacatra, and of twelve Castles; Commander of all the Seas vnder the Winds, Iohn Peterfon Coen.

If I had beene able to haue giuen thee also those Draughts, Reader, thou shouldest haue had them. But such as I haue, giue I vnto thee; namely, this of *Hondius*; meane and obscure enough, but somewhat more then nothing.

I had another rare bet-
ter out of the *Indies*, but partly the cost, and partly doubt to displease haue decayed the publishing.



CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Three severall Surrenders of certaine of the Banda Ilands made to the Kings Maiestie of England, faithfully translated out of Malahan into English, with a Voyage also annexed of Sir HENRY MIDDLETON.

The Contents of the Surrender of the Ilands of Pooloway, and Poolaroonce, in Banda, to His MAIESTIE.

His Writing is for the agreement betweene all the *Oranckys* of Pooloway, and Poolaroonce also, and the English in manner as followeth. That whereas in the time that Pooloway was not yet surprized by the *Hollanders*, the people of Pooloway and Poolaroonce had surrendered the two forefraid Ilands vnto the King of England, and had giuen ground to *Richard Hunt* Merchant there, withall letting vnto the King of England his Flagge vpon the Cattle of Pooloway, and shooting betweene three Peeces of Ordnance in token of the Covenant of the men of Pooloway and Poolaroonce, betwene the English and them, when they did surrender the two forefraid Ilands to the King of England, and had giuen ground to the English, being done before the surprize of Pooloway, eight dayes and after that, it was taken by the *Hollanders*. And whereas at that time there were but two Englishmen vpon Pooloway, of wicke defence, who being not able to doe the Country any good, went away to Poolaroonce, together with the men of Pooloway in one small Prow, who had brought away with them Earth and Writings for the establishing of Commercis betwixt them and the men of Poolaroonce: Therefore now the two forefraid Ilands are in the hands of the King of England only according to our Surrender. But whereas at this time through the Assaults of the *Hollanders*, Pooloway is fallen into their hands and Possession, if it shall please his Maiestie to recover it vnto himselfe againe, hee shall doe thereon nought but Iustice, because the Inhabitants thereof haue absolutely surrendered it vnto Him: and if his Maiesties pleasure be to the contrary, let it be as shall seeme best in his Highnesse iudgement. But this is sure that we the men of Pooloway and Poolaroonce, haue surrendered the two forefraid Ilands vnto his Maiesties power and cannot goe from, or reuert our word againe euen to the last day, and hauing linked our flues with the English in one bond ro lue and dye together. Furthermore all the men of Pooloway and Poolaroonce doe covenant to send every yere to the King of England a branch of Nutmegs, in token of their desires, desiring that this offer of all the *Oranckys* of Pooloway and Poolaroonce, being once offered out of their true loue vnto the King of England, bee not had in obliuion or reiected.

And whereas King James by the grace of God is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, is also now by the mercy of God King of Pooloway and Poolaroonce. Moreover, we doe all of vs make an agreement that the Commodities in the two forefraid Ilands, namely, Mace and Nutmegs, we cannot nor will sell to any other Nation, but only to the King of England his subjects, according to the true meaning of our Covenant and surrendering of the two forefraid Ilands to his Maiestie, with all that is (in) them to be solely at his disposing, which is and shall be the reason that we cannot trade with any others. And whereas all the *Oranckys* of the two forefraid Ilands haue made this agreement, let it be credited that it was not made in madnelle or loosely as the breathing of the wind, but because it was concluded vpon in their hearts, they cannot reuolt or swerue from the same againe. Moreover, all we together doe desire of his Maiestie that such things as are not fitting in our Religion, as vnueruent vjage of women, mayntayning of Swine in our Country, forceable taking away of mees goods, misdeuiling of our men, or any such like that are excepted against in our Lawes, that they be not put in practice, being out of our vife and customes; that they may not proue a blemish vnto our Religion, and that we may receive no occasion to deale vnkindly with the English. Furthermore, if any Englishman will become of our Religion, wee will accept of him vpon counsell: or if any of our people will become a Christian, he shall bee so likewise vpon like counsell, desiring this promise that such things be not done in such manner as may breed discontent betwixt vs and the English, which we doe very earnestly desire of his Maiestie. Finally, at this time all the *Oranckys* of Pooloway and Poolaroonce, doe againe make a Covenant with *Nathaniel Courttop*, Captaine of the two ships riding here, *Sophon Coozack*, and *Thomas Sperry*, giuing ground and surrendering the two forefraid Ilands vnto the King of England, being already partly in the hands of *Nathaniel Courttop*, *Sophon Coozack* and *Thomas Sperry*, and that we not only now, but as being done long since when Captaine *Castleton* went from Pooloway with foure ships, all the *Oranckys* of the two forefraid Ilands, hauing agreed with *Richard Hunt* Merchant of Pooloway, with

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all having for the King of England his Flagge vpon the Castle of Pooloway, and shot off two peeces of Ordnance in token of the Covenant betwene the Orankayes of Pooloway, and Poolaroone, and the English: and as it hath beene done heretofore, so at this time we doe renew it with Nathaniel Courttop, Sopbon Cozock, and Thomas Spurway.

Emmon Pooloway.
Sabandar Pooloway.
Sabandar Wyatt.
Sabandar Poolaroone.
Sabandar Lamecoe.
Naboda Coa.

Hattik Itam.
Hattik Pooter.
Sabandar Treas.
Emmon Lamecoe.
Sabandar Loco.

10

The Surrender of Rofing and Wayre to his Maieftie.

THis writing is for the agreement betwene all the Orankayes of the Countrey of Wayre, and of the Island of Rofing, and the English Nation in manner as followeth, viz. That whereas, in the time that the Countrey of Banda was in trouble, by reason of their enemies, so that they were no longer able to withstand them, they therefore agreed with Nathaniel Courttop, Sopbon Cozock, and Thomas Spurway; thus much in effect, that is, that they doe surrender the Countrey of Wayre and the Island of Rofing, unto the King of England in respect that they are not able any more to stand for themselves against their enemies: that now the said Countrey of Wayre, and the Island of Rofing, is only in the power of the King of England. And whereas the agreement is once made, we the aforesaid Orankayes cannot in our Consciences dissolve it againe, but that it shall last for ever until the last day of dooms: And that the English shall be as the men of the Countrey of Wayre in all Priviledges. Furthermore, the men of the aforesaid Countrey of Wayre, and the Island of Rofing, doe promise and agree to send unto the King of England, one branch of Nutmegges: as a token of their forefaid agreement of all vs the aforesaid Orankayes: on condition that the said token of our agreement be not out of memory nor dissolved, nor we disaffected. And we doe wish that Almighty God would vouchsafe to give prosperitie to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: and now by the grace and mercy of God, the King of the Countrey of Wayre, and the Island of Rofing, and that more, we will scope to no other King or Potestate, but only unto his Maieftie: and after him to all his posteritie. Furthermore, as concerning our trade, we doe all truly agree, not to sell any of the Nuts or Mace, which the aforesaid Countrey do. First to any other but only to the King of England his subiects, because we haue wholly vnto him surrendered the forefaid two Countreys of Wayre and Rofing, with all that therein is, or whatsoever is doth, or shall yeeld, it is the King of England his owne: and this shall stand for a reason that we coven't trade with any other Nation. Moreover, we treat the King, Maieftie of England in earnest manner, that such things as are not befitting to our Religion, as commonly vices of our women, maintaining of Sinne in our Countrey beating and abusing of our men, or taking away of them perforce against their will, as if they were their own slaves, or any other such like attempts, that are held vntolerable in our lawes (we say) that we doe detest his Highnesse that none of these or such like be put in practice by his subiects, because they are things disallowable in our lawes, and so being committed, will redound to the overthrow thereof: and we thereby might be forced to deale vnkindly with the English therefore. Moreover if any of the English hereafter shall haue an affection to be circumcised, and become as one of vs, it shall be done vpon sufficient Counsell betwene the rest of the English and vs, or if any of vs will become a Christian in that cause, the like counsell shall be held, and this shall not be done for any mislike measure of the parties willing so to turne: because that may breed a discention betwene the English and vs. And whereas this agreement was made in the presence, and by the consent of the King & Sabandar of Wayre, the Sabandar of Rofing, Emmon Hattik, and all the rest of the Orankayes, of the Countreys of Wayre, and the Islands of Rofing: This shall be for a testimony that it is not done in madness, or in the manner of the breathing of wind, but that it was also aswell thought in our hearts, as spoken with our mouths, and therefore we cannot, nor will goe from it againe, but that it shall so stand until the dissolution of the world: Neither shall there any doubts rise in our hearts of any other, but that we the men of Wayre and Rofing, are only the Kings Maiefties of England his subiects: and if any trouble hereafter doe happen in the forefaid Countrey, we will be contented aswell to die, as to live together with the English: because we will be subiect to one King, and this shall stand for a reason, that any being in league with vs shall also be in league with the English, & per contra, be that it neere the English shall be nere vs, because we will by no means againe, disunite our selves one from the other. Finally, at the time this agreement was made, all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Poolaroone were witnesses thereto: all the Orankayes of Pooloway and Rofing haue vnto the aforesaid Premises for their hands.

The King of Wayre.
The Sabandar of Wayre.
Emmon of Wayre.

The Sabandar of Rofing.
Emmon of Rofing.
Hattik of Rofing.

Ten.

Translation of the Surrender of Lantore, Cont. in the paper N. D.

In the yeere of the Prophet *Atahomed* 1028. in the tenth day of the Moone *Maharran* being Saturday, the yeere is called *Aleph*. And in the yeere of Iesus, 1620. in the Month of November the 24. day.

THis is the writing of the agreement of the Sabandar of Lantore, and the Cap. of Lantore, all the Orankayes within the Countrey of Lantore, with Robert Hayes, after the losse of Captaine Courttop; That we of Lantore do surrender the land of Lantore unto the Kings Maieftie of England with all that is therein: So that all the Nuts and Mace within the Countrey of Lantore, we promise to sell to no other people, other then to the subiects of the Kings Maieftie of England only. Furthermore, we the Orankayes of Lantore, doe promise every yeere to send to the Kings Maieftie of England a bough of a Nutmeg tree, for the acknowledging of the homage of vs the men of Lantore, to the Kings Maieftie of England. To the intent that this agreement of surrender betwixt vs be not forgotten, to the end of the world: and to the intent their beno difference or falling out betwixt vs. Furthermore, we doe craue of his Maieftie of England, concerning such things as doe not agree with our Religion, that they may not be done in the Countrey of Bandan, to the end that such things being restrained, there be no offence given betwene the Bandanezes and the Englishmen: As to enforce our Women, our Wives or Daughters, or to strike any of vs, or violently to take any thing from vs, or to let twine loose in our Countrey, or any such like thing as doth not agree with our Religion. These things we only except (because these things tend to the destroying of our Religion) to the intent there be no falling out betwixt the Bandanezes and the English, unto the end of the world. And whereas it pleaseth God that James is King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland; so now also he is King of the Countrey of Banda: so then the Countrey of Banda is in subjection to no other King then to the Kings Maieftie of England only in this world, excepting our Religion. For our Religion of Islam doth not agree with the Christian Religion, neither doth the Christian Religion agree with our Religion of Islam; and this is the purport of our agreement. Furthermore, if it shall happen any English to runne to vs, or any Banda man to runne to the English; it may not be tolerated without the consent of the chiefe of the English and vs of Banda; because such things are contrary to our Religion, and tend only to falling out and troubles betwixt the Bandamen and the Englishmen. At this time we were together in consultation, all the Orankayes of Lantore, and the Orankayes of Labetacke, and the Orankayes of Nero Pooloway and Poolaroone, and haue put 100 our hands, and this is the intent of this writing.

Sabandar Lantore.
Sabandar Ratoo.

The Voyage of Master Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, (having sent Captaine Colthurbt in the Affenion to Banda with letters of the Kings of those parts to his Maieftie.

Having taken leave of the Company, being furnished with all things necessary, we departed from Banda the five and twentieth of March, 1604. and about the twentieth of December following, after many various accidents, we arrived (our men being very weak) in *Bantam* Road; where after many complementall salutations betwene vs and the *Hollanders*, with interchange of great Ordnance on both parts, the Generall of the *Hollanders* dining the last of December aboard our Generall: The day following our Generall went on shore with a letter from the Kings Maieftie of England, to the King of *Bantam*, which with a present sent away by him received with great reverence, he being but of thirteen yeeres of age, and governed by a Protector. The twentieth of the said month, our Generall came aboard from *Bantam* to proceed on his voyage for the *Moluccas*, appointing Master *Ssefter* to goe home in the *Heer*.

This should haue come in more due place before, being the second Voyage of the Company, I was then had late then neuer. And for the sake of well agree with this place also.

Veranda.

On the seventh of January following 1605, we anchored vnder the Shore of *Veranda*, a people that deadly hate the *Portugals*, and therefore had sent to the *Hollanders* for ayde against them, promising to assault the Castle of *Amboyna*, and the *Portugals* to defend it, the one purposeing to recover the other to hold it; The *Hollanders* summoning them in the Prince of *Orange* his after many attempts and defences, it was yielded to the *Hollanders* by composition, whereupon the Governour of the Towne, after the surrender of the Castle, bad vs of all trade by the command of the *Hollanders*.

Castle of *Amboyna* taken, English barred of trade by the *Hollanders*.

King of Ternate.

Tydore Gallies.

English benefitted by the Dutch.

Ternate Island.

Dutch wakened.

This Sander paffeth print in their authors new Hunting. Pecuni benefit of the Dutch. Their bagges and lins. * Vnderstand this of the Merchants which traded (or wanted rather) not of the whole land or of men of *Holland*. Loofers will haue leave to speak & Merchants enuy each other.

The warre continuing betweene the *Ternatians* and *Tydorians*, the first assisted by the *Hollanders*, the other by the *Portugals*, shortly after we got vnder the land of *Tydore*, where we might elp betweene *Pulocanally* and *Tydore*, two Gallies of *Ternata* making great speed towards vs, weaung vnto vs with a white flagge to strike sayle and to tarry for them. At the same time came seuen Gallies of *Tydore*, rowing betwixt vs and the shore to assault the *Ternatians*, our Generall seeing the danger they were in, lay by the lee to know what the matter was; The first most of these Gallies or Coracoras, wherein the King of *Ternata* with diuers of his Nobles, and three *Dutch* Merchants were, being full of feare, desired our Generall for Gods sake to save them from their enemies the *Tydorians*, from whom they looked for no mercy if he did not help them, & withall, that he would be pleased to refuse their other Coracora that came after, wherein there were diuers *Dutchmen* who were to expect nothing but death, if he did not rescue them. Whereupon our Generall commanded his Gunner to shooe at the *Tydore* Gallies, yet they defied not but boarded them within shot of our Ordnance, and put them all to the sword, but three that saved themselves by swimming, and were taken vp by our men into their boat.

Our Generall being determined to goe for *Tydore*, the *Dutch* desired him that he would not let the King of *Ternata* and them fall into their enemies hands, from whom he had so lately deliuered them, promising mountains of Cloues and other Commodities at *Ternata* and *Moluccas*, but performing Mole-hills, (verifying the prouerbe, *The danger escaped, the Saint is deceived*). One thing I may not forget, the King of *Ternata* coming aboard the Generall, trembled for feare, which the Generall supposing to be for cold, put a blacke Damaske gowne laid with gold lace, and lined with vnhorne Veluet, on his backe, which at his departure, he had not the manners to reitore, but kept it as his owne: But few how this kindeesse was shortly after recompensed by these vnthankfull men. Our Generall arriving at the *Portugals* towne in *Tydore*, the Governour of the Fort sent one *Thomas de Torres*, and others with a letter, the effect whereof was, that the King of *Ternata* and the *Hollanders* reported, that there was nothing but treason and Villany to be expected at our hands, but that he conceived better of vs, beleueing their reports to be nothing but malice. To second this, not long after, our Generall arriving at the Kings towne, sent Master *Grane* aboard the *Dutch* Admirall, who found but could entertaine them at their hands, affirming that we had assisted the *Portugals* in the last warres against the King of *Ternata* and them, with Ordnance and other Munition, which our Generall proued to the contrary by some *Portugals* that were taken prisoners by them in that conflict; & then being aflamed of the slander, the Generall affirmed he had it from a *Renegado* *Gussaras*, but did not thinke it to be true.

To fill vp full measure, not long after the King of *Ternata* seeming to affect our Nation, they threatened him that they would forsake him and ioyne with the deadly enemy the King of *Tydore*, if he suffered the *English* either to haue a Factory, or any trade with them, affirming that the *English* were theues and robbers, and no other he should find them, affirming that the *English* was stronger by Sea, then all *Christendome* besides, with many other disgracefull speeches of our Nation, and all other Christian Princes (a iust consideration for all Nations to thinke what this insolent frothy * Nation will doe, if they attaine to the possession of the *East Indies*) To which insolent speeches our General replied: That what *Hollanders* loue he were that reported, he lyed like a traitor; and that he would make it good against any one that should foreport; affirming that if the *Queenes* Maiestie of *England* had not taken pity of them, they had beene viterly ruined by the King of *Spain*, and branded for laues and traitors. The particular wrongs done by them to our Nation, if they were laid open, would fill volumes, and amaze the world to heare. I will conclude, to shew the esteeme had of our Nation in the *East Indies*, with the true Copies of sundry letters sent by their Kings to his Maiestie of Great Brittain, and first of the King of *Ternata*.

The King of *Ternata* Letter to the King.

Hearing of the good reports of your Maiestie by the coming of the great Capitaine Sir Francis Drake, in the time of my Father, which was about some thirtie yeeres past: by the which Capitaine

my predecessor did send a Ring vnto the *Queene* of *England*, as a token of remembrance betwixt vs: Fame of Sir Francis Drake which if the aforesaid Drake had bin living, he could haue informed your Maiestie of the great love and friendship of either side: he in the behalf of the *Queene*, my Father for him and his Successors: since which time of the departure of the aforesaid Capitaine, we haue daily expected his returne, my Father living many yeeres after, and daily expecting his returne. And I after the death of my Father, haue lived in the same hope, till I was father of seuen children: &e which time I haue bene informed that the *Englishmen* were men of a bad disposition, and that they came not as peaceable Merchants, but to dispossesse vs of our kingdomes: and after the coming of the haer hereof, we haue found to the contrary: which we greatly reioyce at. And after many yeeres of our expectation of some *English* forces by the promise of Capitaine Drake, here arrived certaine ships which we well hoped had bin *Englishmen*, but finding them contrary, and being out of all hope of succour of the *English* Nation, wee were enforced to write to the Prince of *Holland*, to craue aide and succour against our ancient enemies the *Portugals*; and according to our request, he hath sent hither his forces which haue expelled the *Portugals* out of all the Forts which they held at *Amboyna* and *Tydore*. And whereas your Maiestie hath sent me a most kind and friendly letter by your seruant Capitaine Henry Middleton; that doth not a little reioyce vs: and whereas Capitaine Henry Middleton was desirous to leave a factorie here, we were very willing thereunto; which the Capitaine of the *Hollanders* understanding, he came to challenge me of a former promise, which I had written to the Prince of *Holland*: That if he would send me such succour, as should expell the *Portugals* out of these parts, that no other Nation should haue trade there, but only they: so that we were enforced to our hinges to yield vnto the *Hollanders* Capitaine request: for this time, whereas we craue pardon of your Highnesse: and if any of your Nation came hereafter, they shall be welcome. And whereas the chiefe Capitaine of the *Hollanders* doth solite vs not to hold any friendship with your Nation, nor to give eare to your Highnesse Letters, yet for all their suit, if you please to send hither againe you shall be welcome: And in token of our friendship which we desire of your Maiestie, we haue sent you a small remembrance, a *Babar* of *Cloues*, our Country being poore, and yielding no better commodity; which we pray your Highnesse to accept in good part.

Ternata.

The King of Tydore Letter to the Kings Maiestie of England.

This writing of the King of Tydore to the King of England, is to let your Highnesse understand, that the King of *Holland* hath sent hither into these parts, a Fleet of ships, to ioyne with our ancient enemy the King of *Ternata*, and they iointly together, haue overrun and spoiled part of your Country, and determined to destroy both vs and our subjects. Now understanding by the haer hereof, Capitaine Henry Middleton, that your Highnesse is in friendship with the King of *Spain*, we desire your Maiestie that you would take pity of vs, that we may not be destroyed by the King of *Holland* and *Ternata*, to whom we haue offered no wrong: but they by forcible meanes, seek to become vs of our Kingdom. And as great Kings upon the earth are ordained by God, to succour all them that be wrongfully oppressed: So I appeale vnto your Maiestie for succour against my enemies; not doubting but to finde redreffe at your Maiesties hands: And if your Maiestie send hither, I humbly intreat that it may be Capitaine Henry Middleton or his brother, with whom I am well acquainted. God enlarge your Kingdomes, blesse you and all your Counsell.

Tydore.

The King of Bantam to the King of England.

A Letter given by your friend the King of Bantam, to the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland: desiring God to preserve your health, and to exalt you more and more, and all your Counsell. And whereas your Maiestie hath sent a Generall, Henry Middleton, he came to me in health. I did heare that your Maiestie was come to the Crowne of England, which doth greatly reioyce my heart: now England and Bantam are both as one. I haue also received a Treason from your Maiestie: the which I give you many thanks for. I doe send your Maiestie two *Bazar* stones, the one weighing foureteene masses, the other three: and so God blesse you in his keeping.

Bantam.

The Portugals
rewards,
Tobacco, Gold,
Bamboo and
Sambuca are
nere each o-
ther, on Iau-
The Bird Emu.
Another tree-
charic.

Madura.

Balabua, or
Balamoon,
here could
had been.
Baly called
Hollands in
eight degrees
of South lati-
tude.

* Another faith
(which is more
credible) that
it nourisheth
eleoos people.

The fourth
day holy.
Drakes Strait

* Pag. 117.

* Pag. 115 &
Pag. 116.

fire, the Portugals seizing on some China huckes for their satisfaction, which the Protector a while dissuaded but afterwards reuenged with the destruction of the Portugals; vnder colour of a great Marriage at Iacatra, setting forth a Fleet, wherewith he invaded the Portugall Gallies, flice the men and diuided the spoyle, the other Portugals slipping their Anchors and fleeing to Malacca.

The Hollanders came to Iacatra the thirteenth of Nouember, and were receiued with much kindness, whereto hauing furnished chemicles with necessities, they let layle, the Amsterdams running with full sayles on a Rocks before they had layed a Dutch mile. On the third of December, they came to Taba and Cydala, where they bought Nutmegs and Cloues, and the Sabandar gave them a great Fowle called Emu, about four foot in height, somewhat like an Ostrich, lauing that the fecte were not cloven. Here vnder colour of friendship the Cydagas (let on as they learned after, by the Portugals and Bantamians, with fix great Prawes skilful the Amsterdams and the Pinnalle: where they flew in the Amsterdams and flicke of the two, but the other ships coming in, they fled, losing an hundred and fiftie of the Iacatas. The Hollanders departed thence to Madura. Here the King would needs haue leue to come aboard, which he was permitted if he came with fixe followers, and to one of the greater ships: But hee coming with one hundred, and to the Amsterdam, was slaine, with the Priest and most of his Companie: his young sonne and others taken by whom they learned the ill intent that the Madurians had to take their ship Amsterdam, which themselves soone after fired, taking out of her what they found veyll. And now hauing lost many of their Chiefes they consulted about re- turne, and by force of winds were put into Balabua, and the ship Holland entering the Riuer of Baly an He nine leagues off was put back with the violence of the streame. The King of Pajerman a Madurian had married and laing the daughter of the King of Balabua a Gentile, and now held him besieged to enforce him to change his faithlesse faith. The King of Baly assailed the Gentile, but his Captaine being slaine, the rest returned. They told of a ship there ten years before, whi ch was thought to be Maister Candyther, the old King, the foyled one hundred and fiftie to be still liuing. Baly they called Hollandsia, for the fertility; there they were.

They sent to the King, who accompanied the Messenger to the shore in a Charot drawne with Bufals, holding the Whip in his owne hand, hauing three hundred followers, some with flame-formed Cries and long Spears, Bowes of Canes with poysoned Arrows. Hee was feasted in Dishes of Gold Goll. The Land is an equal and fertile plaine to the West, watered with many little Riuers (some made by hand) and so peopled that the King is able to bring into the field three hundred thousand foot, and one hundred thousand horsemen. Their horie are little like Islanders, their men blacke and wing little Merchandize, but with Cotton Cloth in Prawes. The Island is in compass about twelue German miles. Their Religion is Ethioke, ordered by the Brachmans or Bramenes, in whose Discipline the King is trayned vp. They haue also Bananas, which were about their necks as bigge as an Egge with a hole in it, whence hang forth three chreds; they call it Tam-borne, and thinke the Detie thereof represented: they abstaine from flesh and fish, but not (as the Iacata Pythagoreans) from Marriage. Once they may marry, and when they dye their Wiues are buried quicke with them. Eury seventh day they keepe holy, and many other Holidays in the year besides with solemn Ceremonies. Their Wiues burne with their dead Husbands. Here they heard of Captaine Drake being there eighteen years before, and called one Strait by his name. The King obserueth state, is spoken too with hands folded, by the best. The Quillon hath power there as the Chanceller in Poland. Two of their companie forsooke them and stayed on the Island, And of two hundred forcie nine there were now left but nine. In February they began their returne. The foure and twentieth of April, 1597, they came in sight of Terra de Natal, and the five and twentieth of May, of Saint Helena, where foure Caracks made them afraid to adventure. The eleventh of August they entered the Taffell: the ship Holland hauing now men left to weigh their Anchor, and forced therefore in a storme to cut their Mast over-board.

The second Voyage.

Although the gaine of this Expedition were little of men and perhaps also of money and wealth, yet did it encourage with the strange Noueltie and hopeful probabilitie many Adventurers, both of the Hollanders and of English also that way affected, adventuring with them. This we haue obserued in the Voyages of Maister Danis, * Pilot with Heintman, with two ships; and of Maister Adams with Iaque Maybay, in a Fleet of five ships, and of Melis with Oluer Noort, in a Fleet of foure ships, these two last sayling by the Magellan Streights to the Indies, following the Sunne to see his rising and seeking the East Indies by the West: all were let forth in the year after the others returne. Anno 1598. The same year was by the Indian Societie of Holland let forth a Fleet of eight ships, the Holland, the Zealand, the Frisland, the Gelderland, the Vrick, the Ouer-Iffel, the Dons, the Maurice, and the Amsterdam, furnished

nished with five hundred and sixtie men, Iames Necessim Admirall in the Maurice, Wilbrand Warwecq (whom we before haue honoured for his loue and honour to the English) Vice-Admirall in the Amsterdam, and seven Commissioners adioyned. On May-day they let forth from the Taffell, and kept together till they came to the hopeful Promontorie, where they by ignorance and fowle weather parted, the Holland, Maurice and Ouer-Iffel, holding their way to the Ile of Saint Marie: the other five to the Island De Cerne, by them named of Prince Mauritius, about twenty degrees South latitude, nere to Madagascar, mountainous, full of tall trees of blacke, red and yellow Ebony, and Palmities, hauing a good ayre, Tortoises able to goe with foure men on their backs, and to hold ten men sitting on the inside of the shell, (vntill Guests eating their Holly, nor halpes ab halpes tulus) flocks of Bowles, deloliate and di-habitied by man or beast: they left there Heumes, and downed a certain Plane with ducks flicke. The other three ships hauing watered at Saint Marie, (able to yeeld little else) came to Bantam, in the end of the yeere, who suspected them to be the same which formerly had bene there, and refused Trade, till they lent Abdiel a Chinno (carried into Holland by the former Fleet) with Prefieurs to the King then an Infant, and Cepate the Protector, and procured Traffike. Four weeks after came in the other five ships, many of them sicke, and thirtie five dead. The Bantamestes hauing eited the Portugals, now brought them store of prouision, vied them kindly, admired their Pewter, and for one Spoon gave as much food as would serue a man a week. But Abdiel telling of the other ships to come raised the price of Pepper. Four ships being laden were sent home, and arrived at the Taffell, the nineteenth of July, 1599. The other reloaded for the Moluccas, and Necessim being returned, Warwecq was their Admirall.

They let layle from Bantam the eight of Ianuarie. On the one and twentieth they came to Taboa a Towne of Iana, the King thereof potent and pompous, the people delighted in riding, their filken Saddles pourtrayed with Deuils; they vie exercises and games on horse-backe. Here hauing gotten prouision, on the eight and twentieth they came to Madura an Island lying Northward from Iana, fertile of Rice, the people Iuing in great part on robbery. Heere they diuided their Fleet, two ships the Gelderland and Zealand for Iortan in Iana, the Vrick for Iortan, and Amsterdam to Areyah a Towne on the West of Madura, where they had no sooner landed then men to seeke prouision, but they were taken, spoiled and captiued by the Inhabitants; and after them three others sent to see what was become of their fellows. They demanded for their libertie two great Peeces, one thousand Riels and other commodities. But the Admirall hauing called the rest from Iortan put on land one hundred and fiftie men to recover them by force on the fift of February, and saw many in Armes, two Portugals being their Captaines. Whiles they were in fight a storme arose, which made the Hollanders mind their ships, but two boats in their returne were ouerturned with forty nine men, of which twentie five drowned and slaine, the rest were kept prisoners with their fellows, in all one and fiftie; for which they payed in money and wares, two thousand Riels of eight.

On the fouenteenth, they had fight of Celebes: on the nineteenth of the Ile Camboyna: on the one and twentieth, of Celebes, betwixt which and Botan lie shoales, which they happily escaped: on the five and twentieth, Bur: on the sixe and twentieth, Blaw: the first of March, they saw three Islands adioyning Atsohy, Mayba, and Gya, before Ambonya, to which they came on the third. In Ambonya, are store of Cloues, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, Coqos, Bonanas, Sugarcanes: the Inhabitants simple and poore, their weapons long Pikes hooked, which they dar: very fure. Their Coracoras or Boats haue some representation of a Dragon, of the head in the prow, and the tayle in the sterne, adorned with Streamers. Heere they agreed for trade and a house. But becaule here was not sufficient for all foure ships, therefore the Zealand and Gelderland were sent to Banda. On the fourteenth, they passed by Polo Setra, an Island not inhabited, five leagues North-west from Banda: wherof also they conceiue I know not what deuilish possion, in somuch that their foolish Indian Pilot, with a terrible gally countenance (when they came against it) thrust forth the boat-hooke with like gesture as they doe in boats, as if he would thrust the ship thence, and being wearie layd it by him with the hooke forward, seeming to triumph of his Deuill-conquest when he was past.

On the fiftieth, they came to Poolmay, and had fight of Poolarone, and anchored that night at Banda. The Sabandar came the next day to confere with the Admirall, and agreement of mutual trade was made betwixt them, a house also taken for that purpose. On the three and twentieth, came the first Merchandise from Oritatan: on the foure and twentieth, they began to buy and sell: on the five and twentieth, the Vice-Admirall went to the other side of Banda which is most frequented, to hire a house there: on the seuen and twentieth, came goods from Nera. On the fourth of April, they had Letters from the Admirall at Ambonya, that by reason of the Inhabitants Warrs with the Portugals he had yet laded few wares. All May they were busy in buying and selling.

On the fift of June, the men of Labetacke (about an hours iourney distant from Nera, but in heart vnassurably different, made a fallie or skirmish, in which some were slaine. On the fouenteenth, the men of Nera with those of Lamore and Poolmay went ouer to Wayre and killed

* Mauritius Island.

Decem. 1598.

Speedy Voyage to find the Indies, in 15 M. Taboa.

Irtan. Madura.

Trestris.

Divers Islands.

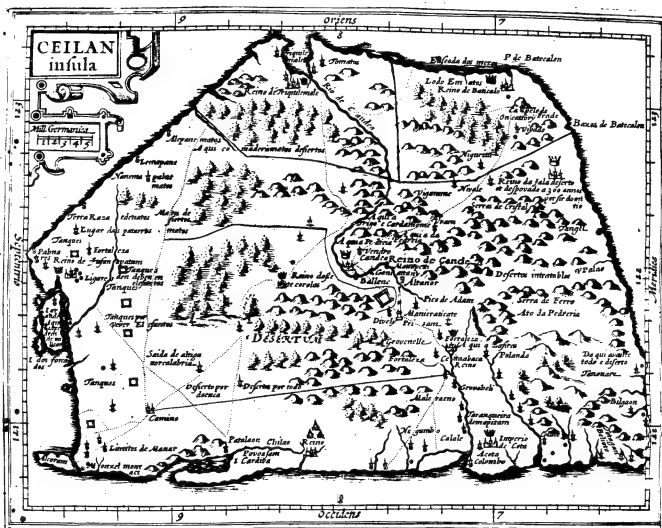
The Dutch first trade at Banda, 1599. Polo Setra.

Poolang.

Chil-wares among the Bandersjes.

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lcl



Neccius his
voyage to
China

The Dutch reported of the English, as here the Portugals of them.

See the King
of Tyre 24:35

Letter to the
the King, and
Sir H Middle-
tons first Voy-
age.

I Ames Necessi came mentioned, telling faying the eight and twentieth of June, 1601, in the end of March came to *Baniam*, where he found *Pauca a Carden*. He spake with the Gouverneur, who willed him to beware of the *Portugals*, telling that one had beene with him from the King of *Tidore*, *Raguelia*, a *Portugall* borne, to sollicite for leave to assault the *Dutch* in Harbor, for which purpose they had a Fleet of fortie sailes at *Lacata*. The second of April, he reported from *Baniam* for the *Molucces*. There, *Ternatia* he found *Verdusius* aforesaid, and *Peterus* the Captaine of a Fleet which had passed the *Magellane* Straights, which here at *Ternatia* had biled his ship on a Rocke, but saved her goods. By these *Necessi* heard of a ship of *Molau* Fleet at *Tidore* taken by the *Portugals*, or betrayed rather, and their Captaine treacherously slain: with all his Company, except five. They had also belabored the King of *Ternatia* against the *Hollanders*, saying, they were impious, perfidious, without God or goodnelle, Sodomit, of whom for their love to the King, they gave him faire warning, promising also rewards. The *Hollanders* in revenge fet vp the *Portugals* at *Tidore*, where *Necessi* was wounded on his right hand, eight or nine of his Companie lost, and the *Dutch* going by the worlt, retired. Some of his Companie he left at *Ternatia*, and after feittfull entertainment for want of merchandize, he was forced to seeke Trade in *China*, or elsewhere.

This King of *Ternata* was called *Scipidine*, Lord of *Ternate*, *Machian*, *Motir*, *Amboni*, *Gulelo*, &c. he stileth himselfe also King of *Celebes*, although he possleth nothing there but some forced places: and in *Mindanao*, *Sokeni*, *Menos*, and other Ilands.

Necum came to *Coyos* of the *Philippine* in eleven degrees, tributary to the *Spaniard*, where they had kind entertainment. After that they came to *Mendano* not farre from the Bay of *Maua*, and eight dayes together were endangered among the *Rockes*. The twentieth of September, they came to Land yknowne, and then were encountered with a terrible tempest. This was one of the *Ilands* before *Canton*. When they thought themselves twelue or fifteene leagues from *Macas*, they proceeded three or foure leagues, and saw buildings at the foot of a hill, and certain boats with one man and one woman, besides children, in each of them, as if his Kingdome to the *Queene of England*. See Sir *Tristram*. *Macas*, *Beland's* loke here.

they had been to mar Families dwelling therein. They questioned with them (for none would come aboard) of *Macao*, and they pointed to the mountain: as they thought it to denote, for some alchance, when they could not see the return at night, they misdevised it and found too late that it was *Macao*, and their men there detained. Some men and thirty live Indians before them, they sent the Maister to see if he could find any way for sounding, which was also intercepted with boats from the towne, together with his comfort. These twenty men left amongst whom the Treasurer and the Captaine of the soldiers, which was also Maister. They thought to write, but could get no carrier and flying two dayes at *Sancheta* without hope of effecting any thing, the third of October they departed, and the next day were carried on the thilke of *Pulo Cymon*, and in danger to be carried upon *Cancien Chica*.

After that endangered with tempest and the fleues and the danger of the Current to the South, they came to *Quam*, where finding nothing but Woods, Deferts, and Barils: footings, they paffed to *Anurella Tula* in eleven Degrees, and thirre Minutes. Heare the Generall with twelve others going on *thoate*, came to an open field, encompassed with goodly trees, where he found many Buffs feeding, and flocks of Birds, but they could get none. Finding then the tract of cart, they followed it to spacious woods and fields, footings of men and beaks, but no habitation, which made them think that they lived like the *Tartars*. They called the place *Sottersmy* of a defraction which they got by eating certain fowls, every man distracted for a time with a madnelle and wrening his proper humour, leaping, ailing, devils, tripping, all things, and nothing. The one and twentieth of October they paffed by *Polo Conder*, the next day by *Sangoro*, and the tenth of November arrived at *Batone*, where they had exact rest and entertainment; procured trade and a house, and by the *Queenes* tauour lie there eight in factory. Thence they also came *Heemskirk*, who told them of his taking the *Portugall* Ariske, and the writer of a letter that *Don Paulo* had hanged fifteen of the *Hollanders* taken at *Macanette* Quetter and Master were sent to *Goa*; which all before they attributed to the *Chinois*, now saw it to be the *Portugals*, although (as they thought) by helpe of the *Chinois*.

In *Patania* they vte the *Malayan, Syrian* and *China* language: the *Malayan* writing like the *of* *rabcke*, the *Syatic* like the *European*; and all most in *Latine* Characters, the *Chinese* from the right hand but downwards. Adultery is punished with death inflicted by their parents in
30 what kind themselves chafe. Common women are commonly offered to strangers to do household service by day, and other offices at night. Some of the *Synian* wear two or three fillet
bullets (or of other metall) in their yeards, inferred betwixt the skinn and fitch, as big some
times as the Tennis ball, and as fruitful and wholesome. Their Geefe and Duckes lay
twice a day: the woods are from fowls; there are Turtles with feare feathers like
parrets. They take wild Elephants in fight with a net, upon the woods of purple, while
both are fatine; by the teeth, fome men behind with ropes capturing the wild. They arrived at
the *Ramackin* the twentieth of July, 1604.

In the year 1602, a Fleet of fourteen faile were sent out vnder the command of *Viborand Warnicke* admiroll, and *Sebast de Wert* Vice-admiroll : the *Maurice* of foure hundred tunnes, the *Holland* three hundredth and thirtie, the *Nassau* three hundredth and ferte, the *Sunne* two hundre h and eightie, the *Moone* two hundre and fifte, the *Starr* one hundret and eightie, the *Parrer* a Pinnafle of five and twentie ; all by Annam. There *Zelanders*, one of foure hundredth, the *Fishing* two hundret and fiftie, the *Goffe* one hundredth and fiftie, the *Echtfenfer* two, the *Hedge* two hundredth and twentie, the *Virgus* one hundredth fountie and fiftie, the *Roterdamian* two, the *Erafmus* two hundred and fiftie, and *Roterdam* eightie. It was determined that the three *Zelanders* should goe to *Zelon* and *Achen*, the *Maurice* and *Moore* to the *Moluccas*, the *Nassau* and *Erafmus* to *China* the *Holland*, *Hedge* and *Starr* to *Achoy*, the *Sun*, *Virgus*, &c. to *Bantam*. In the *Hedge*, *Fierman* de Bree was Cape Merchant. Theffell al, (but the three *Zelanders* which went three monthes before) det out from the Theliff the feuenteenth of Iune, 1602. The teith of March they came to *Acher*. There they found the three *Zelanders*, and *Spilberg* two thips. *Sebast de Wert* the Vice-admiroll, the eight; and twentie of November, 1602, came to *Zelon*, and went wixh iuste Elephants fourtie leagues journey to *Cardaces Candy*, & had bene honorably entertained with his fireene folloves. He was brought into the City as if he had bene a King, and Citizens and Soldiers making a marche alle a mile long on both sides the way, and with a thundering ordinance, and sound of trumpets, that none could bee heard (disple). To the Court he was had with his pompe, where he bare the Royall Cunnill, & Prince *Maurice* his picture, with a flately Carpet borne in to receive his Presents. The King stood in a place by himselfe with his children, before whom he fell on his knees, and was taken presently, and demanded what Countinment he was, and wherefore hee so farre off, whither placed it there to see whether he knew it, and the truth of *Spilberg*s relation. He asked that he came for trade of Merchandize, The King protested much hairel to the *Portugal*; and after asked how he durt without pledge or any assurance, adventure fo farre into that Country; hee answered, that hee had no other end, but to seeke his owne profite, and to please his selfe.

answered, because the *Portugals* were hated alike of both their Princes; whereas they laughed. In the private conference, he promised with twenty thousand men to besiege the *Portugall* Castle *Columbo*, if the *Hollanders* would prevent help from *Goa*; and would give the *Hollanders* all their Castles which he should take, and would refuse his Merchandizing to them. The next day he failed him, gave him before a golden tooth-picke, now a bowle of gold wherein he made his little daughter to drinke to him; and if his sonne were old enough, said, he would send him to Prince *Maurice* to be instructed in Martiall discipline. At his departure he gave him twenty five Quintals of Cynamon, and sixteen of Pepper, and honourable convey to his ships.

He notified these things to his fellows at *Achen*, and conselled them to embrace these opportune promises. For they could not easily be proud of Merchandize. They had heard of two French ships, one shipwrecked at the *Maldivas*, the other returned with a small victory, as also the state of the *Englisb* there, which had taken "a prize, and built a store-house at *Achen*. These five ships with a Pinnalle, set forth the third of April, not a little heartened by the old and young King of *Achen*, who sent an Embassador with them to *Zeilon*. They lost many in the calmes between the sixteenth and one and twentieth of April. On the four and twentieth they arrived, and marched in battell array on the five and twentieth to *Matecala*. The King there entertained them well; but their Religion prohibiting to eat Bees and Buffals, whereof they had great plenty; they would not sell any to the *Hollanders*. They were disquieted with Flies also and Gnats which would not suffer them to sleepe; against which the Natives make fire and smoke all the night the place where they sleepe. Some vniuersely persons could great disturbance by killing of certain King, and could not appeare to him with offering satisfaction; and seeking to make the King interuener for them to the owners, he also took to it to heart, and said the *Portugals* had neuer offered such indignities, neither could he any longer tolerate such wrongs: some forsooth, imagined that the foules of the oxen (had themselves any) this illume were precipitated to hell. Yet at last upon promise of better abearing, he was intreated.

The thirteenth of May, they had answer of their letter to the King of *Candy*, now clamped at *Manacamaru*, desiring the *Hollanders* to come with their ships to *Punto di Gallo*, promising to besiege it first, and to give the *Hollanders* that which he had promised, and one thousand Quintals of Cynamon, and as much Pepper for tribute, that being wonne. He desired also the Vice-admirall to meet him at *Vintane*, halfe way betwixt *Matecala* and *Candy*. Meane while the *Hollanders* took three *Portugall* ships, two of two hundred tunnes, the third of fiftie, and after that a fourth of eightie, but the goods not worth the while, except to graue the King of *Candy*: two of them they sent away with the Prisoners according to promise, which was very dissatisfie to the King. The first of June, two hundred choise men were sent on shore to meet the King in batt array; but he desired the Vice-admirall to stay with him and send his men aboard, to come in like manner the next day. Thus they which made speed, fured their lues; the rest doubting no cuill, were most of them illume. The next day they vnderstood by a letter from the King of the death of the Vice-admirall with his retinue, pretending his infolence, and offering good termes or warre, as they pleased.

The sixteenth, they had letters againe by a *Germane* of *Candy* from the King, swearing al kinder selfe before promised, if they would helpe him take *Gallo* and *Columbo*: to which they answered, they were ready to trade at shore, but for the fortresses their ships were, some gone, and they vniat at present for that which might in fitter time be done. Many meliges passed betwixt them, but little trust or trade. The nine and twentieth of July they departed. These *Zeilonians* worship *Pagades*, of which the *Hollanders* saw some in *Candy* of five or sixe fathoms, representing *Adam*, as the inhabitants affirmed, proportioned by artificiall symmetry to the foot-print of *Adam* in a mountaine neere. The Kings of *Pannu*, *Matecala* and *Pollamane*, acknowledging the King of *Candy* their superiour, who is thus reported to have extorted "the Scepter. A certain King of *Sitabugue* fiftene leagues from *Candy*, about thirty yeeres before had taken *Candy*, the King where with this his sonne and daughter fled to the *Portugals*, who at *Gao* baptized him by the name of *John of Austria*, (as is before said) and brought him vp in *Columbo*. But *Candy* rebelling againe in the other King, the *Portugals* sent him after that Kings death to *Candy*, where he was acknowledged King, and then followed that which before you had of the Kings daughter (of *Sitabugue*.) To returne to the *Dutch*, they returned to *Achen*, and thence againe to the Ile of *Daru* neere *Sumatra*, and thence after diuers *Portugall* prizes taken to *Matecala*. They learned of an Island called *Ende*, famous with a *Vulcano* or burning hill called *Gonsapi*. At last, they (not knowing whether to goe) came to *for*, where they helped the King against the *Portugall* Fleet. Thence they went to *Patane*, whether they came the first of November, 1603. Here they heard of the *Erasmus* and *Nellus*, there taking a rich ship sailing to *Japan* neere to *Adaco*; after they had pillaged her, they burnt her. After trade here they returne to *Bantam* and home.

Vine Voyage. *Cornelius de Ven* in another ship of that Fleet, saith, they came the twentie one of June to *Pulo Timon*, on the three and twentieth to *Paban*, where the King received them kindly, on

the first of July to *Patani*, and agreeing with a *Chinese* to conduct them to *Canton*, then set sail on the eleuenty, and found no matter of great note till the thirtieth, when they came to *Macao*, andooke a *Portugall* ship bound for *Japan*, the *Portugals* fleeing and leauing them their ship with the goods and twentie *Blackes*; these they set on shore, and hauing lighted the ship on the tenth of August fired it, and let saile for *Bantam*. On the eighteenth of September, they encountered a great *Juncke* which they supposed to be *Portugals*, and after a hot fight fured it, found them *Chinese* ships, and were forie that they had ignominiously hurt their friends; fiftie of which perished, one the Captaine, whose valour lost himselfe and them: they let them depart with their goods in friendship. The sixteenth of December, they arrived at *Bantam*, and the thirtieth of August, 1604, at the *Tyffell*.

In the year, 1603, twelue ships were sent vnder the command of *Stephen Verhaegen*. They set saile the eighteenth of December. On the seven and twentieth of June, they came to *Samangue* and anchored without the Castle, in sight whereof theyooke a *Portugall* ship in the Harbour, and after that diuers other Vessels. But not able to doe any thing memorable against the Islands; On the five and twentieth of August, they departed, and the sixteenth of September, came before *Goa*, but found the *Portugals* so provided that they imagined themselves before betrayed, and their designe bewrayed in Europe.

On the fourteenth of October, they therefore departed for *Cannor*, whither they came on the five and twentieth, but by in rebellion of the King they remoued to *Calicut*, where theyooke a *Portugall* ship with Powder and Provision bound for *Zeilon*.

The third of November, they had fight with nine *Portugall* ships in which many were slaine, none taken. The eighth of November, they entered league with the *Samorine*, ratified by Oath and Instrument in writing.

It was ordered that the *Zeilon* and *Enchusen* should goe for *Cambaya*, the rest to *Cochin*, before which they came on the fourteenth, but attempted nothing. On the two and twentieth, they failed before *Columbo*, and shot at the Castle.

The second of January they came to *Bantam*, the *Delft* staying at *Achen* to returne their Embassador. On the fiftieth, they departed for the *Malacca*. The one and twentieth of February, they came to *Amboyna*, and assailed the Castle, which without further adoe was deliuered on composition of free passage for such *Portugals* as would, and such as would to stay, the Castle and Ordnance left to the *Hollanders*, which presently received the *Dutch* Colours: forty fixe married *Portugals* slaying and swearing allegiance to the States, fixe hundred others departed.

Five ships were thence sent to *Tidore*, the *Horne* remaining here, and the Admirall going to *Banda*. Thence hee returned *Tidore*, on the second of May, 1605. On the six, the Vice-Admirall summoned the Castle to yeild, which the *Portugals* refused and manfully defended their honor against the *Alibantians*, till an vnfortunate fire, (how or whence vnfortunate) lighting in their Powder blew vp a great part of their Castle with fixe or fiftie of their men. This forced them to yeild, and consequently, they were dispossest of all the *Maluccas*, except *Solor*. The King of *Ternate* with foureteen Corcoras, conveying each one hundred and fortie Soldiers, aided the *Hollanders*, and held it saile the King of *Tidore*, both prouing Spectators of the *European* Prize. They razed the Castle.

This year 1605, the King of *Spain* had made a terrible Edict against the *Hollanders*, forbidding Trade with them vnder grieuous penalties. But prohibition without inhibition is vaine: and the Force the more he was curst, throue the better. For in the same year, they sent forth *Cornelius Martinius* with twelue ships, foure of which were sent by diuers runnes each the next year *Paulus a Cardus* was sent forth with eight other in May, 1606. Anno 1607, the Peace or Truce being in treatie, they set forth another Fleet of thirtie faye vnder *Peter Williamson* and *Tycho*. Anno 1608, three ships returned laden with Spices, three hundred tunne of Cloues, one hundred of Nutmegs, fiftie of Mace, &c.

Mateliff having in charge to enter league with the *Indian* Kings against the *Portugals*, in the month of April, 1606, sent to the King of *Iorjan* to ayde him, who came with two thousand *Blackes*, and on the tenth of May, they both went on shore against *Malacca*, and possessed the suburbs. But continuing their siege to little purpose, and hearing of the *Portugall* Fleet coming, they arose at the fiftieth of August left saile to encounter the Armada consisting of fourteen great ships, and as many smaller. A terrible Sea-fight followed, in which the *Hollanders* were forced to forsake the *Mauritius* one of their best ships, and *Mateliff* himselfe was in great distress with three *Portugall* ships (together with the *Middleborough*) till others comma into his help with fire shot, hee freed himselfe: but the *Middleborough* with two *Portugall* ships fastened to it were burnt together, the men fuing themselves in the boats (as well as they could) of other ships. The *Hollanders* deserted to their confederate Kings, the *Portugals* going to *Malacca*, where hauing lost seven of their ships, the rest returned. The *Dutch* hauing

Patani, Patani, or Patani.

Great China Juncke.

Verhaegen Voyage.

Gia.

Cannor, Calicut.

Cambaya, Cochin.

Amboyna, Castle taken.

See Six B. Mid. of the Maluccas.

See the last of the Maluccas.

See the last of the Maluccas.

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they discharging their peeces, the other souldiers came in and rescued them, putting the *Blackes* to flight, and in the chase found the Admiral and his Company slain, whom they brought on two perfects. On the three and twentieth, they slew the *Dutch* *Esquall* with diuers others. On the twentieth, the *Hollanders* with two Companies *Doyle* all they could in the Island. On the twelfth of June, the *Dutch* killed fiftie *Blackes* in a buike. On the thirteenth, the Cattle be- well-nigh finished, was named *Najaw*, of *Loma Bitter* the Captain.

On the three and twentieth of July, the *Hollanders* attempted *Singa*, a towne of the *Blackes*, but returned with the loss of thirtie, and one hundred hurt: *Bitter* himselfe having his legge broken, wherof he after died. On the fourteenth of August, the Islanders sent to treat of a peace, saying, that though they had offended the *Hollanders* in killing the Admiral and chiefe men, yet they also should remember what harmes they had done to the *Indians*, in subverting their Cities and Temples, firing their Villages and Forts, with great slaughters every where. The *Hollanders* answered, that they would grant peace, on condition they would swear that they would thereafter have trade with none other Nation whatsoever it were, but sell all their Nuts and Mace to the *Hollanders* only; who on the other side promised to defend them from their enemies, and to provide them of Rice and necessities for food, with a reasonable price for their wares. On these conditions, peace was concluded, and by oath on the *Alcoran* confirmed, the fiftenth of August.

How brittle this forced peace was, appeareth before by the Journals of Captain *Keeling* then there, and *David Adolston* toone after, by the *Dutch* owne stories, which complain of their trade with Captain *Adolston*, their confidence also against the *Hollanders*, the *Hollanders* lacking of *Comber*, the *Black* killing diuers *Hollanders* in a wood, of a kind of Siege of their Cattle, bloody fight, the Cattle almost famished, all in the same yeere, that this peace was concluded. So little force was added of Force, when any custom appeareth, especially when *Mercury* is turned to *Mars*, and men begging trade will force Forces upon free States and Countours. No marvaile if hereupon they found the *Hollanders* perpetual worke, as you have before read in *Floris*, and at last sent and obtained trade with the *Englysh*, ratifying the same by resignation of to many Islands to his Maestie: which Souerainety the *Dutch* stories (if we traced, and faithfully followed in the former relations) doe no to much as mention by them fought in articles of treaty, or to them by the Islanders offered. Hence the warres betwix the *Englysh* and *Dutch*: and the hatefull disorders before recited: the *Hollanders* making a bridge of *Englysh* ships to get over *Englysh* bodies and blood to these Islands, even without denutation of warre, fore heard of.

Having now gathered this out of the *Dutch* owne Histories and Journals, I presume not to dispute (for euen they themselves and their Historians being judges) who seeth not the state of the case. But I have thought good to add for further illustration; this relation of their gaine by that trade as one of that Society hath lately published: after which I will give you the testimony of the Priest of *Pavlovaere* (a man there of great esteeme) touching the *Banda* case, a Discourse of mine owne added for illustration: and that men may not misconstrue these things, to the diffalt of the *Hollanders* in general, but rather of some of their Maiors or Commanders and Committees there (whom you may understand also in like differences with the *Portugals*) I have added (to end this business) an extract of a little Booke translated out of *Dutch*, which as he speaks manely of their gaines by this trade; so he imputeth the fault to the ill government and Governours.

The gaines which the *Hollanders* had gotten by the East India trade, taken out of a Booke Translated out of the *Dutch*, perfwading to a West India Trade.

Now to let you see how much we should be hindered, if we should leave off the East India Trade, & the like hindrance, we should consequently all sale of touching the power and strength of these Countreys. In the Records of the East Indian Company it appeareth, that from Anno 1595, to Anno 1601, included, they sent out fortie and six ships, wherof there arrived three and fortie againe in these Countreys richly laden. Ships that brought for returne, (all charges deducted) two hundred and thirtie Tunes of gold, cleare gaine for the Merchants of the said Company. Further, by the Records and Bookes of the East Indian Company: it is also shewed, that for the space of eleven yeeres we had still about thirtie ships continually in East India, with five thousand Sea-faring men, and that they expected to receive from thence at least three hundred Tuns of gold in capital, besides that which they had in the land. Now I refer it to your judgement, what the said Company in the last ensuing tenne yeeres, until this time hath gained? who within the time of six months hath had a good returne of fiftie Tuns of gold. I doubt not but you have heard of the rich loading that the two ships brought herber within the space of a month, being valued to be worth foure and twenty Tuns of gold, in such manner, that the particular partners from

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Anno 1605. (every mans full adventure being delivered in) have gained upon every hundred Guilders, unto this day ready money, the summe of five hundred Guilders: and who soever any man will sell his stocke (which at this time he hath in the Company) which he may doe when he will, he may for every hundred have two hundred and thirtie Guilders: wherewith also the Interest, which the partners (from the first money received) to this present have gained, which also is halfe a capital, these profits to the partners particularly, upon every hundred, if they have ventured and traded (extenue yeeres in the East Indian Company, in cleare gaines above five hundred Guilders. I speake not this by report, but as a witness thereof, being one of the partners, that have received my part of the gaine, and may have the rest within eight dayes, if I will sell my stocke, which I may at all times doe.

Secondly, we may by the Trade used by the said Company, until the yeere 1614. included, declare and prove, that the custome houses of the Countrey, by means of c. mages, licences, tolls, and customs, which the said East Indian Company have, and pay, inward and outward, have profited and received a. l. one fine and thirtie Tunes of gold, for the which the States of the land, have at some times (as needs required) ayded the said Company towards their wares in India, with money and ships: partly to ease the said Company of the burthen of their charge. Now what they have received in the custome houses of the Countrey, from Anno 1614. to Anno 1621. without doubt it is a greater summe, and much more then the former, noting what a rich returne they have made within these few yeeres. Now to shew what furtherance and benefit the common people have had and gotten by this East Indian Trade, we must note, that a Fleet of twelve ships, doth cost in money and all other things the summe of about eighteen Tunes of gold, to fit and send it forth: and commonly there is not above five or six Tunes of gold in ready money put out with it: all the rest is brought and prepared here in the land, to the great benefit and welfare of the Countrey, and gained by the inhabitants: that sell and deliver the same. And every ship that comes home againe, one with another, payeth about a Tonne of gold for monthly wages, whereby the Officers and Sailors also are enriched, which also is gotten and spent by and among the inhabitants: whereby it is manifest, what the common people have got and benefited, the great number of so many thousand people, that by means of this Trade are fed, are set

vice and honour might be maintained, whereby the blind Heathens might be brought out of their great darkness, and young children taught the knowledge of the truth of Jesus Christ our Saviour: the Company diligently and carefully took order, to erect a Church and a Schoole therein, to the which end they sent thither certain learned men, as at the first also they did, which with great benefit and increase, have taught the Heathens the Gospel of Christ in their own language, as well as unto our men in their language: In such manner, that a King and a Prince of Amboyna, (where the Country people are much addicted unto devilish and beastly superstitions) sent two of their sonnes into the Schoole, with a Letter unto the Prince of Orange, to have them brought up at Schoole, and taught our language, and Christian Religion, that they might at their returne into East India be a means of planting the Church of Christ there in India, and learne how to defend their own native Country.

The Relation of the Priest of Poolaroone, touching the beginnings and occasions of quarrells betwixt the Dutch and Bandanefes, written in the Malayan language with his owne hand, in a very faire Arabebbe letter, and the sense rendered to me in English by M. Rob. Haies.

THIS is the beginning of contentions betwixt the Hollanders and the Bandanefes. Two Hollanders ranne from them and turned *Saamers* or *Mohamets*, and the Priests house at *Nero* were slaine by three Hollanders, which in revenge were slaine by the Natives, who slayed not there, but in the fury slew other three Hollanders. This was ill done of the Natives, to aide a double revenge. Soone after the Generali of the Hollanders came thither with thirtie ships, and demanded satisfaction for the slaughter of his Countreimen. The Bandanefes offered Diet (that is, the wonted satisfaction there vied for man-slaughter, in money) for those last three. But the General answered, that he came not now to demand satisfaction, but to make peace and league with them, which was done. The next yeere came another Holland General, *Peter William Verboch*, with fiftene ships into the Haven of *Nero*, and asked leave to sit up a Fort at *Tanning Ratto*, or *Ponis Ratto*, which the Bandanefes granted; but then hereafter it demanded leave to erect a Fort in another place at *Tanning Menanga*, which they refused. But he coming before the Caste of *Nero*, with his ship and Ordnance, terrified the inhabitants, which fled away, and he possessed the Caste, and fortified there. Then did the Bandanefes subtilly dissemble friendship, and shew the Generali and fiftene Captaines, with others about one hundred men, in all.

A discourse of those warres, and the effects with their causes, briefly presented in a short Summarie.

HENCE the Warres betwixt the Dutch and Bandanefes: and hence the Warre so pertentious in the midst of peace (not betwixt the two Nations their Princes and States, which hold confederacie and amitie, but) betwixt our Merchants and theirs, our Mariners and theirs, our Sea-Commanders: and theirs; the two Indian Companies in those parts (the guiltie of them) as it were growing free with infection of those fiercer Nations, changing their conditions more then their complexion, travelling from themselves in so farre Navigations, putting off with their warmer clothes in that hotter Climate, their solid vertues, putting on Heathenish qualities with their commerce; putting up fierce ferity with their hot Spices, putting out in great part humanitie, civillitie, Christianitie, in those various Currents and diversified Seas, Shallows, Islands. And who can but be amazed and amazed with wonder at such prodigious transformations, that so some Neighbours in Region (parted with a narrow Channell) never yet in long Locuties of Armes, (falsed with so many lies and doubts against one enemy,) and never then all names of enmity, in the nearest, dearest, and sweetest of names, Religion (both pressing in substance one Reformation), that this threefold Cord hath bene so easily broken; their reformation in Religion become a deformation of Religion amongst unbelieving Ethnicke and misbelieving Papists: their following the lame Armes by sea and land become a trayning to greater harmes to each other by sea and land: that propinquitie of dwelling should make remoteness of Neighbourhood; and what neither Portugall policies, nor Infidell treacheries could doe, themselves might doe, to their owne undoing with their owne hands; and the hearts of both Nations at home might be in danger of dis-loyning, by the dis-loynted parts and Factions abroad; the sparkes of that fire of Hell seeming to break out at Goon Appe with that terrible Earthquake before mentioned, unto a more terrible heart-quake, there to set that world on fire, and here to endanger this. Spixies have bene hereby turned to Speakes; Warres (with addition of a canine letter) to Warres; Words (with a new biting sound from that old S. rent) into Swords; Ship charge of so many Tunnies in freight to discharge of so many Gunnes in fight; Merchants to Marauders, exchanging their gay-goods (or gay-gods) Mercury, for those payn-gods or deuil; Mars and Mors, or that wonted function which Poeticall Divinitie ascribed to Mercury, of patronizing Merchandise, for that other of conducting Soules to Hell. Hercules bath brought up Cerberus that Hell-monster, and set him onchained on the Indian shores, with the three Infernal Furies crowning his triple head; and hence have we had this Hell upon Earth. Such is Warre, and especially when the fumes of Peace make Warres, when christianian Christians warre together: when the sonnes of God see the faire daughters of men (the riches of Infidels) and take them

Gen. 6.

them Wives where they lust (will not woo with trafficke, but ravish by force, nor make their Voyage Gen. 6. but a Conquest) is it any marvel if the issue prove Giants, and the Earth be filled with violence? (Even the Poets also fabled their Giants to be Neptunes Sonnes.) Hence is Commerce Dining and humane enpayed, Peace blowne up, Charitie blowne out, Rights of neighbourhood, and Rites of hospitalitie exiled; Merchandise in unallowd copulation with Mars procreanting, I know not how, many Balthars; such are Vitiations, Oppressions, Infiltrations, Jealousies, Treacheries, Inuasions, Lies, Force, Fraud; and hereof of that restless blacke Gard, hateful to God and man: Which here I have historically expressed, not delighting in Tragedies, but (for as *hac olim meminit ianabii*) it will be delightfull to some to have escaped such disasters as have swallowed so many, and profitable to perisseries, to prevent like mischiefs in the like beginning.

The beginning of this quarrell was first a Strangenesse; whereof Syueron a Dutch Captaine is charged to be the author whose counsailes infected the rest, and made them withdraw their familiaritie with our Nation, which before they had kindly used. When this Sonne of Charitie, (living in loving Society) was set in this cloud of Strangenesse, storme weather followed, and darkness, and it was night, wherein all the beasts of the Forrest crept forth, the young Lions roared after their prey: the ghastly ghosts walked abroad in the darke, and the Rulers of the darkness of this world amongst the children of Night and of darkness demerred at pleasure. This Strangenesse, as the darkness of Hell, opened a passage to those Hellish fires following, and was the Wombe of those Hell-bred Monsters (as priuation is a preparation to habite, and corruption to generation) which were indeed many but three: three Captaines were Drunkenesse, Couetousnesse, and Pride (this that threefold Head of Cerberus, and triple (rowne of Furies, before mentioned.) In the first, Bacchus made a new expedition into the Indies, with a band of Racks, Rackeops, and other bad drunks, displaying the Colours of the Fleth, oppugning the Spirit of God, and expugning the Reason of Man: whence so many Frayes, Traules, and sometimes Blows, and Wounds; this Wild-fire or Ignis Grecus burning most in moisture whiles men played the Greekes. After this Vant-guard of Bacchus and the Fleth, followed the Mine battell led by the Worthie Colours under the Colours marked of Couetousnesse, which finding some ports of Gagne, with an eull eye regarded at all partners; inhibited them by undermining wiles, practices, prohibited by open Proclamations; inhibited by confiscations and surprisals, attended with Chains, Fetters, Prison, Tortures, Famine, and manifold Deaths. God helpe the man that comes under the power of Couetousnesse! an ever-die, ever-living fire of Hell, kindled from thence, and burning thither, still flaming on the Altar and before the Idol of the golden Calfe, and kindling there (that is in the covetous mans heart) such zeale of that devotion, that he knowes not, hates, persecutes, whatsoever stands in his way; and if he be able, answers all objections with lus in armis, like another Alexander, chopping that knot insunder by force, which neither wit, learning, nor Religion could vnye. After these battalions of the Fleth and the World, the Deuill follows in the Rere, (though as General of the Field, he generally insinuateth himselfe, to tamque insula per artus Mens agitat molem & magno le corpore milcet) His Standard is advanced by Pride, which having cast Angels out of Heaven, and Man out of Paradise, would dispossesse Mankind of Humaneitie, Christians of Societie, the wit Merit of his Trade, and the World of Justice. Hence inordinate confusions, and the confused confounding orders of contentions, (only by pride doe men make contentions) confusions, supplantings, neglects, contempt, scorn, indignations, vexations, persecutions, exultations, infiltrations, insinicies, cruelties, hell. He that puts off himselfe in drunkenesse, and puts on the world in couetousnesse, shall lose both, and find the Deuill, ready blowing these sparkes of Hell with the Bellows of Pride (the diuisions of Ruben are great thoughts of heart) till both be and they are encompassed with the unquenchable flames of Hell. Drunkenesse began with Bantam frayes, (search the Authors in the former storie.) Couetousnesse proceeded with prohibition of profitable Trade, wherefore one could hinder; and with the helpe of Pride, raped Sovereignitie, and reaped an enforced Iurisdiction, violently exercising the same against all gain-fyer.

Thus, as in other places, so principally in Banda. There the Stage of this Tragedie, and out of that burning hill this burning hell of Draball fire first (as it said) seemed to break forth; the first original beginning with Apostasie (as you have heard) in some Dutch Frigates which purpo to escape distressed by misfortune, denied that which they never bad, Faith. Secondly, others in unjust Justice punishing the same with murther (expressing Pity with oppressing Impiety, blood Zeale being a hell-fire indeed, a burning fire without any living light.) Thirdly, the Bandanefes in their supposed Justice of Religion provoked, and Sanituarie of their Priests house isolated, (see no means in revenge, and repeat at leisure what was done in basty furie. Fourthly, this being somewhat composed, and peace made (when Revenge is asleep) Couetousnesse awakes, and in cold blood, by force (which inreate could not procure) erects a Fort (that is, a Prison to the Libertie, a Store-house for the Wealth, and a Gibbet for the neckes of the Inhabitants,) that I omit the supposed sacrilege and wrang to their Mexiks and Sepulchres. In the fifth place, they unable to renege by force, borrow helpe of treacherous fraud (Iolus un virtutis qui in hostie requirit;) and kill Verhuelt and the Dutch. This being punished by Warre, is desired a little while by Peace, but (for ought is extant) never kept on either side, and the Dutch continued Masters in their Hold, the Natives elsewhere. Which yet growing troublesome to them (as the Dutch know, other Nations have done) they sought possession of the English, and upon Composition surrendered them.

See Scot. pag. 180. & 189. P. 181. & 182. Eph. 1. 2. 1. 3. 5.

Scott. 181. 182.

Platina moris in age.

The Gardian knot.

Pro. 13. 10.

1. 2. 5. 17.

The parcels named, and the true account given of the Banda case and rule of the warres puts and thicks.

Note for trouble
some Sea at
the Cape.

land. Having a little pasted the Cape of Good Hope, being much Wind at North-west North North-west and North, the Sea was exceedingly troubled, and went to vpon heapes by the meeting of the North-west and South-east Ocean, that it laboured our ships to the trial of all their ioynts.

From the eight and twentieth of September, to the first of October, we were hindered eleven or twelve minutes every day by a Current to the South latitude, from one to five degrees thirte North. The fourth of October, latitude nine degrees and fiftie minutes North. These four and twentieth hours, I have come over the *Iland Ruff* (one of the *Mamale*) as it is placed in my Card. Note, that every day time we were in five degrees North latitude, we have here land Fowler, as Cabrells, Quills, Martins, Butter-fishes, but not any Sea Fowle. The nineteenth, we were due West from *Baucala* six leagues off, depth two and twentieth fathoms oze land. The twentieth, at five in the morning, we were thwart of *Gua* four leagues off, the latitude is five degrees and thirte minutes, rather lesse then more. The fixe and twentieth, we put into *Dahul* Road in fourteen degrees and thirte four minutes, and stayed till the second of November, our men refreshed and recovered, and the two ships for *Perfia* well provided. The fixe, the *Hart* and *Eagle*, eight leagues from the high Land of *Saint Iohn*, took their leave of vs. The fteenth, latitude twentie degrees sixteen minutes. Now are we truly West from *Damon* six leagues off, depth eighteen fathoms. The ninth in the morning, we anchored in the outer road of *Sualy*, where we found the *Wappen van Zeland*, a ship of one thousand Tunnes. At our coming hee tooke in her flagge and saluted the *London* with three peeces, and the *Roe Bucke* with two. I was sent on shore and found Master *Thomas Kerridge* President, Master *James* and Master *Hopkinson*, whom I brought aboard. The next day, a consultation was holden for our speedie dispatch after the *Hart* and *Eagle*; four *Portugall* Gallies attending at *Ormus* or *Isajques* Road for their surprisall. The nineteenth, after business dispatched, we set sail towards *Isajques*. The one and twentieth we decried a ship, which yielded without resistance; her name, *Noftra Senhora de Morcos*, neere two hundred Tunne, come from *Maficete*, bound for *Chaul*, in her two and fourtie Arabian Hories, being her principall lading (as built for that purpose) the residue Dates and Raisins: the Captaines name *Francisco Miranda*.

Iland Ruff.

Basteria.

Gua.

Dahul.

Damon.

A Portugall
prize.

HONDIVS his Map of Persia.

30



The fife of December, latitude foure and twentieth degrees fiftie five minutes, we met the *Hart* and *Eagle* coming from *Isajques* towards *Swat*, not being sufficient to encounter the *Portugall* forces there attending, to rune our Masters *Perfia* Trade. Thus happily rejoyned were made hatte towards *Isajques* to accomplish our delignes. The eight, at their owne earnest sollicitation, we set all the *Portugall* and *Moors* on land, except some Sea-men *Moors* whom we detayned for our service, and the Pilot which misdoubting hard measure, intreated to stay. The tenth, the Lords Supper was administrated aboard the *London*. The twelfth, the men who voluntarily undertooke to burne the *Prize* aboard the *Portugall* Admirall, were put aboard her in the night. The thirteenth and fourteenth, the wind against vs. The fiftenth, we had sight of the East Point of Land in *Isajques* Road, which hath vpon it a Tombe or an old square Hat House, bearing West North-west, by Compass twelve miles off. So then from *Du Head* to this Point, I make the longitude by the plain ordinarie Sea Chart, nine degrees fiftie five minutes and three fifth parts, and by *Mercators* projection, ten degrees and one and fiftie minutes. From this place we might discern the *Portugall* men of Warre set out from *Lubone*, whose Fleet consisted of two *Portugall* Gallions one bigger then the *London*; and two *Flemmy* ships, one as bigge as the *Hart*; the other lesse then the *Eagle*: Their Generall *Ruy Freyre de Andrad*, *John Baralo* Vice-admirall, the *Flemmyngs* were commanded by *Antonio Masques* and *Baltazar de Chaves*.

The sixteenth in the morning, our Admirall with the *Hart* went aboard the *Prize*, and carried two Barrells of powder, some Tarr, and other combustible provisions, intending with her to lay the *Portugall* Admirall thwart the halle to burne together. Thus fitted, we bore vp with the men of Warre, but it fell calme, and the Current let vs looere them that they reached vs with their Ordnance. All night we kept vnder faille. And in the fouteenth, being by reason of the Land-nurse to leeward of them; they weighed and made towards our Fleet, which attended their coming, albeit they had carefully kept the benefit of the wind. About nine the fight began, which continued nine hours without intermission. In the afternoon (a fine gentle Westely Sea-wind blowing, and we to windward of them) their Admirall, whether of necessity to repaire some defect about his Rudder, or of policy for some concerted stratagem, anchored; and to the Eastward of him, his Vice-Admirall and the greater *Flemmyng*, the lesser to leeward of all stopping his leakes. Now were we in great hope of our first deligne, which yet being too soone fired and forsaken of those which had it in charge, proved frustrate, driving cleere of all their ships to their rejoycing, our disgrace and our Employers losse. We seeing them abide at anchor, and keeping the wind of them, turning to and againe close a-head of them; raked them, especially their Admirall, thorow and thorow, fore and after, with all our broad sides, receiving from them only their Prow and Bow Peeces. Out of whom as I passed to the North, two misfortunate shots cut a-funder the *Robuckes* weather-leech ropes of her fore-faile and fore-top-faile in the middle depth of both failes, which renting we could not make her stay, but were enforced for reparation of our failes to beare vp to leeward betwixt them & the floore. In which time their three greatest ships played vpon vs with their whole broad sides, yet God be prayed, with lesse hurt then I could have imagined. Thus having compelled the three last mentioned ships, and lusing to reioyce with our owne Fleet (which all this while holding the benefit of the wind played vpon the *Portugall* with their great Ordnance, as fast as with so many Muckets) I had gotten to wind-ward of the smaller *Flemmyng*: who standing off as I did, vntill he had brought the fired ship directly betweene him and me, then turned taile and steered with all the failes he could make right after the wind along the shoare to the Eastward: whom to relieue, the other three set saile, now lo gentler, that the *Hart* passing along their broad sides; received from some of them few, from others none, either great or small shot. But our Fleet at present reunited, desired their further chase, the darkness of the night, and the generall wearine, challenging a furcate from to fly tofome a worke: and anchored after midnight in their (before) viall Road.

In this fight the *London* and *Hart* received very little hurt in their hulls and tackling: lesse or none amongst their men. The *Eagle* mayne Mast was shot in five places, whereof four quite thorow: and on *John Banckes* lost his right arme. In the *Robucke*, had one *Edward Browne* slaine with a great shot thorow his head; a picke of shott killed together with some splinters of the same shot, wounded Master *Thomas Walker* one of my Mates in the fore-head to the losse of his left eye: also *John Phoenix* and *Robert Hopworth* lost the vfe of their right hands. Neuer (God be prayd) did I heare of so little hurt in so long a fight, as we had on our parts. I cannot truly particularise their hurts, by report of our Merchants, *John Baralo* their Vice-Admirall and another Captaine were slaine; with thirte or forty *Portugall* out of their Admirall (for *Moors* they account not in the number of their men) the rest vnknowne.

The eighteenth in the morning, we had sight of the *Portugall* anchor ten miles to the East of vs: they had the wind faire to come to vs, out did not. Whereupon we had a generall conference, whether it might be fitter with the first of the Sea-curve (beginning vially about noon) to stand with them and try it out for the Mastery (before they could have sliply from *Ormus* or *Maficete*, or expected ayde from *Gua*) or else to make saile for *Isajques* Road, there to land

The fight.

Portugall ship-
piers.The second
fight.The flight and
loffe of the
Portugals.

our monies and goods (for surprisall whereof they fought and we defended) and this later was concluded. Thither the *London* attayed that night; the rest rode a league without.

The two and twentieth, desiring the Port *Gallies* open of the Road, to come in as we supposed with the Sea turne, we halted and stood off with them. They steered directly towards *Ormus*, till they met with two or three Frigats from thence with supply of men and munition; which having shipped, they made towards vs but soone repented, and clapt vpon a tacke, and till the eight and twentieth, were either to windward, or so at anchor that without disadvantage we could not attempt them. Wee tried on Christmase day, but were informed backe with a present encounter of a gulf, which made some *Blackes* aboard vs, say, that the Port had brought a Witch from *Ormus* to serve them with faire winds. On *Innocents* day perceiving the drift of our *Fabius Caudator*, we took the opportunity of an Easterly gale, weighed and put things in order for fight. The *London* and *Hart* next anchored within a Cables length and halfe from them vpon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest burden of this second dayes fight. For no sooner were they at anchor, but it fell calme and so continued all day, inasmuch that the *Robuck* and *Eagle* (who had steered neerer the shoare with intent to anchor, one vpon the Bow of the Port-Admirall, the other on the Bow of their Vice-Admirall) being Easterne, could not with any diligence come to doe any seruise in halfe an houres space. And no sooner were within the leuell range of our Ordnance from them, then (there being not a breath of wind, and the current against vs) we were driven to anchor or driue further off. But our broad fides once brought vp, the great Ordnance from our whole Fleet played so fast vpon them, that had our mens knowledge equalled their resolutions, not one of them had escaped vs. How ever, loth to receive a Supper as hot as their Dinner, at three a clocke they cut their Cables and droue with the tyde (then setting Westely) vntill they were out of our reach. Then came their Frigats to them (which the day before had dominated with their Muskie, pendants and flagges alongh the shoare, now with a fierke tacke) to tow them away all mangled and torne. For their Admirall in the greatest fury of the fight, was enforced to heele his ship to stop his leakes, his mayne-top-mast over-board, and the head of his mayne Mast. The greater *Fleming* had both his top-masts and part of his bow-sprit shot away: the lesse having neuer a throw standing, neuer a top-mast.

The Vice-Admirall (which both dayes did vs most hurt) escaped best, having commonly this day one or other of their ships twixt him and vs. We kept them company all night in hope the next morning to have given them their part, but surveying our shot and finding small store left (notwithstanding that by some happy mistake, the *Eagle* had a double proportion) and considering the Voyage which we had to performe, we returned: and left them glad men, the two greater ships towing the two smaller at their sterne. Their stayne I heard not: Ours lost in the *London* (laine, *Henry Crane*, *Iohn Gore*; our Admirall and *Peter Robinson* dyed of their wounds afterwards. In the *Hart*, *Walter Daine*, *William Hall*, *Iohn Musket*, and *Edmund Okely* were wounded but recovered. The great shot of severall sorts spent, in the *London*, one thousand three hundred eighty two. *Hart*, one thousand twenty four. *Robuck*, eight hundred and fiftene. *Eagle*, eight hundred. In all four thousand twenty one. Captain *Richard Blith* according to the order (opening the white Boxe N. 1.) succeeded our worthy Admirall: my selfe removed into the *Hart*, *Christopher Browne* to the *Robuck*, and *Thomas Taylor* was made Master of the *Eagle*.

The fourteenth of January, having been for eight and fortie houres precedent continuall extremitie of raine (wind or raine being viall here for three or foure dayes at the change and full, and otherwhiles faire weather) we set saile from *Isafques*, where we had dispatched our businelle, to *Surat*, where we arrived the first of February following: nothing in our passage occurring worth recitall, sauing that the seuen and twentieth of January, wee surprized betwixt *Diu* and the *Sand* heades, a small ship of warre called *Nostra Señora de Remedio*, of burthen one hundred tonnes, *Francisco de Sylva* Captaine, with thirtie fife *Portugals*, and twentie fife *Moor*es for Sailers set out by the Captaine of *Diu* to gart their small Merchants ships from the *Malabara*. The men were distressed, and the ships kept for our vie, and called the *Andren*. Shee had in her neyther meate, money, nor commodities, and scarce so many poore futes as backes.

The seuen and twentieth of February, we began to take in goods. The six of March, the *Eagle* was sent downe to guard the Prince *Juncke*, and to hinder her further lading: till free leaue and libertie should be granted for passage of Carts with goods, and our other provisions, which have beene refrayned fixe or seuen dayes by the grating Governour of *Upare*; by which meanes no Cotton Wool could come downe till our ship was full laden forward on. The sixteenth, vpon notice that the *Agra Cassila* was robbed by the *Decan* Armie, resolution was taken to seeke restitution vpon the ships of the said *Decan* Prince and his Confederates in the action; and the Red Sea intended for our ships wintering. The nineteenth, the Prince his Juncke was dismissed, the Governour of *Surat* having granted vnder his hand to supply our wants of Powder and shot for our money, with redreffe for many other discourtesies.

Since

Since the five and twentieth of March, till the six of April, 1621. the windes have bene curwardly, viz. South and South South-west and West, and from noone till mid-night blowne so hard that the great stuffe by the shoare permitted no businelle to bee done, except on the last quarter ebbe and first after flood. The seuenth, we set saile. The ninth, the *Eagle* and *Dutch* Pinnasse called the good *Fortune*, departed our Company, consigned for *Achen* and *Bantam*: the *London*, *Hart*, *Robuck* and *Andrew* intended for the Red Sea, if not too late.

The first of May, the *Andrew* and our Boats surprized the Saint *Antonio* a ship of two hundred tonnes, which we called the *May-flower*: her principall Lading Rice taken in at *Barcelon*, whence she went to *Goa*, and the eight of April, had set saile for *Malaga* and *Ormus*. By this we understood that *Ruy Freire de Andrade*, was busie in repairing his foure ships at *Ormus*: C. 10. to *Don Emmanuel de Affredo*, is departed about fiftie dayes past from *Goa* in his laccour with two Gall-ones; one whereof is the fame in which the Vice-Roy was personally, when hee fought with Captaine *Dannous* Fleet. The seuenth, in a calme we surprized the *Lacina* a small ship built of a Frigate, from *Mozambique* bound for *Goa*: wee called her the *Prim-rosa*. Thence to the thirteenth, winds variable, calmes, raine. The *May-flower* hundred vs much: and the Pilots either were malicious or blind: whereupon we refused to trust to our owne endeavours to find an anchoring place, whence we might discouer some convenient Road for our safe riding till the strenght of the Monsoon were past, we relused for *Maiera*.

The second of June, we desiered Land and anchored in seenteene fathomes three miles off shore: here we found in foure or fife Pits, three quarters of a mile from the waters side, water in abundance. I had fortie tunne out of one Well, which we rolled downe in Hogheads: the people tractable, little other refreshing. The latitude twentie-degrees twentie minutes, variation seenteene North-welthing. The Date Trees by the watering place bare North-west by West, the other end of the Iland North-east halfe East fave leagues off.

The twelfth wee set saile for the North-east end of *Maiera*, and in the afternoon anchored in seuen fathomes in a faire Bay, cleane ground, a fait blacke ozie land, the North-east point bearing South halfe a league off: the landing place West South-west two miles off: the Northern part of the Bay North by West foure miles off. The latitude twentie-degrees thirte minutes, variation seenteene North-west. You may ride in this Bay from fife to twelue, in what depth you will: an excellent, hungry, cold and healthfull place: but a tumbling, rolling Sea for ships: fresh water enough to be had in Pits digged, but except at the viall landing place, very ill to boate: yeelding no better refreshing then the first, a few Goats and Lambes in trucke for Cannekens.

Whiles the *Hart* and *Robuck* were here relused to stay till the Monsoons fury were past: on the nineteenth, we sent *Abdelauie* an inhabitant of *Maiera*, with Letters in their quest for the Admirall as farre as *Saor*, which returned the six of July, with Letters of their being there at *Saor*, seuen leagues within Cape *Rafalgate*; their difficult watering at *Tew*, surprisall of *Somans* the Chinnigun, and the Prechers Boy on Land by the *Portugals* and *Moor*es, &c.

The six of August, the *Hart* and *Robuck* set saile from *Maiera*: the eight in the evening we anchored by our Admirall: this Road differing from *Maiera*, in being calme, vially cleere, and by heat taking away the stomacke. The fifteenth set saile. The first of September a Boate of *Chaul* came aboard the *Robuck*, &c.

The one and twentieth of Nouember, our Fleet set saile from *Smally*, and anchored before the Barre of *Surat*. The seuen and twentieth at noone, latitude twentie, and by iudgement twentie eight leagues from neereff Land: we tooke leaue of the *Isafques* Fleet, consisting of the *London*, *Jonas*, *Whale*, *Dolphine*, *Lion*, *Rose*, *Shilling*, *Richard* and *Robert*.

The first of January we found our felues betwixt *Ishama* and *Mayota*. The nine and twentieth we anchored in *Soldania* Road: having bene from *Surat* higher nine weekes and three dayes, blessed be God for our life and speedie passage. Here we watered, walked, filled in the Ruier, buried our Letters, bought three Cowes, one Calf, foure sheepe, all vnsauourie meate.

The third of February, we set saile: the nineteenth, anchored at *Saint Helena*. Here we found the *Wappen* and the *Holland Dutch* ships: this last fell on fire the two and twentieth, with her Clouts taken in greene at *Ambosya*. There was another small *Dutch* ship. They arrived e-luen dayes before vs, and cannot in ten dayes more discharge and relade their dammed Clouts. The eight and twentieth, we set saile from *Saint Helena*: and the seuenth of June, 1622. anchored in the Downes.

For further satisfaction touching the fight, I have added this Letter or Relation sent to the Company from the Chiefe of the Fleet.

Relation

A Pite.

Emen. Affraudo
sent in supply
from Goa.

Maiera.

Cape Relafgate,
or Rafalgate (so
the Natives
call it)The Isafques
Fleet of nine
ships.

Relation of the fight of foure English ships with foure Portugall ships, two Gallies, and ten Frigats in the Gulfe of Persia, in the Monthes of December and January, 1620.

THe London and the Robucke arriving at Surar the ninth of December, there understood that the Portugalls had sent into the gulfe of Persia an Armado, purposely to attempt the English shipping at their coming thither, whereupon it was forthwith resolved by the English Admirals at Surar, & the Commanders of the above-named two ships, that they should apply themselves to the gulfe of Persia, to re-joyne themselves with two other English ships, namely, the *Hart* and the *Eagle* which parted from the London and Robucke before their coming to Surar, and were gone directly toward *Isques* in the said gulfe of Persia, and so the said London and Robucke set saile from Surar toward *Isques*, the nineteenth day of November, and so the said London and Robucke following, they met with the *Hart* and the *Eagle*, about eightie leagues short of *Isques*, where all the four ships joyning together, they received most certaine intelligence by a Portugall Frigate which they met, that the Portugall Armado consisting as aforesaid of four Gallions, two Gallians and about tenne Frigates, were attending them at the Easter end of *Isques* Road, where the English ships must come, and so went along towards the same, where the sixteenth day they found the said Portugall Armado, consisting in these particulars before named call the *Pride of Portugall*, the Vice-Admirall *Iohn Borralo*, and Inhabitant of *Ormuz*, and late Admirall of those Seas, of the other two ships the Commanders were *Antonio Musquet* and *Balthazar de Chaves*, this day proved calmes, so that it was night ere they came in shore one of another.

The seventeenth of December, being the Lords day, we intended to have sanctified his service being under saile a league to Sea-board of them, but about eight of the clocke with the Land turne, they weighed anchor and bore vp with vs, for whom (albeit they had the winde) we shortned saile and layed neere about nine of the clocke, we joynd fight with them, which continued vntill the darkness of the night iustly challenged an end to so long and weary a worke, they (like a kind Host to Strangers) leaving vs their anchoring place to lodge in, and retired some ten or eleuen miles to the Eastward, there to amend and repaire themselves; we cannot truly particulate vnto you their hurts and losses in this fight, save by reports of our Merchants, that *Iohn Borralo* their Vice-admirall, and the Captaine of one of the other ships, were slaine, with some thurtie or fortie men out of their Admirall, the rest yet unknowne. The losse or hurt of our men in your own ships, the inclosed Note of this seventeenth present, will make manifest. Thus for a time we were not disturbed by our enemies, though by contrary winds we could not get into the vfall Road before the twentieth current. The twentie one and twentie two, the most part of your goods was landed, and decrying the Portugall Gallions open of the Road, to come in, as we supposed, with the Sea-turne, we therefore let saile and stood off with them, but after some small time of bearing vp with the Sea-wind, they clapt upon a Lake, and were so fortunate vntill the eight and twentieth day, that either they being to windward we could not come at them, or else at anchor we could not, without our great disadvantage, meddle with them.

The eight and twentieth, being *Innocent* day, both Fleets riding at the Easter Points of the Road, not a mile distant one from the other; we omitted no opportunitee to giue battell to our wary protracting enemies, who, as by his working appeared, if hee could have auoyded fight, and by lingering delays, and the benefit of his Frigates, have hindered vs from the prosecution of your *Persian* designments, he attained vnto the full height and scope of his employments.

But about one of the clocke, the Lord sent vs a pretty gale, our Fleet weighed and put all things in order for to fight, the London and *Hart* next anchored within a Cables length from them vpon their broad sides, and so indured the hottest brunt of this two dayes fight, for no sooner were they at anchor but it fell calme and so continued all day, inmuch that the *Ree Bucke* and *Eagle*, who being somewhat aorne and steering neerer the shore, with intent to anchor one vpon the Dove of the Portugall Admirall, and the other vpon the Bowe of the Vice-admirall, could not notwithstanding all diligence used, come to doe any seruice in halfe an hours space, but being come neere anchored, and all our ships so fitted to keepe our broad sides full vpon them. The great Ordnance out of our whole Fleet played so fast vpon them, that about three of the clocke in the afternoon, not willing to indure so hot entertainment, they cut their Cables and with the Tyde droue downe from vs, vntill being without reach of our Ordnance, their Frigates came and towed them away wonderfully mangled and torne, for their Admirall in the hottest of the fight was enforced to heeld their ship to stop his leakes, his mayne top-mast our board, and the head of his mayne mast, the third ship both his top-mast, mizon mast, and part of his bow sprit were shot away, the lesser ship had neuer a broad left standing, nor neuer a top-mast; the Vice-admirall escaped best, for most commonly hee had one or other of their ships

ships betweene him and vs. All this night we kept them companie, with hope the next morning to haue giuen them all, or some of them, their Palle-port, but surueying our flote and finding no great store left, and withall considering the great weight and import of the voyage we had to performe, we refused our returne to *Isques*, for the speedy dispatching of our business in hand, thanking God for putting our enemies to flight before vs, of whom vnto the present writing hee self we haue heard no newes, neither are any of them arrived at *Ormuz* or *Mascat*, as our Merchants report, only it is rumored by some *Cassares*, who by swimming escape ashore, that *Roy Frere de Andrade* was slaine. All your ships, prayed bee God, to remayne seruicable, and not aboute five men slaine on our part in these two long and great battailes, and not many wounded, as by the List of their names here inclosed will appeare. Amongst whom our worthy Admirall and kind Commander, received a great and grievous wound through his left shoulder with a great shot, which hurt hee with such courage and patience vnder-went, that gaue great hope to vs all of his much wadded recouerie, but hauing besides his former wound two of his vppermost ribs on the left side broken; the sixt of Ianuarie, he departed this life, shewing himselfe (as euer before) a resolute Commander, so in his passage through the Gates of death, a most willing, humble, constant, and assured Christian, his body we intended to haue carried to *Surar*, and there according to his desires to haue performed his last funeral rights, the Chyrurgians confidently promising by imbalming and wax-cloth to preserve him without annoyance thither, but notwithstanding this coff and their premie, his body, in regard of his great wound, prouing noyome, we were enforced to bury him at *Isques*, which was effected the seuenth Current, with what respect, solemnitie, and decency the time required.

The thirteenth of Ianuarie, 1620. aboard the Ship London in *Isques* Road.

Vnder-written by all the foure Masters of the foure ships,

Ri. Blyth. Rob. Swan,
Chr. Browne. Will. Baffin.

WHiles we are publishing these things there are late newes of English *Persian* occurrences, as namely, that nine English ships haue bene in those *Persian* Seas, and together with the *Persian* haue paid part of their Portugall debt: *Chismon* in three dayes being taken, the spoile diuided betwixt them. Also the *Bassa of Xera* helped by the English both in feeding our men, and in belonging the Towne, hath in two dayes taken the Towne of *Ormuz*, the Castle holding out; though little hope remained of it, their water and all hope of helpe being taken from them. The English haue won much honour and reputation of valour; and if they take it, (besides sharing the spoile) are to haue the Castle committed to their keeping. They are said also to haue taken a rich ship, called the *Mosambique*.

Part of a Letter written from Mr. Robert Smith to his brother Henrie Smith, relating of a rare attempt and exploit of a small English Pinasse, in taking a Portugall ship.

IN our passage from Ioanna to this place, we lost sight of the *Rose* and *Richard*, but within five dayes after, the *Richard* came to vs with a Portugall prize at her sterne, which shee had taken that night we lost her company. It is a wonder to tell it. The *Richard* being a Pinasse of about twentie Tunnies, manned with fowerie: Ten and Boyes, and having but two small Talcotes on her, and the Port yall affore hundred and fiftie Tunnies, with two hundred and fiftie in her, whereof fowerie were Portugalls, the rest *Mestizos* and *Slaves*: the *Richard* coming up with them played her demer. Dogs so well, that in the shooting off twentie shot, it pleased God they killed their Captaine, which the rest perceiving strooke all their sailes amayne, and like tall men came aboard the *Richard*, fixe at a time, where the Master caused them to be bound: but fearing to haue too many aboard, though bound, he sent a terrible com-voy to the rest aboard, that vpon their lues they should depart their ship into their great Boat, which they very valiantly performed, and left their ship to the water disgrace of themselves and all their Nation, &c.

Giles Hobbs his traualle from Musco to Spahan, written in a Letter by himselfe to the East Indian Company.

Right Honorable, my dutie remembered, &c.

THe fourth of October last past a yeere since my arrival at Spahan, your then Agent Master Thomas Barker was then aduising for England, mentioning of my arrival, and also of his. The Barker appoint-

* This protested nature.

appointment to defend me to loone as he heard of the safe arrival of your shippes, but it pleased the Lord in the meane-time to take him from vs by a sudden death. Whose appointment was the first cause I omitted to write to your Honors; the second, a long & tedious journey by lers on the *Volga*, and also in this Land. The third cause, my Conuoy taken from me, and not suffered to pass: but with the Kings Carauan of Boats, for that the report was, the *Caspian* did purpose to make fight with the Carauan, which proved the contrary. It would be too long to trouble your patience to relate at large the accidents in this my journey, wherein little happened worthy your notice or expectation, or my hopes to effect your desires. I will therefore briefly make relation thereof.

The eighth of May, 1619. I set off from *Terrafane*, and arrived at *Astracan* the sixteenth of June, from whence I purposed to take my journey and passage for *Turkie*, and from thence by the Emperours Poile to passe the *Cherkeske* Countrey, and so for *Spahan* by Land. This passage I could not proceed of, but with the Emperours Carauan of provisions which would not bee in twelve dayes: in the interim, I enquired when the *Gulian* *Busse* would goe. The Matters and Merchants promised fourteen dayes at furthest; so I resolved to passe in them.

The tenth of July, I set off from *Astracan*, and by occasion of the Boats stay, to be cleared by the Searchers, it was the fifteenth *ditto*, our coming aboard the *Busse*.

The eighteenth *ditto*, the *Busse* set saile steering South till we made the *Persian* shoare, they were no Compasse but direct their course by the Sunne, Moone and Stars.

The sixe and twentieth *ditto*, we made land, hauing great tempest of wind at North-east; the land lying South and West; at evening the wind came of the land still increasing: the next day the *Busse* loit her saile from the yard, and for to fuccour her they hung vp fuge baskets, coutelets and Cow hides, throwing great store of the lading over-board; the first all our provision, after the goods: this night we had small rest, the next morning the wind was out of the Sea, and it pleased the Lord to bring vs in between a small lland and the mayne land, and both vs and the *Vesell* saued.

The eight and twentieth, the Master and most of vs went on land, the place called *Callof-fertay*, no Inhabitants: the wind increased still, that vntill the first of August, the Boate could not row aboard the *Busse*. This day the Merchants valued their goods, and the first *ditto*, were procured Hories for *Shumakee*, and arrived there ninth *ditto*.

The *Busse* bound her selfe for a Port called *Beckee*, to lade Necessities she proceeded for *Gulian*, the nineteenth of August, I departed with the *Casala* from *Shumakee*, & arrived at *Ardenwill*, the nine & twentieth of the same. The ninth of September, with the *Casala* I departed *Ardenwill*, & arrived at *Spahan*, the fourth of October, 1619. thus in briefe you may please to vnderstand of my long journey from *Terrafane* to *Spahan* in *Persia*, no less then five monethes, which, no doubt, might be done in eleven or twelve weekes, if no lets in the way, as in these subsequents I shall declare.

The first passage is at the opening the River *Volga*, from *Terrafane* to *Astracan*, and so to *Turkie* by water, which may be done in five and twentie dayes, and from *Turkie* by the Emperours Conuoy to *Derbeus* or *Shumakee*, Cities vnder this King, and from those Cities to *Ardenwill* and *Casbin* with *Casala*, and from *Casbin* as they please to *Spahan*, the way cleere, and may be effected, as abovesaid.

The second passage is to come off from *Terrafane* the first of Iune vntill the tenth *ditto*, and if no let may be at *Astracan*, in eighteen or twentie dayes, in good time to take the first passage in the *Gulian* *Busse* for *Leggins*, a league from *Lagen*, and from *Relhe*, from whence this yeares Silke was taken, seven leagues, and from thence to *Spahan*, sixteen dayes journey. This may proue the pleasantest passage, if it please God to lend favourable wind to passe the *Caspian* Seas; from *Astracan* Sea passage is to be had in Iuly, August and September.

The third passage, which no doubt, may be procured by your Honours Agent there, is to haue your Letters sent from *Musca*, by the Emperours Poile to the Gouverneur of *Astracan*, to send the said Letters, if our land, to the Chan of *Shumakee*, to be sent to the English Nation at *Spahan*, by the Chan's Poile, if by Sea to *Gulian* to the Gouverneur of *Relhe*, accordingly to be sent to the English at *Spahan*: the charge to be defrayed by your Honours Agents, and no doubt, so long as you haue Trade, your Letters by these Gouvernours will be safely diuerred: and for the better safetie of them, the Agent may at his next going to the King, procure two *Firmans* to those Gouvernours to that effect: and thus much for the needfull transport of your Letters from *Musca* to *Spahan* in *Persia*.

I will now returne and speake something of the Trade at *Astracan*: the Mart beginneth at the arrivall of the Boats which is in Iune: at which time the *Persian* come in, and bring dyed Silke, Dorogoes, Callicoes and other *Persian* stufes, which they sell by retayle and in barter. The Commodities they returne are cloth, but no (great quantitie) Sables, Martens, redd Hides, Caviare, Butter, the hinder-part of Horie Skins, for Leather, and olde *Russe* Money which they buy at fortie foure and fortie fixe *d per ruble* for exchange. These are the Commodities likewise the *Busse* transports whereon he makes small profit the olde money failing, and your Honours Trade here will preiudice him much, if not quite ouerthrow his Trade.

In

In my Passage on the *Volga*, I held nothing worthy notice except the taking the Sturgeon, and the making the Caviare and Isinglas. The River they pale in from banke to banke, that no Sturgeon passe vp or downe the River, but they fall in the weetes. The Roe they lay in salt fourteen or fifteen dayes; then take and wash the file of them, and packe them in the Fac. The fat Sturgeon hath a yellow Roe; which they packe vp as in cometh to hand, which Roe they leath all that lyeth nere it, and wash himselfe the file of the Caviare at our Markets. The Isinglas is made of the string taken out of the Sturgeons backe. This yeare the But of Caviare sold at *Buzrubet* the hundred, and fixe *rubles*.

Gentlemen, I am bound by Commission to aduize how many dayes from *Astrak* to the *Caspian* Sea and to *Astracan*. From *Astrak* to *Derbeus* a Port Towne ten dayes journey. This Port lyeth opposite to the River *Volga*, and may be sayled in five dayes. All other places where the Kings Silke is made, I ye negre the Sea, as *Relhe*, *Pemim*, *Shoff* and *Legane*, in the Province of *Gulian*, the furthest eight leagues from the Ports. In *Monendroon*, is the Plantation for the making of Silke, and this yeares good quantitie made, of which as yet hath neuer profited bene made for his goodnesse. Thus much for necessitie of the places where the Silke is made to the *Caspian* Sea, by which your Honours may perceiue how necessary the Silke doth lye for its transport by the way of the *Volga*, if passage might be procured from the Emperours of *Moscow*; whereas now they are carryed three moneths journey by land to the Port, and not without great charges and trouble, as by the generall aduise you will vnderstand; to which I humbly referre you.

Gentlemen, this your *Persian* Trade, as it is in her infancy hath many Enemies, the *Turks*, *Arabs*, *Armenians*, and the proud *Portugall*, whole lying tongue clealeh not to dishonour our Kingdome and Nation, but the Lord, I hope, will turne the dishonour upon his owne pate.

The ouerthrow of the three first Enemies must be by the presence of an Ambassade here, who, no doubt, would perfwade and pull downe the Kings now loftie price of his Silke as you will well find in this yeares Silke received, and no abatement to be expected, but by treatie of an Ambassade, who hath bene expected and demanded for by this King: also to accord an agreement with the King for the Silke that is most in esteeme, and profitable for you; and as he is turned Merchant for sale of his Silke, so likewise to be your Merchant for the goods you shall yearly send into his Land, at such prices as may controuert the price he sets on his Silke. But I doubt, you will say I passe the bounds of my Commission or order in writing this *Rela-tion*, of which might be spoken at large. But doubtlesse, not more then your graue wilfulness doe force, or the better experienced then my selfe doe aduise, to which I humbly referre your Honours, praying the success may prout to your hearts desires.

Gentlemen, I am sorry you thinke me not worthy to nominate me your seruant in your Letters, and more sorry you write me funeral names and not mine owne name, for which cause I haue bene a daily table sport by some, which of these names they may take for your Honours Seruant, others with me to returne and make my wages with you: and had I good occasion in your Honours employment I should be very willing thereto; but howsoever I referre me to God and your Honours, not doubting, but you will deale as well with mee as others, and that I may not returne as promised I willingly remayne your Honours obediēt seruāt ready to vndergoe any your Affaires, desiring your Honours will please to nominate mee a certaine yearly stipend for the time I shall so spend vntill my returne to your Honours, for which I shall bene bound to pray for your Honours helpe and happinesse in this World, and in the World to come eternall rest.

Your Honours may please that yesterday we received a Letter from the Agent from Port *Isaf-guer*. A second Letter directed to Master *William Bell* and the rest at *Spahan*, aduizing the truth as nere as they can be informed, the occasion of your Honours being not arrivall as yet; to which I humbly referre you. Being ordered also by the Agent that the Copie thereof should be dispended to your Honours, I haue fitted those former Lines, long by you expected, of a briefe Relation of my Journey from *Terrafane* to *Spahan* in *Persia*, also the fittest time for transport of your Letters to haue speediest passage.

Since my arrivall here at *Mina* with the last Casla of Silke, nothing hath happened worthy your Honours notice. We expect hourly to heare the happy newes of the safe arrivall of the ships at Port *Isaf-guer*, that wee may proceed thither with your goods, which God of his mercie grant; to whose blessed tuition I ever commend your Honours; and rest,

Mina, the thirteenth of December, 1620.

Your Honours obliged Seruant,

GILES HOBE.

HON.

HONDIVS his Map of the East Indies.



CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse of Trade from England unto the East Indies: Answering to divers Objections which are usually made against the same.

Written by T. MUR.

THe trade of Merchandise, is not only that laudable practise whereby the intercourse of Nations is so worthily performed, but also (as I may terme it) the very Touchstone of a Kingdoms prosperitie, when therein some certaine rules shall be diligently observed. For, as in the estates of private persons, we may account that man to prosper and grow rich, who being possessed of revenues more or lesse, doth accordingly proportion his expenses; whereby he may yearly advance some maintenance for his posteritie. So doth it come to passe in those Kingdoms, which with great care and warinesse doe ever content out of their home commodities; when they import and use of forraigne wares; for so undoubtedly the remainder must returne to them in treasure. But where a contrary course is taken, through wantonnesse and riot; to over-raise both forraigne and domestick wares; there must the money of necessity be exported, as the means to helpe to furnish such excess, and so by the corruption of mens conditions and manners, many rich countreys are made exceeding poore, whilst the people thereof, too much affecting their owne mormities, doe lay the fault on something else.

Wherefore, industry to encrease, and frugallitie to maintaine, are the true watchmen of a Kingdoms treasury; even when the force and force of Princes prohibitions cannot possibly retaine the same.

And therefore, as it is most plain, that proportion or quantitie, must ever be regarded in the importing of forraigne wares; so must there also be a great respect of qualitie and use; that so, the things most need-

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ful to be first preferred; such as are foode, rayment, and munition for war and trade; which great blessings, when any Countrey doth sufficiently enjoy; the next to be procured are wares, fitting for health, and art; the last, are those which serve for our pleasure and ornament.

Now, forasmuch as by the providence of Almighty God, the Kingdom of England, is endowed with such abundance of rich commodities, that it hath long enjoyed, not only great plenty of the things before named, but also, through a superfluitie, hath beene much enriched with treasure brought in from forraigne parts; which hath given life unto so many worthy trades, amongst which that unto the East India by name: the report whereof, although it is already spread so famous through the world; yet notwithstanding, here at home, the clamorous complaints against the same, are growne so loud and generally; that I (my selfe being one of the Society, it hath much troubled my private meditation, to conceive the means to rise grounds of this confusion. But at the last I resolved my selfe, that the greatest number of these exclamations are led away in ignorance; not having as yet discerned the mysteries of such weighty affairs: Some have beene transported with envy, as not participating in the said Society, or being thereby hindered (as they conceive) in some other trade and others, wholly corrupted in their affections, who whilst they willingly runne into these errors, doe also labour diligently to seduce others; that so, this good and glory of the Kingdom, might be subverted by our selues; which by the policie and strength of Strangers, cannot so easily be abated; wherefore, it is now a fit time to meete with such misivious confes, by a true Narration of the passages in the said East India Trade; answering to those severall objections; which are so commonly made against the same: That so these misunderstandings and errors, may be made knowne unto the whole body of this Kingdom, which at this present time is most worthily represented to those noble assemblies of the high Courts of Parliament; where I hope the worth of this rich Trade, shall bee effectually inquired, and so in the end obtaine the credit of an honorable approbation.

The first Obiection.

It were a happie thing for Christendome (say many men) that the Navigation to the East Indies, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, had never been found out; For in the fleets of ships, which are sent thither yearly out of England, Portugall, and the Low-countreys; The Gold, Silver, and Coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this Kingdom, is exhausted, to buy unnecessary wares.

The Answer.

THe matter of this Obiection is very weighty, and therefore it ought to be answered fully; to the which that I may the better performe, I will divide the same into three parts. In the first, I will consider the necessary use of the wares, which are usually brought out of East India into Europe; namely, Drugges, Spices, Raw-silke, Indico, and Callicottes. In the second, I will imitate the manner and means by which the said wares have beene heretofore, and now are brought into Europe. In the third and last, I will prove, that the treasure of England is not consumed, but rather greatly to be increased, by the performance of the said Trade.

Touching the first, who is so ignorant in any famous commonwealth, which will not consent to the moderate use of wholesome Drugges and comfortable Spices? Which have been so much desired in all times, and by so many Nations, not thereby to liveate, or to please a licentious taste (as it often happeneth, with many other fruites and wines) but rather as things most necessary to preserve their health, and to cure their diseases; even as it is most notably felt fourth by some learned men, who have undertaken to write vpon this subtil and therefore it shall be altogether needlesse here to discourse vpon their severall operations and vertues, seeing that he that listeth, may be well instructed therein; if hee will peruse the Volumes which are penned by the learned, for the benefit of all those who shall make use thereof.

But if peradventure it be yet further urged, that divers Nations live without the use of Drugges and Spices: the answer is, That either such people know not their vertue, and therefore find much by the want of wares for healthfull, or else they are most miserable, being without means to obtaine the things which they so much want: but since I intend to be briefe, I will insist no further vpon this point: For the Ousesters might aswell denie vs the use of Sugars, Wines, Oyces, Raylons, Figges, Peines, and Currants; and with faire more reason, exclaim against Tobacco, Cleth of Gold and Silver, Lawnes, Cambricks, Gold and Silver-lace, Velvets, Satins, Taffates, and divers other manificatures, yearly brought into this Realme for an infinite value: all which as it is most true, that whilst we consume them, they likewise deplete our wealth; yet nevertheless, the moderate use of all these wares hath ever fared well with the riches and Maiestie of this Kingdom.

PPP

But

The first part concerneth the use of Indian wares.

Sir Thomas Eliot his Cause of health, Remedy to his history of Plagues. The French Academie second part, and others.

These are the
the Countries
of the East
Indies, which
make great
quantities of
wrought silke,
or which were
they were
heretofore
used from Italy,
France, Italy,
Spain, Sicily,
and other
Countreys.

The second
part
Sheweth the
manner & the
mannerly
which India
wares have
been & now
are brought
into Europe.

Rates upon all
forts of Spices,
as, per cent.
raw Silke &
fleeced about
10. per cent.
Indico about
8. per cent.

Such people
as offend not
of this Kingdom

The quantity
of Spice, Indico,
and Persian
raw Silke,
yeerly consumed
in Europe.

But I will come to the raw Silkes and Indico, this being so excellent for the dying of our
woollen clothes, thereby to much esteemed in so many places of the world; that ornament,
continually employed, in the winding, twisting, and weaving of the same: Infomuch, that by
the cherishing of this business (as his Majesty for his part is graciously pleased to performe, in
Arre to furnish with no lesse happinell to this Kingdom, then it hath done (through many
Prouinces of the Low-Countreys.

Now as touching the Trade of Callicoes, of many sorts, into which the English lately made
an entrance, although it cannot be truly said, that this commoditie is profitable, for the sake of
Christendome in general (in respect that these are the manufacture of Infidels, and in great part the
mon-wealth in particular, not only therewith to increase the trade into foraine parts, but also
thereby greatly to abate the exorbitant prices of Cambricks, Holland, and other sorts of Linnen
cloth, which daily are brought into this Kingdom for a very great summe of money. And this
manner and means of their importing into Europe.

It is an error in those men; who thinke that the trade of the East Indies into Europe had first
entrance, by the discovery of the Navigation by the Cape of Good Hope. For many yeeres be-
fore that time, the traffike of those parts had his ordinary course by shipping from diuers places
in the Indies, yeerly resorting with their wares to *Mocha* in the Red-Sea, and *Balsera* in the
Persian Gulfe: From both which places, the Merchandise (with great charges) were after trans-
Alexandria in Egypt, (which are in the Mart Townes, from whence diuers Nations, as well
to *Turkey* as *Christians* doe continually disperse the said Wares by Sea into the parts of Europe,
which did greatly impair and much his Subjects, and also fill the Coffers of his owne Customes,
that he exacted at very high rates; But by the providence of Almighty God, the discovery
of that Navigation, to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope (now so much frequented by
the English, Portuguese, and Dutch, and also attempted by other Christian Kingdomes) hath not
only much decayed the great Commerce betweene the *Indians* and the *Turkes* in the Red Sea,
but it hath also brought a further happinell unto Christendome in general, and to the Realme
of England in particular, for the venting of more English Commodities; and for exporting of
a lesse quantitie of Silver out of Europe unto the Infidels, by many thousand pounds yeerly,
then hath bene accustomed in former times; as I shall prouoe most plainly by that which fol-
loweth.

And first, it will be necessarie to set downe the quantitie of Spices, Indico, and *Persian* raw
silke (which is yeerly consumed in Europe) and in them all to consider the cost with the charges
to lade the same Commodities cleere aboard the ships from *Aleppo*; and the like of all the
said fine wares, as they have bene usually dispatched from the Ports of the East Indies; where-
in will appeare that the happinell, which many doe so much eppoe; especially our owne Coun-
treymen, vnder the guided termes of the Common-wealth; whilst bene indeed either igno-
rant, or ill affected, they doe not only grossly erre themselves, but also cause others to hinder as
much as in them lyeth, the glorie and wel-fare of this Kingdom; but knowing them, I will set
downe the said wares, in their quantitie and prices as followeth; and first,

At ALEPPO.

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of *Pepper*, cost with charges at two shillings the pound, fix
hundred thousand pound. Four hundred fiftie thousand pounds of *Cloues*, at four shillings
nine pence the pound, cost one hundred fiftie thousand eight hundred fiftie pence (tenne
shillings). One hundred fiftie thousand pounds of *Mace* at four shillings nine pence the
pound, cost there thirtie thousand five hundred twenty six pence. Four hundred thou-
sand pounds of *Nutmegs* at two shillings four pence the pound, cost fortie six thousand six
hundred fiftie six pence (three shillings four pence). Three hundred fiftie thousand of In-
dico, at four shillings four pence the pound, cost fortie six thousand six hundred thirtie
three pence, six shillings eight pence. One thousand thousand of *Persia* raw Silke at twelue
shillings the pound, come to fix hundredth thousand pound. The whole summe of all is
1465000. pounds, ten shillings.

Now follow the same Wares both for quantitie and qualitie at their severall prices, as they
are to be bought and laden cleere of charges.

In the East Indies.

Sixe thousand thousand pounds of *Pepper*, cost with charges at two pence halfe pennie the
pound, fixtie two thousand five hundred pound. Four hundred fiftie thousand pounds of
Cloues

Cloues at nine pence the pound, cost fixtence thousand eight hundred fiftie pence. One
hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of *Mace*, at eight pence the pound, cost one thousand pounds.
Four hundred thousand pounds of *Nutmegs*, at four pence the pound, cost fixtence thousand six
hundred and fiftie six pence (three shillings) four pence. Three hundred and fiftie thousand
pounds of Indico, at fourteen pence the pound, cost twentie thousand four hundred and six-
tence pounds twelue shillings four pence. Ten hundred thousand pounds *Persia* raw Silke, at
eight shillings the pound, cost four hundred thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is,
511458. pounds, 5. shillings, 8. pence.

So that by the substance, and summes of these accounts it doth plainly appeare, that the buy-
ing of the said quantitie of raw Silkes, Indico, and Spices, may be performed in the Indies, for
one third part of the ready moneys, which were accustomed to be sent into *Turkey* to pro-
vide the same: So that there will be saved every yeere the value of nine hundred thirtie three
thousand five hundred fortie three pounds four shillings four pence sterling, of ready moneys,
that heretofore hath bene exported out of *Christendome* into *Turkey*; which is a matter of
such note and consequence, that it may seeme incredible, before the circumstance be duly con-
sidered; and therefore lett I should leaue the matter in doubt, it is requisite, that I doe make an
explanation of some particulars.

And principally, it must not be conceited, that this great advantage which hath bene spon-
ken of, is only the Merchants gayne; for the Common-wealth of *Christendome*, hath a very
great part thereof in the cheape of the Wares, as shall be (God willing) proued hereafter in
his due place.

Secondly, the time of the Merchants forbearance and interest is very long; this adventure
and assurance much dearely; his charges of Shipping, Victuals, Mariners, and Factors, their wages,
farre greater then by the voyage into *Turkey* for the same Wares: so that the former great diffe-
rence must be understood in these particulars: whereby we may perceive to our comfort, that
the materials of the Kingdom, and the employments of the Subjects (in lieu of ready mo-
ney) becomes a very great part of the price which is payed for the said *Indian* Wares; which
cannot hurt the State (as some erroneously suppose) but greatly helps it, as I shall better proue
in that which followeth.

First therefore, I shew for an vndoubted truth, that the *Persians*, *Moorres*, and *Indians*, who
trade with the *Turkes* at *Aleppo*, *Mocha*, and *Alexandria*, for raw Silkes, Drugs, Spices, Indico,
and Callicoes; haue alwayes made, and still doe make their retournes in ready money: for
other Wares, there are but few which they desire from foraine parts; some Chamlets, Corral,
wrought Silke, woollen Cloth, with some trifles, they doe yeerly vent in all, not for above fortie
or fiftie thousand pounds sterling; which is no valuable summe in respect of that wealth which
is carried from *Aleppo* and *Constantinople* into *Persia* for raw Silkes; when least, fix hundred
thousand pounds sterling per annum: and from *Mocha* about fix hundred thousand pounds
sterling (likewise yeerly into *India*) for retourn of Callicoes, Drugs, Sugar, Rice, Tobacco,
and diuers other things. So here is still a very great commerce maintained betweene those In-
dels; not only for the Callicoes of many sorts, and other Wares (which concerne their owne
vie) but also for the raw Silkes of *Persia*, which is it that were in the English East India Com-
pany the more good hope to turne a great part of this wealthie Trade into England, by
shipping directly from the *Persian* Gulfe, whereby the employments, traffike, and Customes of
the *Turkes*, may be still more and more impaired, and the special Treasures of *Christendome* much
lesse consumed; as is already performed for the business of Spices and Indico.

And who shall then doubt our want of Silver to maintain the Trade? if by this way we doe
obtaine the Silke, which with more advantage and conuenience will draw the money to this
Mart, then it hath bene heretofore conveyed vnto the remote Dominions of the *Turke*.

And lett peradventure it should be thought, that the traffike in those parts by the *Christians*
for the *Persian* Silke, is performed by change for other Wares, or by the money which proce-
deth of the sales of many rich Commodities, which yeerly they sell at *Aleppo*, *Alexandria*,
Constantinople, and these parts. The answer is, that neither the *Venetians*, *French*, nor *Dutch*,
doe vent to much of their owne Countrey Commodities in those parts, as doe provide their ne-
cessarie wants of the proper Wares of *Turkey*: such as are the fine raw Silke made in *Soria*,
Chamlets, *Grogans*, *Cotten Wools*, *Cotten Yarn*, *Gills*, *Flax*, *Hemp*, *Fleeces*, *Woolles*, *Rice*,
Hides, *Waxes*, and diuers other things; so that shall the raw Silkes of *Persia*, must be bought
with ready money. Only the English haue more advantage then any other Nation in this
kind: for they vent so great a quantitie of Broad-clothes, *Timme*, and other English Com-
modities, that the proceed thereof, doth not only provide a sufficient quantitie of part of the said
Turkish Wares (which fit their vie) but also a proportion of about three hundred great Ball of
Persia raw silke yeerly.

And if in any yeere they chance to buy a greater quantitie of Silke, then must and doe they
furnish the same in ready moneys from the Ports of *Marcellis*, *Genoua*, *Ligorne*, *Venice*, or the
Neighbour.

The exporta-
tion of the
value of 15541
sterling out of
Christendome
into Turkey
yeerly saved.

Influence only,
thence this
ings employed
in Europe in
the East Indies,
will require
thirtie and five
shillings for all
charges whoso-
ever to deli-
uer it in Lon-
don.

The great
summes of
money which
the *Persians*
and the *Indians*
carre yeerly
out of *Turkey*,
The East India
Company doe
endeavour to
bring the raw
Silkes from
Persia directly
by sea.

Otherwise ten-
dely yeerly
to *Aleppo* and
Alexandria, at
1. R 100000 l.
sterling, and
little or no
wares. *Persia*
leuds about
the value of
100000 l. and
a great value
in wares.
The Low-coun-
tries send a-
bout the value
of 10000 l.
sterling mo-
ney, and little
wares. *Persia*
15000 l. in
ready money.

Netherlands. Neither are these the only means, whereby the Empire of the *Turke* is so abundantly stored with Gold and Silver, to the performance of the *Indian Trade*. For, many are the *Christian* ships which yearly laden with Corn for ready moneys in the *Archipelago*, to the commerce from *Peland*, *Hungarie*, and *Germannie*; with Gold and Dollers, for *Chamelles*, *Grogans*, and other things: But that which is very remarkable, is the great quantitie of Gold, and some Silver coyned in *Orbid*, *Cair*, which by two severall Caravans (in Bullion) is yearly brought thither from the *Abyssin* Country in *Ethiopia*, for returne of many rich Commodities, as Velvets, Sattins, Cloth of Gold, Taffetas, wollen Cloth, polished Corral, and other things.

Thus by the coherence of the *Turkish Trade* with the *Christians*, *Persians*, and *Indians*, I have shewed both the manner and the means, whereby the *East Indian Wares* have beene heretofore, and yet are in part, procured into *Christendome*. But lest it should seeme incredible, that the *Turke* would let so great a mass of *Treasure* yearly to passe his Dominions, to the *Indians*; and to the *Persians* his professed enemies; I will make the matter yet more plaine.

And first concerning the raw Silkes, it is already shewed, that he hath the money from the *Christians*, besides the benefit he reapeth in their Customs, with great employments also for his Subjects. And for Callicoes (his whole Empire hauing little or no other means for Linen) he cannot possibly be without them, although it hath, and doth greatly exhaust his *Treasure*, neither doth he gayne any manufacture by the same, as the *Christians* have always done by the raw Silke, to the great reliefe of innumerable poore people, so much provided for, by the policie of all well governed and flourishing Common-wealths: As by this occasion, and in a bullethe of the like kind, I may instance the States of *Genouay*, *Florence*, and *Luce*; who for the maintenance of Arts and Trade, doe prouide raw Silkes out of *Sicilia* for the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling at least yearly; and for the payment thereof they doe vent at *Naples*, *Palermo*, *Messina*, and those parts, a certaine quantitie of *Florence* Rashes, and some other Wares, for about one hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling per annum; so the reliefe three hundred and fiftie thousand pounds sterling, is supplied all in ready moneys: which treasure they doe willingly forsake to procure their Trade: for experience hath taught them that Trade is their employment, and doth returne them *Treasure*, for by those Silkes (being wrought, transported, and sold at *Frankford* and other Martts) they haue the better means to furnish their Contracts with the King of *Spain* in *Flanders*; and so from *Spain* the Silkes must returne againe to *Italie*. But if I should runne out in this and other particulars (fitting our purpose) it would make me too tedious, and to carme mee beyond my ayme, which is to be briefe.

Wherefore I will proceed to cleere some doubts in those men, who perhaps not hauing the knowledge of occurrences in foraine parts, might thinke that neither *Venice*, nor *Marcella* haue the means or yet the minds, to export such great summes of ready moneys yearly out of those Dominions, especially *Marcella* being a part of *France*, where neighbourhood doth daily tell vs, that Gold and Silver may not bee conuayed out of that Kingdom, for any valuable summe, more then is permitted for the necessarie vse of Trauellers: yet neuertheless, experience hath likewise taught vs, that for the effecting of those Trades (whereof we now speake, and which they esteeme so much) there is a free extraction out of the said places, of moneys both gold and silver; whereof with them there is no want; for, the said Wares doe procure it abundantly.

First, to *Marcella*, it cometh not only from *Genouay*, *Ligorne*, *Cartagena*, *Mallaga*, and many other Port Townes of *Spain* and *Italy*, but also from *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Saint-Malliers*, *Tolouze*, *Reckell*, *Dreux*, and other Cities of *France*; who want not means to haue great store of Rials and Dollers from *Spain* and *Genouay*.

And in the like manner, the *Venetians* dispersing the said raw Silkes, and other Wares into the severall States of *Italie*, *Genouay*, and *Hungarie*, (who haue but few Commodities fitting their barter or exchange, but only moneys) are therewith abundantly served: for, the Mynes of *Hungarie* and *Genouay* afford good quantitie of Gold and Silver; and likewise the States of *Italie*, especially *Genouay*, *Florence*, and *Milane*, haue euery store of Rials out of *Spain* in satisfaction of many great disbursements, which those Merchants make for that King in his occasions of *Italie* and *Flanders*; of all which I might make a large discourse, but I conceiue I haue said sufficient, to shew how the Trade of the *East Indies* hath bene, and now is brought into *Christendome* generally; what money is yearly lent out, by whom, and the profitable or meane which they haue to performe it. I will therefore in the next place, shew the Obiectors, that it is not the *East India Trade*, which waiteth the Gold, and Silver, Coyne, or other treasure of this King come in particular.

For first, who knoweth not that Gold in the *East Indies* hath no rateable price with Silver? Neither hath the Silver coyne of *England* any equal value with the *Spanish* Rials according to their current prices here; besides that, his Maiestie hath not authorized the *East India Company*, to lend away any part of this Kingdoms Coyne, either Gold or Silver, but only a certain limited sum of tower silver yearly; which as they dare not exceed, so neuer haue they as yet accomplished

plished the same. For it doth plainly appeare in their bookes, that from the originall and first foundation of the Trade in *Anno* 1601. vntill the month of Iuly, *Anno* 1650. they haue shipped away onely five hundred fortie eight thousand and ninety pounds sterling in *Spanish* Rials, and some Dollers; whereas by licence, they might haue exported in that time seven hundred and twentie thousand pounds sterling. Also they haue laden away in the same terme of fiftie years, out of this Kingdom two hundred and nine hundred and eighty six pounds sterling in Broad-clothes, Ketties, Lead, Tinne, with some other *English* and foraine Commodities; which is a good Addition, and vent of our Wares, into such remote places; where heretofore they haue had no vtterance at all.

And note, I pray you, how time and industrie hath bettered this Trade, when in the last three years there hath bene sent more Wares to the *Indies*, then in the fiftie years before; and yet our expectation is not at the highest; for those new borne Trades within the Red Sea, and in the *Persian* Gulfe, doe bid vs hope for better things, as lately by Letters from *Spahan*, we vnderstand of great quantitie of raw Silke prepared by the *English* Factors, which (by Gods assistance) wee may expect here about the month of August next, with encouragement also to vent our *English* Cloth, and Ketties in good quantities; like of Iron, Tinne, and other things, whereof experience (of those already sold) hath giuen vs sufficient approbation of their validity.

And now (omitting much matter which might be written touching the discoueries of other Trades from one Kingdom or Port to another in the *Indies*, with the Commodities thereof; whereby the employment of our ships, together with the Stocke of money and goods which is sent out of *England* in them, may be much encreased) I will draw to a conclusion of the point in hand, and shew that whatsoever summes of foraine ready moneys are yearly sent from hence into the *East Indies*, his Maiestie in the Letters Patents granted to that Company, hath notwithstanding with singular care prouided, that the brethren of the Company, shall yearly bring in as much Silver, as they send forth; which hath bene always truly performed, with an ouerplus, to the increase of this Kingdoms treasure: Neither is it likely that the money which is thus contracted for by the Company at certaine prices, and to be deliuered them at times appointed, would be otherwise brought into *England*, but only by vertue and for the performance of the said Contracts: for, without this assurance of vent, together with a good price for the said moneys, the Merchants would vndoubtedly make their returns in other Wares; the vse and extraordinary custome whereof, would be found lesse profitable to the Common-wealth, when the matter should be duly considered, as I shall yet further endeavour to demonstrate.

And here I will suppose, That the *East India Company* may ship out yearly one hundred thousand pounds sterling; yet it is most certaine, that the Trade being thus driven, with summes of ready moneys, it will not decay, but rather much increase the treasure of the Kingdom: which to proue, I will briefly set downe the substance of the *English* Trade vnto the *East Indies*, concerning the quantitie of the severall sorts of Wares, to be yearly bought there, and sold here; with the vtual prices giuen for them in both places. And first, I will beginne with their cost and charges laden cleere aboard the ships in the *East Indies*.

In the East Indies.

Two thousand five hundred thousand pounds of Pepper, at two pence half-pennie the pound, cost twentie six thousand fortie one pounds thirtie shillings four pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Cloues, at nine pence the pound, cost five thousand six hundred twentie six pounds. One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at four pence the pound, cost two thousand five hundred pounds. Fiftie thousand pounds of Mace, at eight pence the pound, cost one thousand five hundred sixtie six pounds thirtie shillings four pence. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at fourteen pence the pound, cost eleven thousand five hundred sixtie six pounds thirtie shillings four pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand one hundred fortie pounds of China raw Silkes, at seven shillings the pound, cost thirtie seven thousand four hundred nintie nine pounds. Fiftie thousand of Callicoes of severall sorts, rated at seven shillings the piece one with another, fiftene thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, one hundred thousand pounds.

All the said Merchandise haue bene often experienced, or bought at or about the prices aboue written; and we doe hope for our parts (besides the Trade of raw Silkes from *Persia*) yearly, to lade from the *Indies*, such quantitie of the severall sorts of Wares as are here set downe (if it shall please his Maiestie, to protect and defend vs concerning the Articles of agreement made with the *Dutch*, that they may not violate any of them to our hindrance or damage) all which wares in *England* will yeeld (as I doe conceiue) the prices hereafter following, viz.

In ENGLAND.

Two hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Pepper, at twentie pence the pound, cost two hundred and eight thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds six shillings eight pence. One hundred and fiftie thousand of Cloues, at six shillings the pound, cost thirtie five thousand pounds

How much money and wares the *East India Company* haue sent forth out of this Trade.

The vent of *English* Wares encreased in the *Indies*.

Our stocke may be much increased by Trade from Port to Port in the *Indies*. For this is the former reason, of the Trade from *Suez* to *Athen*, and the Southern and further Eastern *Indies*; as thence also to the Red Sea &c.

The moneys sent to the *Indies* shall foraine Coyne. The *East India Company* are obliged to bring in as much money as they carrie out of the *Indies*. Tobacco, Rai-sons, Oyles, and Wines, which are wanted, and never, but rather too much Snouke. A proportion of such Trade as is hoped yearly to be brought into this Realme from *East India*.

Affens: a People in *Ethiopia* whose influence hath made them dull, lazy, and without arts; enioying dausers Mines of Gold, and some of Silver, which doe procure their wants of forraigne Wares.

Turkey hath little means for Linen but onely from *Italie*.

The proceedings of some States in *Italie* for the maintenance of Arts.

The ready moneys which are yearly carried from some States of *Italie* into *Sicilia*.

How *Marcella* and *Venice* are furnished with ready moneys.

The Italian Merchants doe furnish the King of *Spain* with money in *Italie* and *Flanders*.

The third part doth then shew how the *East India Trade* doth enrich this Kingdom.

How much the Kingdoms Stock may increase yearly by trading to the East Indies. 500,000 s. of shipping will bring home all the wares afore written from the East Indies. And the materials of the said shipping (wrought) is worth about 250,000 sterling. India wares will bring needs more money into the Realm. We have no other means to procure Treasure but by Trade and Merchandize. The French and the Venetians send the value of 600,000 sterling yearly in ready money into Turkey. Trade maketh some States very rich which have little other means. If the general Trade of this Kingdom doth export a greater value in wares than it does import yearly, then doth our treasure increase. The Trade to the East Indies may be said to export 800,000 pounds and to import 150,000 l. yearly. So the overbalance is 650,000 sterling. Every action ought effectually to be considered in this end. The East India wares are sold beyond the Seas, are sold and have their full value in money, which might be

One hundred and fiftie thousand pounds of Nutmegs, at two shillings six pence the pound, colt eighte thousand seven hundred and fiftie pounds. Fiftie thousand pound of Mace, at fixe shillings the pound, colt fiftene thousand pounds. Two hundred thousand pounds of Indico, at five shillings the pound, colt fiftie thousand pounds. One hundred and seven thousand one hundred fourtie pounds of China raw Silkes, at twentie shillings the pound, colt one hundred and rated at twentie shillings the piece one with another, colt fiftie thousand pounds. The whole summe of all is, four hundred nintie four thousand two hundred twentie three pounds fixe shillings eight pence.

So that here would be our owne money againe and more, the summe of three hundred nintie four thousand two hundred twentie three pounds fixe shillings eight pence advanced towards the general Stocke of the Kingdom. For although the East India Company shall discharge the greatest part of the said summe advanced unto his Maiestie for Custome and Importing Virtuals, Munitions, Assurance and the like: yet all these (the Materials of shipping onely excepted) are but transmutations and no consumption of the Kingdoms Stocke.

But if any man object and say, that the said Commodities being brought into England (as is before written) they are either consumed in the Land, or being transported into foraine parts, they are changed into other Wares: So that still we want our hundred thousand pounds in ready money. The answer is, First, that in the occasion of this dispute, we must conceive the said Wares to be of no use for this Kingdom, but onely for so much as is sold abroad. Trade thereof. And Secondly, in the said Trade we must consider, that although the said goods be sent out, and returned home in other Wares from foraine parts; yet still, they are negotiated to the increase of the said Stocke, and for the employment of the Subj. s. Lastly, if there be a resolution to determine end the business: who doubteth, that the whole value may not be presently returned higher in ready monyes? For in India, Turkey, and other places, where they are most vendible to profit, there likewise is the money free to be exported at all times and by whomsoever.

And as it is most certaine, that some other Merchandize, sent out of this Kingdom; were the means to bring in the hundred thousand pounds in ready monyes, which is here supposed to be sent and employed in the East Indies (as aforesaid) to likewise, there is the same power in these Indian wares, to procure other summes of ready monyes, to be brought into this Kingdom: For let not man doubt, but that money doth attend Merchandize, for money is the prize of wares, and wares are the proper vie of money; so that their coherence is inseparable. And if the French and the Venetians, made any doubt of this, they would not so willingly permit the value of fixe hundred thousand pounds sterling, or more in Spanish Rials and Dollars, yearly to be carried out of their Dominions into Turkey: whereof three quarter parts at least are employed, onely for the buying of Persia raw Silkes, which commoditie doth presently enable them with ready money from divers other States to procure the Trade; whereby their wealth doth much increase, and their people are greatly imployed. So to conclude this point, I will enely adde, that the East India Trade alone (although it be driven in no ampler manner than is afore written) is a means to bring more treasure into the Realme then all the other trades of this Kingdom (as they are now managed) being put together. For if the rule be true, that when the value of our commodities exported doth over-balance the worth of all those foraine wares, which are imported and consumed in this Kingdom, then the remainder of our stocke which is sent forth, must of necessity returne to vs in Treasure. I am confident, that upon a diligent and true inquisition it will be found, that the over-balance of all our other Trades together, will not amount unto so great a summe of money as the East India Trade alone doth over-balance in this kinde.

And to make the matter yet more plaine, whereas it is already said that one hundred thousand pounds in money exported, may import about the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling, in wares from the East Indies, we must understand that part thereof to be properly called our importation: that this Realme doth consume, which is about the value of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling yearly. So the remainder being three hundred and eighty thousand pounds, is matter exported unto foraine parts in the nature of our Cloth, Lead, Tin, or any other native commodities, to the great increase of this Kingdoms Stocke, and that also in so much treasure, so farre as the East India Trade can be rightly understood to subsist in this particular. For as all humane actions have their Termination and Ends, so likewise there must be an end assigned unto the affaires of the East Indies; which are then truly said to be finished, when this Realme is furnished, and the remainder of those Wares which are sent from hence beyond the Seas, sold thereon converted into money; which likewise from thence may be brought away freely and without the danger of Law, or prohibition. Forasmuch therefore as it is well knowne to many men, that monyes are thus procured by the Sales of Indian Wares to profit, in the parts of Turkey, and at Ligerne, Genoway, the Netherlands, Marcellis, and other places:

ces: yet notwithstanding if all the said Coyne, or any part thereof should bee diverted from this Realme by some other new employments or affaires, it must nevertheless bee granted, that the said India wares had their full end in monies. But I will cease to heape up any more arguments, to prove a matter which is already made so plaine; wherefore leaving this Objection, I will endeavour to give Answer to the next.

The second Obiection.

10 The Timber, Planke, and other materials, for making of shipping, is exceedingly wasted, and made dearer, by the building of so many great Ships, as are yearly sent to Trade in the East Indies; and yet the State hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home very weak and unserviceable.

The Answer.

THIS East India Trade seemeth to be borne and brought up on Unbrist, for it wasteth and consumeth all; Neither doth it good to any.

10 1 But the Objection, in some part is very weak:
2 And in the rest it is mistaken.

For first, concerning the weakness thereof, would men have us to keepe our woods and goodly trees to looke upon: they might aswell forbid the working of our woods, and sending forth our cloth to foreign parts; for both are means alike to procure the necessary wares, which this Kingdom wanteth. Do they not know that trees doe live and grow: and being great, they have a time to dye and rot, if opportunely made no better use of them: and what more noble or profitable use then goodly ships for Trade and Warre? Are they not our Barnes for wealth, and pleasure, serving us wals and bulwarks for our peace and happiness? Do not their yearly building; maintaine many hundred poore people, and greatly increase the number of those Artificers which are so needfull for this Common-wealth? And is not all this good performed also (with great providence) by bringing in yearly store of Timber, and other provisions from Ireland? Why then, where is the great waste and dearthness? I am sure, the East India Company finds it not; for whereas they doe onely buy their provisions in Hampshire, Essex, Kent, and Berkshire, in all which places they now may have both Timber, Planket, Sheathing boards, Treants and the like, both for goodnesse and price, as cheap (yea better cheape) then they have bene this fiftene yeeres; and likewise if without conside of time their Boakes doe plainly show that these wares have never wanted much; first if they have risen any small matter in one yeare, they have fallen as much the next.

And yet I pray you observe (besides the East India Companies building) the many goodly ships which are daily made for other private Merchants (such as England never had before) and that which is most remarkable, is the continuall late building of his Maiestie, thereby yearly adding more strength and glory of great ships, to his Royall and matchlesse Navy; so that here we see this supposed waste and want is not considerable.

Yea but, say they, the East India ships are never here to serve the Kingdom upon occasion: Or if they be at home, they are weak and unfit for service.

In Trade of Merchandize our ships must goe and come, they are never to stay at home; Yet nevertheless, the East India Company are well prepared at all times, to serve his Maiestie and his Kingdoms, with many warlike provisions, which they alway keepe in store; such as Timber, Plankes, Iron-works, Mails, Cordage, Anchors, Cakes, Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Ordnance ready packed, Wine, Sider, and a World of other things, fitting the present building, repairing, and dispatch of ships to Sea as may be plentifully seen in their yards and fore-houses at Deptford, and more especially in those at Black-wall, which are growne so famous, that they are daily visited and viewed by strangers, as well Embassadors as others: to their great admiration of his Maiesties strength and glory, in once only Company of his Merchants, able at their warning to set forth a Fleet of ships of great force and power.

For it is well knowne to all men who please truly to be informed, that the East India Company (besides their Fleets of ships going and coming, and also abiding in the Indies) are continually building, repairing, rigging, victualling, and fittesing to Sea, with all provision needfull for such a long Voyage, some seven or eight great ships yearly; which are to be sent at an Anchor in the River of Thames in a great forwardesse some five or six months together, before they commonly depart for the Indies, which is about the month of March: and they are so fitter off from the Coast of England, but (very often, as the season of our shippes to returne from the Indies; who come we home so weak as some would have them; for how often hath experience bene made of our ships which have performed two or three severall Voyages to the East Indies? Yet at their returne, they have bene so laden, new remanned, and fittesed out againe: fitted as the like Voyages, in less then two months. But will be needfull to spend any more time in showing the errors of this second Objection; therefore I will rather come to the handling of that which followeth.

brought into this Realme in that kind, if our other Trades did not dispute the time.

The first Part concerneth the folly of the Objection.

The promise of the East India Company for Timber and Planket. The East India Trade hath not increased the materials which serve to make ships.

The second Part sheweth the mischief in this Objection. The Warlike provision which the East India Company receive in for. His Maiesties strength in the British Company alone.

The shippes which returne from the East Indies, are not so weak as some would have them; for how often hath experience bene made of our ships which have performed two or three severall Voyages to the East Indies? Yet at their returne, they have bene so laden, new remanned, and fittesed out againe: fitted as the like Voyages, in less then two months. But will be needfull to spend any more time in showing the errors of this second Objection; therefore I will rather come to the handling of that which followeth.

The

There remains yet in the East Indies to be returned home from them about 400000 pounds sterling.

Concerning the decay of shipping and Trade into Turkey.

The Turkey Merchants can and will testify this truth.

The strength of the East India ships.

The fourth part concerns the poverty of widowers, &c. The East India Trade doth employ many poor men, & debauched people which other Trades refuse. Water before hand is not given in other Merchants Voyages; neither yet to great wages as the East India Company pay.

the eight pounds sterling: so that I am confident, that there yet remaineth four hundred thousand pounds sterling of good estate, for both the joynt Stockes. And what a great value of *Indies* goods this summe of money may (by Gods blessing) shortly returne in our ships, which are there ready to bring them, the example here doth teach vs to make up the reckoning. So that notwithstanding our great charges of Discoueries, our losses by the danger of the Seas, our quarrels and infinite hinderance by the *Dutch*: yet here the Kingdome hath and shall haue her stocke againe with a very great increase, although the Merchants gaine concerning the two joynt stockes will proue but poore, in respect of the former Voyages, which haue not had the like hinderance.

And thus in a few lines may be seen, much matter truly collected with some paines, out of 10 the diuers Volumes of the East *Indies* Bookes.

Now concerning the decay of Trade and shipping which were wont to bee employed into Turkey, I doubt, that in time it will likewise be affirmed, that the East *India* Company, haue hindered the vent of our white Cloth in the *Netherlands*, which to report were a very strange thing. But (prayed be God) to our comfort, we see the great increase of goodly shippes, daily built and employed by the Turkey Merchants, with vent of more of our *English* Cloth (by one third part at least) then in times before the East *India* Trade began.

Yea, but (say they) wee haue lost the Trade of Spices, and Indico from *Aleppo* into *England*.

Well, I grant they haue; yet the Kingdome hath found it with more profit by another way, and they likewise are recompensed with a greater Trade, by the exporting from hence of the selfsame Commodities into *Italy*, *Turkey*, and other places: neither can it be lesse profitable for this Kingdome, to turne the Trade of raw Silkes from *Aleppo*, and to bring them from the *Persian* Gulfe, with one third part less money, then it doth now cost in *Turkey*. Besides, that by this means, the money proceeding of our *English* Cloth, Tinnie, and other wares in *Turkey* (not finding Commodities fitting to returne for *England*) would undoubtedly bee brought home in Gold, as it hath been performed heretofore, when by superfluite of the said wares, hence in Spice, together with our *English* wares; the Merchants (being thereby furnished with a sufficient quantitie of *Turkish* Commodities) brought home the remainder of their stocke of those yeares in gold for a great value.

Thus doth it plainly appere, that these resolutions of Trades, haue and doe turne to the good of the Common-wealth; neither hath the affaires of the East *Indies* impayed or decayed any other Trade, Shipping or Mariners of this Realme; but hath mightily increased them all in it selfe. Wherefore let vs now take a view of this Noble addition of the Kingdomes strength and glorie.

But this I must not doe, by setting downe the number of our *English* shipping now in the *Indies*, or lately gone that ways for they haue beene heaped thither, these three last yeares together without returne, save only few shippes in all that time; the rest haue been kept there to oppose the furie of the *Dutch*; but now wee are at vnion, wee shall (by Gods assistance) daily expect diuers great ships with rich returns.

And for the future time, this Trade I conceiue, will royally maintaine tenne thousand 40 turnes of shipping continually. (That is to say) going, and returning, and abiding there in the *Indies*; which said shipping will employ two thousand and five hundred Mariners at least; and the building with the repaying of the said ships, here at home will set to worke five hundred men, Carpenters, Cawkers, Carriers, Ioyners, Smiths, and other Labourers, besides many Officers; and about one hundred and twentie Factors, in severall places of the *Indies*. And so from these matters of great consequence, I must begin to write of Beggerie.

The povertie of Widowes and Fatherlesse is matter of great compassion, and doth alwaies moue Christian hearts to commiseration and charitie; whereby many receive reliefe and helpe of those whom God hath blessed with better means: but how this povertie should totally be prevented, it seemeth not onely difficult, but altogether impossible: For besides the euill accidents and miseries, which euer attend on our humanitie, we see how many child (euen through their owne folly and wilfulnesse) doe as it were desperately plunge themselves into aduersion. And thus the number of those is great, who haue the charge of wife and children, are notwithstanding, altogether without means and Artes to procure their maintenance; whereby some of them wanting grace, doe run a desperate course, and haue vntimely ends. Others againe being better inspired, seeke for employment, but find it not, or with great difficulty: for, who doth willingly entertaine a man poore and miserable, charged with a family, and peraduenteure debauched in conditions? Neither doe any of our other Merchants voyages to foraine parts accept of those nouices, who neuer haue been vnto the Sea: So that when all the other doores of charitie are shut, the East *India* gates stand wide open to receive the needy and the poore, giuing them good entertainment with two Moneths wages before hand, to make their needfull provisions for the Voyage. And in the time of their absence, there is likewise payd vnto their wives for main-

maintenance, two other moneths wages vpon account of euery yeares forraie: and also if any chance to dye in the Voyage, the wife receiueth all that is found due vnto her husband (if he doe not otherwise dispose it by will); and this often happeneth to be more money, then euer they had of their owne together in any one time. And likewise, are not many poore Widowes, Wives and Children of *Black-wall*, *Lime-house*, *Ratcliffe*, *Shadwell*, and *Wapping*, often relieved by the East *India* Company with whole Hogheads of good Beefe and Pork, Basket and Doles of ready money? Are not diuers of their children set on worke to picke Okam, and other Labours fitting their age and capacite? What might I not say of repaying of Churches, maintenance of Ionic young Schollers, relieuing of many poore Preachers of the Gospell yearly with good summes of money; and diuers other acts of charitie, which are by them religiously performed, euen in the times now of their worst fortunes? for all which I hope there shall be a reward vnto them and theirs.

And here I must intimate how much they are decayed, who thinke, that Spice and Indico are no better cheape in *England* now, then in times past, before the East *India* trade began. For, it is an vn doubted truth, that in those dayes we often paid fixe shillings, or more for a pound of Pepper, and (I suppose) or neuer lesse then three shillings and fixe pence the pound; whereas since the Trade hath come directly from the *Indies*, it hath been bought commonly at severall prices betweene sixteen pence and two shillings the pound: but I will make the difference of price appere more plainly by setting downe the quantities of Spices and Indico, which are yearly spent in the Realme of *England*, together with the lowest prices, which they were wont to sell at, when we brought them from *Turkey* and *Lisborne*; and the like concerning their vniuersal prices, now that we bring them from the East *Indies* directly: And first as from *Turkey*, foure hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at three shillings fixe pence the pound, is therefore & ten thousand pounds: For six hundred pounds of Cloues at eight shillings the pound, is sixteen thousand pounds: twenty thousand pounds of Maces at nine shillings the pound, is nine thousand pounds: One hundred and sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs at four shillings fixe pence the pound, is six thousand pounds: One hundred and fifty thousand pounds of Indico at seven shillings the pound, is fifty two thousand five hundred pounds. All these summes being put together, comes to one hundred eighty three thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

And the like faine quantity and sorts of wares are commonly sold at the prices here vnder written now in these later times: Four hundred thousand pounds of Pepper at twenty pence the pound, is thirtie three thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds, six shillings, eight pence: forty thousand pounds of Cloues at six pence the pound, is twelve thousand pound: twenty thousand pounds of Mace at six shillings the pound, is six thousand pounds: one hundred sixty thousand pounds of Nutmegs at two shillings fixe pence the pound, is twelve thousand pounds: one hundred fifty thousand pounds of Indico at five shillings the pound, is seven and thirtie thousand pounds. All these summes being put together, is one hundred eighty thousand three hundred thirtie three pounds six shillings eight pence sterling.

So that this Trade in Spice and Indico onely, doth lose the Kingdom yearly twenty four thousand and nine hundred sixtie six pound thirteen shillings foure pence, which is a matter worthy to be observed; and so much the rather, because it is a certaine truth, that if it, then a quarter part of this summe of money which is thus lost yearly, shall buy in the *Indies* the full quantitie of all the severall sorts of wares before written, which doe serue for a yeares provision for this Realme of *England*; but still it must be remembered, that the custom, import, wages, victuals, shipping, and other charges (which are to be added) will be a greater summe, then the money which is paid for these wares in the *Indies*: but as I haue noted before, the said charges doe not consume the Kingdomes stocke, although it doth greatly abate the Merchants gaine.

And to conclude this point, I will adde vnto that which hath been said; that the commodities onely which we now send yearly into the East *Indies* and *Persia*, are of sufficient value there to returne vs Indico, Spices, Drugs, and all other sorts of *Indian* wares (Ray-fishes of *Persia* only excepted) for one yeares consume, or more in this Kingdomes: so that now all the money which is sent forth in our Ships doth procure an ouer-plus of the said wares, to the furtherance of Trade from *India* hither, and after from hence to forraie parts againe, to the great employment of the Subjects, and enriching of this Realme, both in Stocke and Treasure, all which is matter verie worthy to be diligently observed. And so I come to giue answer vnto the fourth and last Obiection.

by which are sent out of this Kingdom into the East *Indies*, are of sufficient value to furnish this Realme with an ouerplus of all manner of *Indian* wares (*Persian* Raw Silkes only excepted.)

When did any of these Widowes beg for reliefe in our Churches, as others often doe? The East *India* Company thier charitie.

The first Part concerneth the cheapenes of Spice and Indico: as this present, in respect of former times.

Prices of spice and Indico in former times.

Prices of spice and Indico in these latter times.

Left then eighteen thousand pounds sterling in the *Indies*, willow Spice and Indico to serue this Realme for a yeare, while his not able to much money as it spent before beyond the Sea to buy Candies only to buy Tobacco.

The wares on-

The fourth Objection.

It is generally observed, that his Majesty's Mint hath had but little employment ever since the East India Trade began; wherefore it is manifest, that the only remedy for this, and so many evils besides, is to put down this Trade: For what other remedy can there be for the good of the Common-wealth?

The Answer.

The first Part
concerneth
his Majesty's
Mint.

Twelve thousand
pound weight
silver is yearly
melted down
into Plate, be-
sides old Plate
new-fashioned,
as by credible
report.

There hath
been coined
great store of
Gold and Sil-
ver in his Ma-
jesty's Mint,
since the East
India Trade
began.

There hath
been coined
no Silver coin-
ed in some
years, when
the East India
Company sent
over very small
summes of
money.

Some cuffs
and maces
were sent to
King Silve-
rio into the
Realme ere
this present
time.

The second
Part con-
cerneth the
putting down
of the East
India Trade.

The East India
Trade is ac-
tually, and by
our Christian
Nations.

The Dutch
might grow
strong and big
by our destruc-
tion.

This fourth objection may be divided into three parts: First, An euill declared: Secondly, A reme-
die proposed: Thirdly, And counsel demanded.

And first concerning the Euill or want of Silver, I thinke it hath been, and is a general disease of all
Nations, and so will continue untill the end of the world; for pure and rich countries, they never have
enough: but it seemeth the malady is growne mortal here with us, and therefore it craves out for remedy.
Well, I hope it is not imagination maketh vs sick, when all our parts be found and strong: For who can
think not the inestimable treasure of this Kingdom, in Plate possessed by the people thereof, almost of all de-
grees; in such measure, as never hath been seen in former ages? And for his Majesty's Mint, it will
knowme, that there hath been coined in five years together since the East India Company began, between 20
and two hundred fourteen pound weight of Gold, and three hundred eleven thousand three hundred
four score and four pound weight of sterling Money; all which Gold and Silver doe amount unto the
summe of twelve hundred thirtie thousand eight hundred fifty five pounds of sterling Money: How then
doth this Trade turne the current and employment of the Mint?

But upon the light of this truth, perhaps it will be said, That we must resort unto the present times (the
Mint being idle now.) To which I answer, That likewise the Mint had little or no employment for coyn-
age of Silver in former times, when the said Company did not export above fifteen or twentie thousand
pounds sterling at the most per annum; no, nor yet in the years 1608, and 1611; when in the former
they shipped out but five thousand pounds, and in the latter but one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds
sterling. So that both ways we see, that the Mint hath had very great employment five years together,
30 since the East India Trade began; and also it hath been without employment six years, when the
East India Company have sent away but very small summes of money; wherefore of necessity
there must bee some other causes and motives whereby our Silver is not exported only, but also it
is not imported into the Realme as in former times. For we have not had the means by our owne
plenty, nor by the scarcity of our Neighbours (for the space of the last fourteen years together) to
send out hundreds of Ships laden with Corne, as in times past, which was returned home in Silver; but
rather of late years (as is much to be feared) a great quantitie of our money hath been carried out of
the Kingdom for that Corne, which hath been brought vs from the East Countries, and other places, to sup-
ply our wants. Thus times doth change, and our fortunes change with them: neither list I to make this
matter plainer by setting down those means, which heretofore brought vs store of money, even out of 40
France, and other places, which now are ceased. Thus without any further meddling in the Mint, I will
come to the remedie which I propose, by putting down the East India Company.

But here our comfort is, that the Obstructors are not our Judges, whose wisdom and integrity labouring
for the honour of this Majesty, and the good of this Kingdom, will none perceive the mischief of this pro-
posed remedie. And that the pretended euill which may hurt malice chafe, is that great good,
which other Nations seek by policy and strength to keepe, and likewise to obtaine; in which pro-
ceedings it concerneth vs especially to observe the diligences and practices of the Dutch, who with more
gladnesse would undertake the whole Trade to the East Indies, then with any reason we can imagine
that part thereof which we now enjoy; neither can our restraint from the Indies keepe our Silver from
thence, as long as the Dutch goe thither: For we know, that devices want not to furnish such diligence, and 50
when their Ships returne from India, shall not our Silver out againe to helpe to pay a double price, or what
they please, for all those wares which we shall want for our necessities?

Thus should the Dutch increase their honour, wealth and strength, whilst we abate, grow poorer, and
weake at Sea for want of Trade: And call you this a Remedie? no, rather tearme it Ruine, Destruction,
or what you list. And so I come unto the conclusion or last part.

And here I must confesse my self ignorant, for this matter is much too high for my handling; besides, my
experience is faire, having alwaies done my task to cleare the East India Trade from imput at any time, which
for more clearing, although I have performed without aversion of words or eloquence; yet it is done
with all integrity of truth, in every particular, as I shall be ready to make prooffe upon all occasions, which
may be offered. And yet before I make an end, although I cannot satisfie every mans desire, in such mea-
sure as is necessarie: yet I thinke it not unusefull to performe the same so farre, as I am able by my 60
practice, and my observations in the Trade of Merchandize, which is my profession.

And first therefore, all men doe know, that the riches or wealth of Kingdom, State, or Com-
mon-wealth, consisteth in the possession of those things, which are needfull for a civil life. This sufficiency

is of two sorts; the one is naturall, and proceedeth of the Territorie it selfe; the other is artificiall, and de-
pendeth on the industrie of the Inhabitants.

The Realme of England (praised be God) is happily possessed of them both: as first, having great
plentie of naturall riches, both in the Sea for Fish, and on the Land for Wood, Cattle, Corne, and, and,
Towne, Iron, and many other things for Food; Rayment, &c. I Murther; in which this upon first
terms of need, this Land may live without the helpe of any other Nation. But to live well, to flourish,
and grow rich, we must find means by Trade to vent our superfluities; therewith to furnish and adorne
us with the treasure and those necessarie Wares which forraigne Nations doe afford: and here Industrie
must begin to play his part, not only to increase and guide the Trade abroad, but also to maintaine and
multiply the Arts at home: for when either of these faile, or are not effected with such skill as their
mysterie hath require, then doth the Common-wealth abate and grow poorer: neither is it easily per-
cived at first, untill some euill accident doe stirre up our diligence to search out the true causes; that
so they being removed, the effects may cease. And this is the subiect of our Discourse which we
now pursue.

That which I have hitherto discoursed hath bene altogether negative, still defending, and proving by
arguments, that the East India Trade hath not hurt this Common-wealth: And now changing my
style, I must affirme as fast the true causes of these evils, which we seek to chase away.

The causes then (as I conceive) are principally foure. The first, is the breach of Entercourse by for-
raigne Nations. The second, is the abuse of the exchanges betwixt vs and other Countries. The third, is
neglect of duties in some Subiects. The fourth, is our damage in commerce with Strangers. Now con-
cerning all these, I might make a very large discourse; but my purpose is only to expaine the meaning
of every point in order, as briefly as I can.

And first for the breach of Entercourse; by this I understand those Nations, who have either de-
bated their Standard, or else over valued the price of their Coyne from that equallity which former-
ly they had with the Standard and Money of this Realme: and also doe tolerate, not only their owne
Money, but also the Coyne of other Countries (and especially of this Kingdom) to be current with
them at higher rates, then the prices of the exchange, by which confusi (being directly against the Sta-
tute) there is a greater cause given of exportation of the Admoy of this Realme, then otherwise
there would be. For although this is done with great danger to the Exporters of the same, (it being an
act against the Law of the Land) yet notwithstanding contented being our comestant in wicked al-
litions, thinke nothing unlawfull which prometh a certaine gain; and how to remedie this euill practice
I find it not easie. For the debasing of the Coyne, or raising the price thereof in this Realme, would
much impair the estates of particular men, and yet in the conclusion, would prove a buisnesse without
end: for who doth not conceive that which would follow beyond the Seas upon any such alteration here
with vs? so that still the euill will remaine, untill we find some other remedie.

And for the exchanges of money used betwixt Nations, although the true rise thereof is a very
laudable and necessarie practice for the accommodating of Merchants Affairs, and furnishing of Tra-
nellers in their occasions, without the transporting of Coyne from one State to another, with danger and
losse both to the publicke and private wealth; yet is the abuse thereof very pernicious unto this King-
dome in particular; whilst in the end it turneth the benefit due, arise unto other Countries, who diligently ob-
serving the prices whereby the money be exchanged, may take advantage to carry away the Gold and
Silver of this Realme at that price, when the rate of our sterling money (in exchange) is under the va-
lue of that Standard, unto which place they are conveyed: For in respect the prices of the exchanges
doe rise or fall according to the plenty or scarcitie of money, which is to be taken up, or delivered out,
the exchange is hereby become rather a Trade for some great moneyed men, then a furtherance and ac-
commodation of read Trade to Merchants, as it ought to bee in the true rise of duty. And thus many
times money may be made over hither by Strangers to a good gain, and presently carried beyond the Seas
to a second profit; and yet the mischief ends not here: for by this means the takers up of money in for-
raigne Countries must necessarily drive a Trade to those places, from whence they draw their money;
and so doe fill vs up with forraigne Commodities, without the vent of our owne Wares: but for this great
euill, there is an easie remedie, and so I come to handle the next cause which is neglect of duties.

Neither is it my intent to write of duties in their severall kinds; but only of that kind of duty which
is here thought to be neglected by some men in their severall vocations. At it might peradventure come
to passe, in those who have the working of his Majesty's Coyne, either gold or silver; diligent care be
not had in the size of every severall piece, to answer justly to its weight: for howsoever upon trial
many pieces altogether, the weight may be found according to the Covenants, and within the remedies
ordained in the Indentures: yet notwithstanding many of those pieces may be fixed too light, and others
as much too heave, which giveth the greater advantage to some people, to carry away that which is over-
weight, and so to leave vs them which are too light, if they leave vs any. And this mischief is
done by them also (some Goldsmiths, regarding profit more then duty, may bee the more readily
dreamed to melt down the beaue Coyne into Plate, and other ornaments both of gold and silver. But
who might wee thinke of those men who are placed in authoritative office for his Majesty, if they
should not with all dutyfull care discharge their trust concerning that excellent Statute, wherein it is or-
red,

The riches of
a Kingdom is
in two sorts,

This kind of
Industrie ma-
cheth some
Countries
which are poor
of themselves,
to grow rich
and strong by
other Nations,
who have cre-
ated means,
and are little
industrious.
Four prin-
cipall Causes
may carry a-
way our Gold
and Silver,

The first
Cause concern-
eth the Stan-
dard.
Proceedings
against enter-
course.

The Second
Cause concern-
eth the ex-
changes of
money with
forraigne Coun-
tries.

The practice
of those
merchants here
in this Realme,
who make a
Trade by ex-
change of mo-
ney.

Forraign Wares
brought in
with our ready
monies carried
out of this
Realme.

The third
Cause concern-
eth neglect
of duties.

Our beaue
money is con-
veyed beyond
the Seas, and
melted downe
into Plate here
in the Realme.

Ann 17. Ed-
ward 4.

The Fourth
Civill con-
cerneth our com-
merce with
Strangers.
Unskillfull
Merchants
enrich our
Trade.

Merchants by
education are
only fit to
trade in for-
eigne parts.

How rich
Common-
wealths may
become poor.
Forraine Wares
brought in for
Trade can-
not hurt, but
grow by help
of the Common-
wealth.
Hopes to in-
crease a Trade
by exportation
of Indian
Wares to for-
eigne parts.

The particular
Trade to the
East Indies
will bring
great store of
treasure into
this Realme.
If the generall
Trade of this
Kingdome doe
not hinder and
consume it.
The Dutch in
particular, are
said to receive
such infinite
wealth yearly
by this filbing
Trade, that
without more
certaine know-
ledge thereof
I dare not let
down the summe
it seems to be
incredible. See
hereof Dr. De
Bouck as also
Cap. Smith.

red, that all the money received by strangers for their Merchandise, shall be employed upon the Commodities of this Realme: the due performance whereof would not only prevent the carrying away of much Gold and Silver, but also bee a means of greater vent of our owne Wares: whereby I purpose to write some thing more in the next part which concerneth our commerce with strangers.

And now I come to the last point, which I fear is not the least amongst the causes of our want of money (so farre as any such may be,) and let it not seeme strange to any man, that Traders should thus and so importunately importune a Common-wealth, since it hath bene always accounted an excellent meane to helpe and enrich the same: for, as this truth cannot be denied with reason, so it is likewise most certaine, that the unskillfull managing thereof hath ever proved a great decay unto those Nations, who have bene entangled with such errors. And are not the examples too frequent in many of our owne Merchants, who not only by the perils of the Sea and such like misfortunes lose their goods, but also often through want of knowledge, wisely to direct their affaires, doe overthrow their whole estates? Neither may we properly call this their losse, but rather the Kingdomes losse in them. Wherefore it were to be wished, that this myserie of Merchandise might be left only to them who have had an education thereto; and not to be undertaken by such, who leaving their proper vocations, doe for want of skill in this, both overthrow themselves, and others who are better practised.

But there is yet a farre greater mischief for our Trades beyond the Seas, when peradventure, there might be so ported yearly a greater value in forraine Wares, then by any way or meane we doe export of our owne Commodities; which cannot otherwise come to passe, then with a manifest impoverishing of the Common-wealth: for as it is a certaine course to make us rich, both in Stocke and Treasure, when we shall carry out a greater value of our owne goods then we bring in of forraine Wares; so by consequence, a course contrary to this, must of necessity worke a contrarie effect. Neither is this importation meant otherwise, then concerning those Wares, which are consumed in this Realme: for the Commodities which are brought in, and after carried out unto forraine parts againe, cannot hurt, but doe greatly helpe the Common-wealth, by encreas of his Manufacter Chusmes and Trades, with other employments of the Subjects: by which particulars I might yet set forth the glorie of the East India Trade, which hath brought into this Realme in sixe or seven months space, not only so much Spice, as hath served the same for the said time; but also by the superfluitie thereof, there hath bene exported into forraine parts for about two hundred and fiftene thousand pounds sterling. So then let all men judge, for what a great value we may hope hereafter to export yearly: when unto these Spice we may (by Gods assistance) adde the infinite worth of raw Silkes, iudices, Calicoes, and some other things: all which are to be issued in the nature of Cloth, Lead, Towe, or any of our owne Merchandise, to the enriching of this Kingdome by encrease of the common Stocke. So then to conclude this point, wee ought not to avoid the importation of forraine Wares, but ravi or willingly to briale our owne affections to the moderate consuming of the same: for otherwise, howsoever the East India Trade in particular is an excellent meane greatly to encrease the Stocke of money which we se-d thither yearly, by returning home five times the value ther of in rich Commodities; all which (in short time) may be converted into Treasure, as is plainly shewed already. Yet notwithstanding, if these Indian Wares thus brought home cannot be spared, to serve for that purpose of Treasure, but must bee sent forth together with our owne native Commodities, and yet all little enough, to provide our excess and extravagance consume and divert the coming in of the said Treasure, by over-balloancing the value of our Wares exported with the to portation and immoderate consume of forraine Commodities.

Therefore, so farre as the number of the people in this Realme are thought to be greatly encreased of late time (both in themselves and strangers), whereby necessarily the Commodities of this Kingdome, and also forraine Wares, are the more consumed and wasted, (a double meane to abate the Common-wealth) it is therefore concerneth vs all in generall, and every man in his particular, to stirre up our minds and diligence, to helpe the naturall Commodities of this Realme by industrie, and increase of Arts; seeing that the materials cannot be wanting to make such stuffes, and other things as are daily brought unto vs from forraine parts, to the great advantage of Strangers, and to our no lesse damage. Neither should wee neglect the riches which our Sea afford, whilst other Nations by their labour doe procure themselves great Treasure from the same. And as the diligence and performance of these things would plentifully maintaine the Trade, and much increase the common Stocke of this Kingdome, so likewise for the better furtherance thereof, wee ought religiously to avoid our common excesses of food and rayment, which is growne to such a height in most degrees of people (above their ability) that it is now beyond all example of former Ages. Neither is it needfull for mee to set downe the particulars of these abuses; for they are too well knowne: and I am confident, that the wisdom of our Government hath endeavored to set them as well amended, to the glorie of God, the honour of the King, and the good of the Common-wealth. Amen.

Courteous Reader, I could have added others indevout in this defensive Argument for the East Indian Trade; and especially that of that learned Gentleman Sir Dud. Digges: But because himselfe is now absent in weightier Employments, and I knew not whether he would be willing to see it missted and marshall in my Files, I was loth to doe it: For his ill-will I have cause to bee unwilling to purchase, whose good-will hath purchased mine and mee (a worthifull Purchase) in effecting my present good, in affecting greater, that I might have bene enabled to have belidowed on the world my promised perfected World. Wherein not to have succeeded, is yet (as that vast and incompete desire of mine) to have exceeded, as others otherwise, so herein himselfe. Besides, later occurrences have misstred other Strings for bulle to Fingers to harpe on, (though not with best Harmonie) since the edition of this Booke. I had thought also to have added somewhat out of Master Missidens FREE TRADE, fitting the present business: but seeming to have made not an Indian Voyage, but a Mistake, in so long stay there, I will bring you homewards: and because the wonted way of returne is by encompassing Africa, that course also wee will here take: and to prevent Sea-sickness, and the Lazie Scorbute, we will not only touch on the Shore, but adventure into the maine Land, and follow the best Guides, both English and others, thorow the African both Delarts and Habitations of whom John Leo is the best that hath written in that Argument, and as a Lion may conduct the most fearful throw the most perillous passages. For what may not Cowards doe, having a Lion to their Guide and Captain?

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